

DIRECT ACTION

NO. 23

JULY 14 1972

10 CENTS

A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER



Black Rights Now!

Malcolm X, Black Nationalism & Socialism p.8 The Pangu Pati p.14
Interview with Polynesian Panther p.5 Arrest of Pyotr Yakir p.11
Abortion-A Woman's Right To Choose p.6 The Black Struggle p.4
High Schools Action p.15 Hanoi Pressured by Moscow, Peking p.3
Tasmanian Labor Youth Conference p.13 Pillar-Naco Sit-in p.12

DIRECT ACTION

No. 23, July 14, 1972

Editor: Jim Percy
Assistant Editor: Nita Keig
Business Manager: Steve Painter

All Correspondence to
139 St John's Rd,
Glebe, 2037. Ph. 6606672.

Registered for transmission
by post as a periodical
category B.

Contact socialists in your area

NATIONAL OFFICE:
SYDNEY: S.W.L., P.O. Box 160, Glebe 2037.
MELBOURNE: S.W.L., 136 Queensberry St., Carlton, 3053. Ph. 3473507.
BRISBANE: S.W.L., 140 Queensberry St., Carlton, 3053. Ph. 3473507.
ADELAIDE: S.W.L., S.Y.A., 287 Rundle St., Adelaide, 5000. Ph. 2345359.
HOBART: S.W.L., S.Y.A., 97 Musgrave St., Red Hill, 4059. Ph. 363426.
CANTON: S.Y.A., P.O. Box 26, O'Connor, Ph. 862760 (Jon).
HOBART: S.Y.A., P.O. Box 1255N G.P.O., Hobart, 7001 Ph. 252563 (Alban).

WHEN YOU'RE THRU PLAYING GAMES.. JOIN S.Y.A!

If you oppose the Vietnam war and conscription, if you want a socialist Australia, if you support the struggle for women's liberation, the struggle for national liberation throughout the world - join the SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE. I would like to join S.Y.A. I would like more information on S.Y.A.

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
POSTCODE.....
PHONE.....
to S.Y.A., P.O. Box 160, Glebe, 2037, or to the branch in your state.

EDITORIAL

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

"When you tell this black man in America who he is, where he came from, what he had when he was there, he'll look around and ask himself 'Well, what happened to it, who took it away from us, and how did they do it?' Why brothers, you'll have some action just like that. When you let the black man in America know... that knowledge itself will usher in your action programme. And it will be by any means necessary". (Malcolm X 1965).

During the period of almost 200 years since the European invasion of this country, the original inhabitants have been subjected almost unceasingly to attempts to destroy their identity as a people and to dispossess them of resources useful to capitalist society. Aborigines were first pushed off the valuable grazing land of the east coast, later the spread of the pastoral industry to the north caused the dislocation of aboriginal society there. Eventually, the only areas in which aboriginal societies were allowed to remain relatively intact were areas where grazing or other forms of capitalist activity were uneconomic. These areas were in some cases declared aboriginal "reserves". In areas where the aboriginal population had been decimated but not exterminated, such reserves were also set up. Recent events at Weipa in Queensland and Gove in the Northern Territory have shown that even these reserves do not guarantee any security to aborigines living there. The court's ruling in the Yirrkala land rights case in early 1970, a case instigated by the Yirrkala people to stop the Nabalco company from taking over large areas of the aboriginal reserve in Arnhem Land, effectively denied the aborigines security of tenure on land which they had occupied since before the arrival of the Europeans. The courts ruled to allow Nabalco to take over large areas of what had previously been recognised as an aboriginal reserve. So, even the "reserves" only remain reserves while they are of no value to capitalism.

At times, the drive to dispossess the aborigines of resources valuable to the capitalist system has included campaigns of extermination. In Tasmania, the aboriginal population had been completely exterminated by early this century and in all states, but especially Victoria and the coastal areas of NSW, whole tribes have been exterminated and in many areas the aboriginal population has ceased to exist. Even when extermination has not been actively pursued as a policy, the attitudes of the

various governments involved have been genocidal. Not content with destroying the aboriginal society, they have also attempted to eliminate the culture, either by encouraging "assimilation" or by pursuing policies which leave aborigines little alternative but to live on "reserves" in inadequate housing and with no medical or educational facilities. The astronomical infant mortality rates, and the demoralisation leading to alcoholism and general bitterness, are well known results of such policies.

After generations of living in stunned misery, the aborigines began in the mid 1960's to fight back. In 1966 we saw the Gurindji stockmen walk off Wave Hill cattle station in the Northern Territory over unjust wage payments and miserable living conditions. Since that time similar actions have occurred elsewhere, the most recent being on Victoria River Downs station in the Northern Territory. Also since that time concentrations of urbanised aborigines have emerged in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne and Perth and these people have begun to organise to undertake political action to end the generations of super-exploitation, misery and genocide which capitalist society has brought with it.

During the course of 1971 the black movement organised several protest actions and began to move toward the formation of political organisations to undertake agitation around demands central to the advancement of the cause of the aboriginal people. The Black Panther Party in Brisbane, while it was active, was a significant development in this direction. Its formation and existence displayed a recognition, by at least some black people, that the problems of the aborigines cannot be overcome within the confines of capitalist society.

The oppression of black people, and in fact of all oppressed layers is an integral part of the capitalist system, one which is especially useful in helping to ensure its survival in times of crisis. In a period when working class solidarity is called for, the capitalist system uses racial differences to divide the workers and to divert attention from the real roots of social injustice.

Malcolm X, one of the most conscious leaders of the United States movement for black rights, had reached an understanding of the way in which racial oppression is rooted in the capitalist system, before he was shot in 1965. He



Malcolm X

and some elements of the black movement in the United States, had arrived at this understanding during the course of long and bitter struggles, which included many costly mistakes.

The Australian black movement is still in its early stages of development, after generations of being misdirected and having their confidence sapped by the governments, their charity organisations and their organisations claiming to represent the interests of aborigines, but in fact dominated by government sympathisers, or misguided white liberals, black people are beginning to understand the roots of their oppression and from this understanding flows an understanding of what to do about it.

The black moratorium on July 14 will represent a significant step forward for the black movement. It will be the first nationwide organised manifestation of the determination of the black people, and their white supporters, to fight for the rights which they are presently denied. One demonstration is not enough however. July 14 must form one part of an ongoing campaign waged vigorously and untiringly around the issues of land rights, the right to employment, and the right to self-determination as the only course which completely rejects the genocidal policies of the past and as far as possible opens the possibility of rectifying the effects of those policies. And as Malcolm pointed out, an uncompromising struggle around these issues leads to revolutionary conclusions:

"All thinking people today who have been oppressed are revolutionary. Any time you find somebody today who's afraid of the word 'revolution', get him out of your way. He hasn't awakened yet. This is the era of revolution". (Malcolm X 1965).

Hanoi: We Must Not Recoil in the Face of Imperialist Threats

Despite intense pressure from the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese liberation fighters have refused to back down in the face of Nixon's blockade and all-out bombing campaign. In response to Nixon's blockade and trip to Moscow, the Vietnamese have refused to accept the Soviet bureaucrats' urgings to stop their struggle and negotiate on the terms of the U.S. imperialists.

"Nhan Dan", the organ of the North Vietnamese Communist Party, published a sharp criticism of some of President Nixon's pronouncements during his recent trip to the Soviet Union. The criticism was signed "commentator", the designation used for semi-official statements.

"At no time does the newspaper point out that the statements of the American chief executive were made in the USSR," noted Agence France-Presse, "but the preciseness of the quotes leaves no room for doubt."

The article referred, for instance, to Nixon's hypocritical commiseration with the children who died during the Nazi siege of Leningrad. The commentator, in an unmistakable message to the Kremlin bureaucrats who were wining and dining America's number one war criminal, wrote:

"It is obvious that in order for the children of the world to be able to avoid being massacred and to live in peace, the adults will have to oppose the American imperialists and not recoil in the face of their threats. All men of conscience must distinguish between what is reasonable and what is absurd, between what is good and what is evil, between friends and enemies."

"During a banquet, Nixon bragged that he would like to create a world of peace for all peoples," the newspaper observed, adding that "the president's fine words are being drowned out by the noise of the American bombs that day and night are

plunging the Vietnamese homeland into mourning."

After noting that "Nixon says that the great powers must set an example and not let themselves be drawn into confrontations provoked by small powers," the commentator asks: "Does he want the great powers to follow the example being set by the United States in Vietnam? He threatens other countries so that they will let the United States have its way, and he denies them the right to support the victims of aggression. This kind of talk is coming from an international hooligan."

Another North Vietnamese statement was reported by syndicated columnist Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in the June 14 "New York Post". According to Evans and Novak, the North Vietnamese "accused the Soviet Union of putting its own 'national interests' over those of the world revolution." They quote the following from the May 21 North Vietnamese army newspaper:

"Communists always consider the revolution of each nation an inseparable part of the world revolution. They never set national interests against the interests of the world revolution nor place private national interests above the common interests of the world revolution, much less serve their own national selfishness."

The only way to answer Nixon's latest offensive in Vietnam, it says, is by "a relentless attack against the U.S. imperialists."

The refusal of the Vietnamese to give up in the face of the brutal U.S. aggression continues to inspire and set an example of struggle for all people fighting for freedom from oppression around the world. The Soviet government's denial of adequate military aid to Vietnam and its collaboration with the U.S. ruling class against the Vietnamese is a despicable betrayal of this international struggle.



Kissinger

Chou

Podgorny

Nixon

HANOI PRESSURED TO ABANDON STRUGGLE

BY DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 20 - Washington, Moscow, and Peking are mounting tremendous pressure on Hanoi to go to the bargaining table and make concessions to President Nixon. This was the purpose of Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny's June 16-18 trip to Hanoi, which was accompanied by a three-day suspension of U.S. bombing of Hanoi. It is also the purpose of presidential adviser Henry Kissinger's talks with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai scheduled to take place in Peking, June 19-22.

To back up the intense diplomatic pressure, Washington is maintaining the highest levels of air attack on Vietnam in the history of the war. Nixon has almost completely succeeded in blocking off North Vietnam from outside military and economic support.

Moscow's failure to mount any effective opposition to Nixon's escalated attack and its willingness to put the screws on Hanoi to enter into negotiations are causing an outburst of fury against the leaders of the Soviet Union. Evidence is the hue and cry raised in defense of Moscow in the pages of the "Daily World", voice of the U.S. Communist Party.

"The Moscow summit meeting was a victory for the peoples of the world," intone the editors of the "World", June 10.

"Did the summit, in any way, harm the cause of the struggle for liberation of Indochina?" they ask. "The answer is No. In fact, it aided that struggle. It weakened the position of the man who mined the harbour of North Vietnam. But it is obvious to almost everyone that President Nixon's position has been strengthened, not weakened, since he left Moscow three weeks ago.

North Vietnam's rivers and harbours remain mined and the rail routes to China are being bombed daily to cut the country off. Electronic devices guide thousands of tons of U.S. bombs to power plants, major population centres, and other targets throughout North Vietnam, including the dikes of the Red River delta.

In South Vietnam, U.S. air forces are pounding towns and villages to rubble. Tens of thousands of refugees are in flight in the countryside. A wire-service photo of a Vietnamese youngster weeping over the body of her shell-shocked mother captured the utter horror that Nixon has unleashed without check by Moscow or Peking.

Podgorny himself announced on a stopover in Calcutta after leaving Hanoi June 18 that the Paris peace talks would resume

soon and that the "Soviet Union will do everything possible for a deescalation of the Vietnam war." Victor Louis, a Soviet journalist who often reflects official Kremlin views, wrote in "The London Evening News" June 16 that Podgorny's visit was "aimed at stopping hostilities on all fronts so that new negotiations can get under way."

Moscow radio has proclaimed that "The war of aggression in Vietnam can be ended only through negotiations," according to "New York Times" editor Robert Kleiman. The radio added that "practical experience clearly shows that the Vietnam problem cannot be solved by military means." Kleiman stated in the June 19 "Times".

All of this points towards Soviet pressure on Hanoi to agree to a Geneva-type conference to settle the war. Nixon obviously hopes that such a conference, which would leave Washington a foothold in Vietnam, can be opened before the elections in November.

Robert Kleiman summarized Moscow and Peking's response to the blockade of North Vietnam in the June 19 article "... six weeks after the mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese harbours, Moscow and Peking evidently have been unable as yet to agree on increased land shipment across China of Soviet aid to compensate for the halt in sea supply. Before the blockade, 85 per cent of North Vietnam's imports came by sea.

"Of all the Soviet ships en route to

North Vietnam when the blockade was imposed, only one tanker has put into a Chinese port, and that briefly for emergency reasons. It now is reported to have left without unloading..."

"The Central Intelligence Agency has not detected any significant increase in the volume of supplies being shipped by land from China to North Vietnam..."

"There is no sign as yet of Chinese transport troops and repair crews in North Vietnam - 50,000 came in during the 1965-68 bombing - to help keep roads and railways open."

The substance of what Kleiman reports has been indicated in previous dispatches in the world press. These have not been denied by Moscow or Peking.

Veiled polemics between Moscow and Hanoi give further evidence of the tremendous pressure Moscow is exerting on the leaders of North Vietnam. Kleiman states, "Without revealing that the American President was in Moscow, Hanoi radio and press attacks on Mr. Nixon and his alleged efforts to split the world Communist movement have also contained thinly veiled attacks on Moscow. The Russians have been accused indirectly of setting their 'national interests' against the interests of the world revolution, of 'showing weakness' and of 'ignoring and tolerating the U.S. imperialist crimes.'"

On the Kremlin side, an authoritative article in the June 15 "Pravda" was undoubtedly aimed at Hanoi, among others. "The (summit) talks," said "Pravda"

conducted from principled positions and with realistic tactical compromises... were not a sign of weakness or softness, but were necessary for all those who are guided in their actions by the real interests of peace and socialism, and not by some 'revolutionary' phrase."

According to the June 16 "Washington Post," "The (Pravda) article also notes that the summit took place 'in spite of sometimes direct opposition from those who like to warm their hands by the artificial kindling of hostility and tensions between other states.'"

Speculation has it that the opposition to Moscow's treacherous meeting with Nixon reached into high Kremlin circles. "The Soviet opponents of the talks have not been identified," said "Times" Moscow correspondent Theodore Shabad, June 15, "but the recent demotion of Pyotr Y. Shlest, a Politburo member, from the prestigious leadership of the Ukraine has been attributed in some quarters to opposition to Mr. Nixon's visit."

The editors of the "Christian Science Monitor" stated on June 16 that they hoped Podgorny would do in Hanoi. "We assume that (Podgorny's) mission is to help the people in Hanoi to a fuller appreciation of the facts of life in today's power world. One of them is that Moscow wants more things from Washington than have yet been granted or are likely to be granted until and unless the war is ended in a manner tolerable to Mr. Nixon."

The most pertinent "fact of life" in this regard is that Moscow's foreign policy is geared to "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. This means subordinating the needs of the world revolution to Moscow's dealings with Washington.

The influential Washington bureau chief of the "Times", Max Frankel, described Nixon's aims June 19. "Mr. Kissinger's continuing purpose in Peking, like much of President Nixon's purpose there and in Moscow earlier this year, has been defined on many occasions by Mr. Kissinger and the few other informed Administration officials. It has been to enlist the Russians and the Chinese in an elaborate exercise, both diplomatic and military, to persuade the North Vietnamese that the summer of 1972 - meaning the weeks between now and Labour Day - is the optimum time for negotiating an end to the war..."

"Mr. Nixon, having withstood the greatest onslaught of which he deems the North Vietnamese capable in the foreseeable future, is asking that they deal with him now that he too needs to deal - or risk having to deal with him in a much stronger



North Vietnamese hospital damaged by U.S. bombs at Thanhhoa.

507 NEW SUBS RECEIVED IN NATIONAL DRIVE

Melbourne	151	150
Adelaide	43	60
Brisbane	17	60
Hobart	22	30
Canberra	18	20
General	52	30
	507	500

We have reached our national goal of 500 new subscriptions albeit a little behind time.

In the twelve weeks of the drive our supporters have pushed subs to buyers of Direct Action across Australia to give Direct Action a stable sub base.

Melbourne, Sydney and our "general" areas all made or exceeded their quotas. The final figures were as follows:

But if you have not subscribed to Direct Action yet don't wait till another special offer. It may never be so cheap again. Take advantage of our regular offer - \$1 for 10 issues - still the best value around.

We hope to raise this sum from our readers and supporters, the members of SYA and SWL and from special fund raising activities we shall be conducting.

We are a small socialist newspaper and don't have the resources of the establishment press. We can rely only on ourselves and our friends. You are essential to the success of the Drive. If you are a socialist then support the socialist press. All amounts large and small will help. Whether it's 50 cents, \$5 or \$500 - send it in! We need it! Now! All of it!

I enclose \$1, \$2, \$5, \$10, \$20, \$50...

Name.....
Address.....
Postcode.....

I would like a receipt....

DIRECT ACTION
FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

\$2,000 FUND DRIVE TARGET SET

Starting from our next issue we are launching a Fund Drive for \$2,000 in four months. The Fund Drive is to raise money for Direct Action's new offices. We have only been in them for a few months and we badly need money to equip them and pay some of the more pressing bills.

Name.....
Address.....
Postcode.....

Clip and mail to Direct Action 139 St John's Rd, Glebe. 2037

The Black Struggle

By Steve Painter

For several years now unrest over the miserable conditions in which aborigines are forced to live has been steadily growing. This unrest has been thrown up a small but growing band of spokespeople for the aborigines, something which they have lacked in the past and which will give ever increasing impetus to the struggle for black rights. Significant sectors of the black community are rejecting the heritage of apathy and alcoholism which has resulted from the aborigines being hurled aside by the capitalist society. After almost 200 years of being regarded by capitalist society as a "problem" which would hopefully disappear in the near future, the aborigines are increasingly recognising that they must organise to fight for their rights. Since the 1950's, the aboriginal population has been increasing and not declining for the first time since European settlement began. Now, probably more than at any time since the initial campaigns of extermination carried on by the first European invaders, the interests of the black population are being actively asserted against the interests of capitalist society. Everywhere, black people are raising demands around issues such as - the right to adequate medical facilities, the right to education, the right to employment, the right to adequate housing, the right to compensation for expropriated land, the right to retain or regain possession of land which has significance for tribal groups and above all the right to self determination.

All of these demands cut across the conscious policies of the state and federal

HANOI PRESSURED BY MOSCOW, PEKING (continued from p.3)

position in another term."

In other words, Nixon needs at least the opening of "serious" peace talks between now and November to try to defuse the massive antiwar pressure in this country. After November, if Nixon is reelected, he will be freer to continue the murderous attack on Vietnam since the pressure to win votes will be off.

The cynicism of this policy bears comment. On one hand it admits that Americans are so overwhelmingly against the war that Nixon risks losing the election if he cannot appear to be seeking peace. On the other hand it admits that no matter what the majority of Americans want, Nixon, if reelected, will continue to carry out war policies bent on establishing a settlement more favorable to imperialism.

Max Frankel states, "There have been many indications over the last six months that this logic has been understood, with varying degrees of sympathy, in both Moscow and Peking."

Frankel then raises an important point. The North Vietnamese "have emblazoned in their memories another summer of negotiations, in 1954, when the Russians and Chinese pressed them to settle for half a loaf - and half a country - with the mistaken promise of more later. Moreover, they remember having had to topple a French Government to get that far, and they must believe that they deserved the credit for toppling President Johnson and forcing President Nixon to withdraw half a million men from battle."

This is the big hitch in the manoeuvrings of Washington, Moscow, and Peking against the Vietnamese revolution. Moscow and Peking sold the Vietnamese out in 1954, and Washington took advantage of that betrayal to launch 18 years of bloody counterrevolution that is at its most murderous peak today.

The Vietnamese do not want to see a repeat of this betrayal. Under these circumstances, it is proving immensely difficult for the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking to carry out their promises to Nixon. Coupled with the crucial support of the domestic and international antiwar movements, the Vietnamese can still carry out the job they began more than three decades ago during World War II: liberating their country from imperialist overlordship.

governments which seek to protect the rights of the large pastoral companies in rural areas and to maintain their attempts to deny adequate social facilities to the majority of aborigines, in order to retard their development as an effective social force.

Earlier governments hoped to solve the aboriginal "problem" by their policy of assimilation - which meant that the blacks would eventually disappear by being absorbed into the white community. Those who did not assimilate would die out because of the abominable conditions in which they were forced to live. With the failure, and increasing unpopularity of the assimilation policy, successive governments have failed to develop any worthwhile alternate policy. They have ignored the whole question hoping that it would eventually disappear. They have been able to do this largely because of the fact that aborigines are such a small proportion of the population (around 2%). Increasingly however, such policies are becoming impossible to maintain. The upsurge in black militancy and the support which that upsurge is finding among many white people is ensuring that.

At the present time black people in many parts of this country are involved in struggles for their rights. On aboriginal reserves throughout Australia the policy of the white authorities controlling those reserves has usually been to maintain a patronising attitude reinforced by bureaucratic government machinery to sap the confidence of the blacks in their ability to struggle for better conditions. In many areas black people are being driven to revolt by such policies.

WOODENBONG RENT STRIKE

Recently, victimisation of a family living in a Housing Commission home at Woodenbong Aboriginal reserve in northern NSW, has led other families living on the reserve to undertake a rent strike. The strike began in February this year and is still going on. Six families are being threatened with eviction as a result.

The events leading to the strike began when, Harold Brown, a resident at the reserve, was stood down from his job at a Woodenbong timber mill due to wet weather; because of this he and his family were unable to keep up their rent payments to the NSW Housing Commission. He applied for unemployment benefits but by the time the first cheque arrived he had been re-employed at the mill. Several months later Harold Brown was again retrenched and upon applying for benefits again he was told that until he repaid the \$30 which he had received under false pretences several months before, he would not receive the dole. (Of course he had not received the \$30 under false pretences, he had been unemployed at the time of application and it was the lapse of six weeks before the first cheque came that meant his circumstances had changed. Nevertheless he was unemployed for almost six weeks.)

After a long series of events mainly concerned with government officials harassing the Brown family, they were evicted from their house in February of this year. After the residents had met and passed the following motion: "We, the residents of Mulli Mulli Village, Woodenbong, refuse to pay any further rent for the houses we occupy on the reserve until Mr. and Mrs. Brown are re-instated in the house they have occupied at Woodenbong for the past twelve months." As the Richmond-Tweed Trades and Labour Council showed an interest in the case, the Reserve Welfare Officer announced that an anonymous donor in Sydney had paid the back rent and the Browns could move back into their house. However the Browns refused to return unless the Housing Commission agreed to pay two black workers to move the furniture back into the house. (Two whites had been paid to remove the furniture.) When the Browns stood firm on this point, the generous donor withdrew the offer. (In the past generous donors have often helped the various governments in this country to avoid embarrassing publicity and confrontations, the most recent example being when Senator Neville Bonner forestalled a major confrontation in Brisbane by paying a fine for which Doug Brady, a popular civil rights worker was facing gaol over his refusal to pay.)

The government is attempting to create

divisions among the Woodenbong people by moving another family into the Browns' house. However, the aborigines, many of them in a position similar to the Browns' with regard to unemployment and their ability to pay the rent, are standing firm.

The role of the various government departments involved in this case is typical of the treatment which aborigines receive all over this country. The practice of the government departments is characterised by a callous use of anonymous bureaucracies to give a legal facade to deliberate attempts to keep aborigines in a depressed state and to stifle their struggles to rise above such conditions.

BREWARRINA RENT STRIKE

At Brewarrina in Western NSW a situation similar to that at Woodenbong exists. There is no work for the majority of the aboriginal population (up to 90% of the men being unemployed much of the time and all of the women most of the time). Many are forced to live in miserable shanties, the children are discriminated against at the school, often being sent home on the pretext that they are dirty or have lice. Sometimes the school authorities will not even accept the word of the health inspector that the children are free of lice. Aboriginal children are denied an adequate education while at school; consequently on leaving, the job opportunities are limited. Usually they are forced to go to one of the larger cities where they form a pool of cheap unskilled labour.

At Brewarrina many of the black people living in Housing Commission houses have been forced to stage a rent strike because of the severity of the unemployment situation. As a result of this rent strike the government authorities are threatening several families of the aboriginal spokesmen (Tom Winters and Steve Gordon) who are regarded agitators. Even the Commission houses are in bad repair.

REDLYNCH

At Redlynch in North Queensland aborigines are demanding that adequate housing facilities be provided on a reserve just outside the town. White authorities in Redlynch are using the fact that the blacks are forced to live in run-down tin shanties as the basis for a campaign to force them to move away from the town. The black people are refusing to move. Chief of the C.I.B. in Cairns, a man called Bidner, has recently made statements which reveal a strong prejudice against the aborigines.

PERTH

Aborigines in Perth have become increasingly militant in recent months. Their latest action has been to set up an aboriginal consulate on the laws of the West Australian Parliament House. The principal demand of the consulate is that the government supply funds for 1,500 houses for black people now forced to live in miserable slums and camps consisting of flimsy tin shanties.

In West Australia the aboriginal population is larger than anywhere else except Queensland and the Northern Territory. As in other centres where there are sizeable black populations, the Perth courts have a regular daily turnover of black people arrested on charges such as drunkenness and vagrancy.

POLICE HARRASSMENT

In all areas where there are sizeable black populations police harassment of aborigines is a fact of life. Hotels where black people gather regularly are subjected to regular visits from police who appear to welcome the chance to make arrests on various petty charges. Parties held by black people are often kept under police



surveillance. The Open Door, an aboriginal social centre in Brisbane is subject to constant police harassment and regular arrests are made. Hotels in Redfern in Sydney and Fitzroy in Melbourne where black people gather regularly are subject to similar treatment.

Black people are being driven from our areas to the cities by the necessity to seek employment. Once in the cities they find that, having been denied education opportunities the only jobs open to them are lowly paying unskilled ones, and in the present period of capitalist downturn even those jobs are scarce. Consequently many black people find themselves unemployed and penniless or at best with a low paying job; thus they are defenceless when capitalist society, using its police force makes scapegoats of them, attempting to solve its own internal crises by attacking its most downtrodden victims.

Many black people, harassed by the police in this way have no knowledge of their legal rights; as a result of this, many are gaoled on evidence which would not normally be enough to even secure a conviction. Some black groups are attempting to rectify this situation by setting up legal aid centres.

HOUSING

As the outlines of the struggles at Woodenbong, Brewarrina and Perth showed, one of the major preoccupations of the black people is the need for adequate housing. The majority of black people live in conditions which few whites have been forced to tolerate in the country since the last century. These conditions are now producing a sentiment which is giving rise to increasing militancy. Black people are no longer prepared to passively tolerate being consigned to tin shanties or car bodies at the local rubbish dump. They are demanding housing which will free them from the high mortality rates arising from being forced to live in squats unprotected from the elements.

MEDICAL FACILITIES

A recent report to the Federal Parliament revealed that the average life span of an aborigine is 40 years - 30 years less than that of a white person. The report also revealed that 40% of all aboriginal death occur in the first year of life. The equal figure for the white community is 4. Inadequate diets and housing make many black people exceptionally susceptible to illnesses. Thus one of the major demands being taken up by the new wave of black militants is for adequate medical facilities.

LAND RIGHTS

The campaign for land rights provided one of the initial sparks for the present upsurge of black militancy. When the Gurindji walked off Wave Hill station and laid claim to 500 square miles of land around Wattie Creek in 1966 they provided an inspiration for all black people to rise above their miserable apathy and to begin to struggle for their rights.

To date only in Victoria have the aborigines had any success in winning land rights and even that success (at Lake Tyers in Gippsland) has been modified by the conditions imposed by the government. The issue of land rights is probably the one which alarms big companies, and thus the government, most. The land claims of the Gurindji and the Yirrkala people both challenge the right of big companies to exploit resources expropriated from the black people with no compensation whatsoever.

The courageous campaign of the Gurindji which is still continuing and the settlements which they have established at Wattie Creek shows every sign that it will continue to exist as an encouragement to all black people to seize control of their own affairs ignoring the threats and blusterings of the capitalists.

THE FUTURE

The new militancy of the black people will show results in the near future. Already black run legal and medical services exist in some centres and they will start to alleviate some of the worst aspects of the oppression of black people in this society. However the problems which confront black people will not be solved by such measures. Only a clear understanding that the roots of the oppression of black people lie in the needs of capitalist society and a programme of action flowing from that understanding will be adequate to accomplish the complete elimination of discrimination against the aborigines. Only the abolition of the capitalist system will open the way to the establishment of a society which has no need to exploit social differences in order to conceal its own shortcomings.

IN BRIEF

ALP FEDERAL EXECUTIVE REJECTS ATTEMPT BY SOCIALISTS TO TAKE A STAND ON ABORTION

At its meeting in Surfers Paradise on July 7, the ALP Federal Executive stifled an attempt by the social welfare committee of the Victorian Executive to instruct ALP representatives in the Victorian parliament to vote in favour of abortion law reform. The Federal Executive reasserted its position that ALP Members of Parliament could vote according to their conscience on the issue. This position is clearly an attempt to avoid taking a stand which would lose right wing votes for the ALP and which would cause controversy within the party. With the federal elections coming up in November, the leaders of the ALP are anxious that socialist elements in the party should be heard in public as little as possible. The Victorian social welfare committee has several ALP socialists on it.

SOMARE'S PRESCRIPTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF CAPITALISM IN NIUGINI

Some socialists have tended to regard the Pangu Pati and its leader Michael Somare as something more than a bourgeois nationalist phenomenon. Perhaps one of Somare's most recent statements will help to dispell such illusions. Speaking to the Mt. Hagen chamber of commerce he said: "... A person who looks at a store and says to himself, 'that place belongs to the white master' will inevitably feel jealous.

That will not happen if people have a part to play in your business.

While we will encourage overseas investment, we will ensure that existing businesses - whether expatriate or indigenous owned - are protected from unfair competition."

HARTLEY ACQUITTED OVER CHARGES ARISING FROM THE SPRINGBOK DEMONSTRATION.

Leading member of the Socialist Left in the Victorian ALP, Bill Hartley, has been acquitted of charges of assaulting police, laid as a result of his arrest at last year's demonstrations against the South African Rugby Team's visit to Melbourne. The evidence put forward by the police was pathetically flimsy and at times contradictory. The charges were laid against Hartley mainly because he was struck in the eye with a baton after his arrest, and the police wanted to obscure the issue if he decided to take legal action.

THIRD STUDENT GAOLED AT LA TROBE UNIVERSITY.

With the gaoing of Barry York, three of the four students barred from entering the La Trobe campus have been arrested and are facing indefinite gaol sentences. The students can be kept in gaol indefinitely unless they agree to an intolerable violation of their civil rights by agreeing to purge the contempt of court committed when they defied a court order by entering the campus.

Reactionary elements at La Trobe have recently stepped up their campaign of slander against socialists and other dissidents on campus. They have accused radicals of using terrorist tactics, such as threats of physical violence and threatening phone calls against well-known rightists. In fact, the opposite is true. Right wing thugs are using physical violence to prevent the circulation of left-wing literature on campus. Recently, while distributing an open letter calling on academics to take a stand against the gaoing of the students, Philosophy lecturer, John Fox was attacked by two right-wing staff members. The campaign for release of



HOWEVER, WHILE REMAINING TRULY THANKFUL, I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE RIDICULOUS PRICE HEREOF!

the students continued recently when 100 students occupied the administration building.

OMEGA BASE

In 1968 after a widespread public outcry, the New Zealand government refused permission for the United States to build an Omega "navigational station". The outcry was over the fact that the so called "navigational stations" main function would be to guide nuclear submarines under water. Only the signals transmitted by the Omega bases are capable of such a task, which means that in time of war, Omega bases become a military target of high priority. Following the New Zealand government's refusal to allow the construction of such a base, the U.S. government allowed time for the controversy to die down, then approached the Australian government.

As a result, plans are now being considered for the building of such a base in Australia. The sites under consideration are all in New South Wales, Victoria or Queensland, all states with Liberal-Country Party governments which will allow the construction to proceed with a mini-

imum of public attention being drawn to the matter. Tasmania, which was earlier considered a good site, has been dropped from the list, probably because of the recent election of the ALP government there. The press and U.S. government propagandists are attempting to obscure the military role of the base by emphasising the fact that it can also be used for commercial shipping and aircraft.

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ANTHONY REGARDS LINKS WITH INDONESIA DICTA TORSHIP AS "A PRIME NATIONAL GOAL".

Speaking at a luncheon of the Indonesia-Australia business cooperation committee, Country Party Leader Anthony made the statement that "we regard trade and economic cooperation between our two countries as a prime national goal." The most recent contribution to the achievement of this goal was the arrival in Australia of a group of Indonesian pilots to be trained in the use of Sabre jets for the Indonesian air force. No doubt they will be useful in protecting the fruits of this trade and economic cooperation from expropriation by the workers and peasants of Indonesia.

Interview with Will Holahia - Polynesian Panther

Will Holahia is in Australia to speak at the July 14 Black Moratorium and to bring solidarity from the N.Z. movement.

Q. Perhaps you could start off by telling us something about the Polynesian Panther group.

A. Well, it started in June, 1971. Of the six founders, five of us were ex-gang members. The reason why we started at that time was that instead of doing destructive things that hurt our people, we decided to do something constructive, like community work. We found we had to take on political consciousness to solve some of the problems that we tried to tackle, so now we've developed into a Polynesian revolutionary grouping.

Q. What was the political consciousness of these gangs, and what is the difference between that political consciousness and the present political consciousness of the movement?

A. There was no political consciousness in the gangs. They were sorts of groups where young Polynesians could be recognized as something whereas in other places and in the school system, they are thought of as just trash. So when we started, the only political consciousness we had if you call it political consciousness, was our experience in what we saw and what we thought was the problem. But as time went by and we sort of found out that what we thought we could solve by just being goodie-goodies, being sort of boy scouts, was not possible at all. We had to take stronger stand-points and now we're trying to redirect most of our energy to most of the gangs that are existing now - to politicize these gangs, because they are potential revolutionary organizations.

Q. What are the aims of the panthers at present?

A. Well the broad aim that we try to work to is to attack all forms of racism in New Zealand, and to help the Polynesian community. Now around that we have a four point programme, which tackles race relations, housing, culture and education. And around this we've developed in the last couple of months a ten point community programme, which is aimed at aiding the community, at the same time politicizing them into

organized masses for the revolution that we want in general.

Q. Perhaps you could give a brief outline of the objective situation in regard to Polynesian people in NZ, how they relate to the rest of the population, what's their economic position in society, what percentage of the population are they?

A. Polynesians comprise 12% of the population. Now the situation in society in NZ is that we are the scapegoats of all the problems - we make a large percentage of the lower classes - the 12% of the population and we occupy 80% of the prisons, we occupy half the percentage of the unemployed - in situations like this - this is typical of all the minority groups living in a white dominated society.

Q. Do you think it is possible to solve the problems of the Polynesian people within the confines of the NZ parliament?

A. I Don't want to say it's not possible. It could be done but I don't think it's likely that it can be done in the NZ parliament because it is a racist establishment - leading it is the biggest racist out, I think.

Q. Is there anything you think the Australian movement can learn from the Polynesian movement?

A. Well, like I've said I've come over here to give solidarity from the people of NZ. I haven't come over to tell them what to do because they know better and they can understand the problem better than I can. The only thing I can relate to them is that I'm black, the same as them. I know I've learnt a lot from them organ-



Auckland, New Zealand. Polynesian Panther march in solidarity with Soledad brothers on the way to the U.S. consulate.

Q. Could you tell us something about the Polynesian's attitude towards the Australian immigration laws?

A. Well I myself am a non-Maori Polynesian. The Maoris and Europeans are allowed to come to Australia just like they're going down to Central NZ. There's no complications, whereas I have to get a visa - go through the rigmarole of getting a passport and this is what really cuts us up because we're not even recognized as New Zealanders even though we're born in NZ, bred in NZ and have a NZ passport. We see this white policy of the immigration dept. of Australia as truly a definite point of racism that is in Australia, and I've only been a couple of days in Australia and I've seen the racism. We have the same policy - not as bad as in Australia - but changed a little: a policy where they attract people from England and Europe to come over to NZ whereas the needy people around the area - in the Pacific Islands - are sort of forced to come for three months and then shoot out again. Marshall said that the reason why they do that is that the European people can better relate to the NZ situation.

Q. What is the employment situation in the Islands from where the Polynesians come to work?

A. The employment situation is bad. If you go to Tonga, where I came from. You go in there - the children sitting in school doing their last-year (final) exams - and if you ask them what they're doing next year, they'll just say they're going to roam the streets. We have a large percentage of Tongan Polynesians in NZ, either being stow-aways off ships or just living illegally because the employment situation is bad. This is a good example of why we have delinquency.

Q. Do you see the problems of the Polynesians as being a direct result of capitalist society and the colonization by British Imperialists?

A. Yes, the problems of racism and exploitation are results of imperialism and colonialism, because NZ's a capitalist society, because it is a corrupt society. The problems that we express are because of this society and we want to change this society. Whether we change this society to a socialist society or a communal society or a communal society - well we'll say when the time has come to find out. We've only been in existence for a year, we've learnt quite a lot in this year and what I say today might be changed tomorrow.

ABORTION: A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE!

BY
NITA KEIG

The right of women to abortion, to full control over their bodies is perhaps the most fundamental, democratic demand of women. Without this, women are denied the right to decide when and if they will have children, and if they will drop out of school or give up a job. Without this, women are often forced, unwillingly, to become economically dependent on a man, in order to support a child.

The demand for the rights of women to abortion challenges the myths and prejudices which justify the oppression of women in our society. Vulnerability to pregnancy has been used as the major pretence for denying women equal education, equal jobs and equal pay. The demand for abortion attacks the traditional role of women in patriarchal, capitalist society; that of being bearers and rearers of children within the family structure, and challenges the right of the state to control women's bodies.

Opponents of abortion and the right of women to full control over their bodies, claim, among other things, that access to abortion would encourage sex (especially outside of marriage), that men would lose their power to make women pregnant, and that abortion is murder. These arguments stem from assumptions which are basic to the ideology of class society—that sex is sinful and can only be legitimate within the family, that women are naturally inferior to men and should therefore be subservient to them, and that, for a woman's fulfillment must come primarily from motherhood. The repression of sexuality through constant fear of unwanted children, and the perpetuation of the belief, through religion, that sex is sinful, are important factors contributing to the passivity and submissiveness of people under the authoritarian capitalist system. The weight of these sorts of prejudices has kept women silent, suffering the burden of unwanted children, or mutilated by backstreet abortionists, because they were too ashamed of their bodies and sexual functions even to talk about abortion, much less to protest in favour of their unconditional right to it.

To claim that abortion is murder is to use an emotion laden word in order to obscure the real issues involved, that is, the rights, the safety and the life of the pregnant woman. It is absurd to talk of the "rights" of a fetus compared to the rights of a pregnant woman. Throughout history, the church and the law have never been consistent about abortion, but have altered their rulings continually, in response to the political manoeuvres of the ruling class.

This hypocrisy is most evident when these people who make the most noise about the "right to life" and the "rights of the fetus", display their callousness towards the many women who are driven to despair and suicide by being forced to bear unwanted children, and the plight of young children who have been placed in institutions because they were not wanted

or could not be adequately cared for. They have no idea of the despair that untold women have suffered from having their whole lives determined by the responsibility of caring for one child after another, and of the torment and constant worry that accompanies any sexual activity, because they must face the possible consequences. The burden of unwanted pregnancy, of course, falls heaviest on working class women. They are least able to afford safe "illegal" abortions, and suffer most from backstreet abortions and having to support large families. The right to abortion is, for them, and urgent need.

The feminist movement is claiming that all women have the right to be free of this crushing burden, to express their sexuality without fear and guilt, and to determine, as far as is possible in this society how they will plan their lives.

The right to abortion is an issue which relates directly to the needs of women, and has the potential to involve large numbers of women in struggle against an obvious manifestation of their oppression in society. The fact that abortion could be so easily granted and would not require enormous expenditure on the part of the government, means that women begin to question the elaborate myths which the church and state use to justify their denying women full control of their fertility. The fierce resistance, spear-headed by the Catholic Church and other reactionary right wing organisations, is a resistance to the growing independence of women, who are increasingly rejecting their traditional role within the family. It is clear that these forces will rally to block any attempts by women to win reforms or repeal of abortion laws. The right of women to control their bodies will not be easily won. It will require a powerful and determined ongoing struggle which attacks the question from many fronts. Under pressure from a mass campaign around this issue, the government

must either grant this demand, or be exposed as being unable or unwilling to respond to the most elementary needs of women. Through struggling around this demand, women would not only be asserting control over their lives, alongside other women, but would begin to understand the interrelationship between the right to abortion and other central feminist demands, such as those for child care centres and equal pay. A struggle around this demand, because of its fundamental, democratic nature, and because it brings into question the whole role of women in society, would be key in raising the political consciousness of masses of women.

Also, a mass campaign around this issue would provide a valuable impetus to the women's liberation movement, at this stage. Rather than any other of the main demands of the women's movement, the demand for the right to abortion is the one which has the greatest potential of developing into an independent, ongoing campaign capable of attracting large numbers of women, and taking their consciousness on to a higher stage. The women's liberation movement must analyse the ways in which to best give itself mass expression in the coming months.

Four months have passed since the actions on March 11. These were a great boost to the movement and brought the central demands of women's liberation into the consciousness of many people. Since that time, the movement has been in a state of relative stagnation. The prospects of repeating such an action seem small at this time. It is apparent that some people see such an action as being a yearly event, if that.

A national conference was held in June, the aims and outcome of which were very unclear. This conference was narrowly publicised and drew correspondingly small numbers (see Direct Action No. 22 p7) (compared, for example, to the recent

National Conference in New Zealand which was attended by comparable numbers at its smallest sessions, and where the movement is younger, the country smaller etc) (see Direct Action No. 18 p7)

The June conference was fragmented, and the conference did not hear thorough reports on discussion and action projections from workshops... One group of women decided to continue lobbying on a national scale in their unions around the issue of equal pay for women. However, no perspectives were put forward for building mass campaigns around any one or a number of issues. The absence of any such perspective aimed at reaching and involving the broader layers of women, means that the women's liberation movement will not make the gains that it could. What is needed is a campaign which attempts to mobilize masses of women and to win concrete victories. This means focusing around a specific issue, and exerting direct pressure on the government through a massive public campaign.

In assessing the prospects of building a mass campaign around a specific women's liberation demand, and in deciding which demand has the greatest potential to mobilize women and to raise their consciousness, it is important to take into account the experiences of the women's movements in the U.S., Canada and recently New Zealand. The abortion issue has decisively emerged as the central issue of the movements in these countries. Through consistent campaigning they have made gains, and have brought many hundreds of women into the streets calling for the repeal of all abortion laws. In the U.S., particularly in New York, they have made major breakthroughs in amending the laws.

In Australia, the abortion issue has created a great deal of interest and debate over the past year. The prosecution and trial of numerous Melbourne and Sydney doctors received wide publicity. At the public meeting at which Germaine Greer debated the abortion question in Sydney, thousands had to be turned away, and there was considerable enthusiasm and support generated by this meeting for the right of women to abortion on request. Last year, demonstrations were organized for November 20 in response to an international call by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the United States. These actions though hastily prepared and poorly publicized drew several hundred people, mostly women, in Sydney and Melbourne. Even the stepped-up activity of the reactionary anti-abortion forces in the past couple of months is an indication of the increasing movement around this issue.

The building of an abortion campaign here, would be a step forward for the movement, providing women with an opportunity to engage in struggle around a basic feminist demand, serving as a pole of attraction for new women, and transforming the women's movement into a real political force.

drawn up for the "chopper" immediately after the federal elections. Elsewhere in this issue we report the fate of moves made against the leftwing ALP youth group in Tasmania.

The ALP is the political arm of the trade unions. All working class tendencies have the right to be members of the ALP and put forward their ideas within it and attempt to win over the majority. The recent actions of the leadership are violations of the democratic rights of party members, in the interests of protecting themselves from criticism.

When the "Trotskyists" were banned in Queensland why were they not permitted to defend themselves in front of the party and the working class? How does the Queensland Central Executive decide who is a "Trotskyist" and who isn't? What is the justification for the "anti-ALP" charge, nominally the reason for the ban?

The Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League are proud to call themselves Trotskyist. As such we unconditionally support the ALP's return to governmental power against the Liberals. But we have our idea of what its program should be and struggle for this within the ALP. We shall continue to urge all our members and supporters to join the ALP and fight for socialist ideas there. We shall vigorously resist any antidemocratic attempt to exclude us for our ideas. We call on socialists within the ALP to present a united defense against any action taken, for they threaten us all.

FRENCH FEMINISTS ASSAIL 'CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN'

The following are major excerpts from an article in the May 27 issue of Rouge, the weekly newspaper of the French Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International. It describes one of the first large meetings of the growing French women's movement. The Hall of the Mutualite, where the meeting took place, holds 3,000 to 4,000 people. The translation is by The Militant.

"Among our comrades there are many of whom one could say, unfortunately, 'Scratch the communist and you will find the phillistine.' For some, it is necessary to scratch in a tender place: their mentality regarding women."
— LENIN

Without posters, but with the help of the press, the "Days of Denunciation of the Crimes against Women" brought a full house to the Mutualite for two days, from Saturday afternoon May 13 to Sunday evening. The event was carried out on the initiative of the Women's Liberation Movement (Mouvement pour la Liberation des Femmes—MLF), the Movement for Freedom of Abortion (Mouvement pour la Liberte de l'Avortement—MLA), and the group "Choice."

A full house is an understatement! The chairs were removed, the stage was opened to the participants, and the entire hall became an immense tribunal, ardent, serious, and intense. It gave women a place where they could demonstrate and explore the totality of their revolt. Although they are traditionally excluded from the political world, at this meeting it was women who took the initiative, expressed themselves, and did the organizing. Many men came to listen. They were the ones who volunteered to operate the child-care centre.

The testimony was without doubt repetitive, disorganized, sometimes naive, but it still captured in a vivid way the daily oppression of women:

- * The strike of "underage" unwed mothers in the home at Plessis-Robinson, the living conditions at the homes for unwed mothers at Issy-les-Moulineaux and Viry Chatillon, the hotels for adult unwed mothers.
- * The end of illusions about "the golden age of painless childbirth," reduced to a caricature for want of sufficient hospital personnel.
- * Female homosexuality and the problems sexual minorities face in view of present-day moral standards.
- * Rape.
- * Abortion, the "clandestine" practice of masses of women; and contraception, although legal (within a restricted framework), practiced by only a minority of women.
- * Housework and professional life (43 billion hours of paid work by men and women in France, as against 45 billion



Paris Women's Meeting

Women in Revolt



hours of unpaid female domestic labour). The power of these two days came from the explosive character of the testimony, which never degenerated into abstract reports on the condition of women. It had the corrosive power of "that which is never said"; the power of denunciation and criticism that is both ravaging and healing and even had its moments of humour.

But what will follow from these days? The first thing to state is that the MLF is the opposite of a well-defined movement. It is a movement in gestation: heterogeneous, shot through with contradictions, bursting with confusions, but very much alive. It will acquire its real force if it finds some means — other than showering sparks — to catalyze the revolt of women.

But to what degree can it do this? The MLF has played a marginal role since it began and until today. But take the example of what the young unwed mothers are demanding. Their denunciation of the education at the CET (school for women) at Plessis, which is centred on teaching housekeeping, sewing, cooking, and in the longest course, typing and stenography — is a model for all the female CETs. Their demands — emancipation, allowances, no expulsion of pregnant women from their high school or college — concern all young people. Likewise the struggle (which was victorious) for contraception in the maternal homes has an enormous impact.

All high school and college youth must take up these themes of struggle. They have the power to corrode the whole social order.

The fight for freedom of abortion and contraception is a permanent area of struggle.

But despite the force of these demands and the possible impact of these areas of struggle, the development of a mass movement is still not assured.

The contradictions of the MLF, which originate in its very development, were manifest throughout these days. They can undermine the group if there is no framework for their solution. Since the MLF rejects all forms of stable organization, this means any orientation is as

good as any other; any course of action has the same importance. Clearly regressive tendencies exist and were expressed in the course of these two days. This showed up in the form of negating the intrinsic ties between a society based on exploitation and the oppression of women. It was manifested especially by the narrowness of the "political" aim set by the struggle for liberation of women. Often it seemed as if it were a question of attacking the "patriarchal civilization" in isolation from that which produced it: class society. What is the patriarchal family, however, if not the basic unit of class society?

But take note. If one looks for the significance of these "anti-political" reactions, one finds that they express a legitimate concern: the fear of seeing the struggle of women subordinated and in fact postponed to fit the needs of a politics defined in a framework that is irrelevant to their liberation (the more "frustrated" say, "by the men"). One finds in it the refusal to postpone the liberation of women to a future time of the social revolution; the consciousness that the struggle of women as such is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle.

This consciousness was explicitly manifested in the course of the days. Side by side with the denunciation of "every form of power, including leftist power" (sic), it was also proclaimed that the struggle of women is part of the class struggle: "We were born out of the class struggle; we were born in May '68 because the class struggle carried with it and developed the struggle against all oppression."

The same assembly identified, without apparent problems, with these two types of reasoning, oscillating from side to side throughout the two days.

But the contradictions of the MLF, — the blindness of certain currents to the tie between the women's liberation struggle and the political struggle against the capitalist system — are not simply the expression of the powerlessness of the MLF. They result directly from the effects of the degeneration of the Russian revolution. (Thus the revolutionary legislation of 1918 on the family was eliminated beginning in 1934 as a consequence of the growing strength of Stalinism.)

These contradictions are the historic heritage left by the defeats of the traditional workers movement, which indeed deserted the struggle of women at the same time it abandoned a revolutionary perspective. Today the link can be reestablished. Revolutionaries must take part in every aspect of the women's struggle. The explosive force captured in these two days calls to mind the degree to which everything concerning the liberation of women attacks the very roots of the capitalist social system.

PHAM VAN DONG DISCUSSES SEXUAL EQUALITY

North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong, in a recent interview, was asked his views on the struggle for women's liberation. The interview, conducted by Vagn Sondergaard, appeared in the May 19 issue of the Danish newspaper "Information."

"Throughout our entire history," the premier said, "women have played a decisive role. Our women are admirable. They cultivate the land; they take part in the struggle; and they take care of the children. Our constitution provides for equality between men and women, and if we are not able to bring about such equality, we will not be able to build a socialist society either."

"But there are still many difficulties. Full equality on the economic and political level is one thing, but the way things are done in the home is quite another. In many of the societies where women have



Pham Van Dong

achieved political and economic rights there are women who are extremely capable and knowledgeable who nonetheless feel they are in an inferior position with regard to men. This means that a struggle must also be carried out through which women can gain self-confidence and self-respect. There are still Vietnamese homes in which the man makes decisions affecting his wife or their children, but this is a problem that our women are paying very close attention to. They are because they are taking part in work on all three fronts. . . .

"Our women work far harder than the men all day long," he continued. "They carry out the most difficult work. If you compare the work and productivity of men and women, you will find that it is women who contribute the most. They are thus also the ones who are producing the conditions for full equality."

"Your women are correct to maintain that the struggle for women's liberation must be carried out along with the economic, political, and cultural struggles. Women's liberation does not automatically come about with taking control of the means of production. The struggle for women's liberation cannot be separated from the remaining part of the struggle, and everyone must take part in it. One can certainly not be a revolutionist without always keeping this in mind."

capitalist system as a whole is not challenged. In fact Nader has been chosen as one of the ten outstanding young men by US Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Nader's "solution" to society's ills is quite simple: organise students, consumers etc., to finance groups of lawyers and other "specialists" to investigate these ills and then fight them in the courts. It is this naive solution which made him so popular with the capitalists. Unlike him they understand the role of the judicial system in a capitalist state. The role of the state in defending private property is also completely ignored by Nader: "It was inexcusable that the government had allowed the corporations to gain so much power". The purpose of the bourgeois system is to defend the owners of private property.

There exists a welter of similar quotes from our visiting guru. It is a pity that the Australian Union of Students (AUS) has helped sponsor the visit of a defender of capitalism disguised as a radical. Our task is to overthrow capitalism — its evils cannot be eliminated by appealing to its courts.

SOCIALISTS RUN IN CAMPUS ELECTIONS

At last Melbourne's universities are beginning to see some real politics in student elections, previously the hallowed ground of various student reformists, opportunists and careerists. Peter Conrick and Barry Simpson, students at Melbourne and Monash Universities respectively are campaigning for the Socialist Youth Alliance in coming elections.

BARRY SIMPSON'S CAMPAIGN AT MONASH: Barry, a well known student around Monash campus for his activities in Abschol is standing for a position on the Public Affairs' Committee (PAC). In the past the PAC has been dominated by a Maoist bloc, along with assorted "left" liberals, mostly in solid opposition to the NCC/DLP candidates. The PAC election is an important one for Monash, as the Committee determines Monash's attitude to political events and struggles off campus. Such a function necessitates the presentation of a wide and thorough-going political programme. Thus Barry's programme is directed towards national and international class struggles and calls for unconditional support of all workers' struggles, the antiwar movement, black liberation

struggles and of the movement for women's liberation. As well as these exclusively external political demands SYA is also presenting a series of demands that correspond to the specific internal workings of the bourgeois university. These internal demands for an Open University, student/staff control and a free university are intimately linked to the political programme which forms the basis of Barry Simpson's campaign for the Public Affairs Committee at Monash.

PETER CONRICK'S CAMPAIGN AT MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY: The Socialist Youth Alliance will be running Peter as a General Representative in the SRC elections at the end of this month. This is the first time that a real socialist alternative has been posed at Melbourne. The conservatism of Melbourne University's SRC in the past three years has led to many intimidations and defeats for student struggles. Earlier this year the SRC backed down on the issue of student control of student funds — particularly over financial aid to the Tolai Defence Fund and aid to the students' struggles at La Trobe University. As well as this willingness to back down on vital issues and dissociate itself from the mass of students, the SRC has surrounded itself with bureaucracy. One of Peter Conrick's most important demands will thus be for the democratization of the SRC — for an SRC that is truly responsible to all students. Another vital issue at Melbourne is the continuing presence of a political exclusions policy which must be defeated. The

ALP FEDERAL EXECUTIVE UPHOLDS BAN ON TROTSKYISTS

The recent Surfers Paradise meeting of the ALP Federal Executive "confirmed that the Queensland branch had acted within its power in banning the 'Trotskyists' from the party earlier this year" (Sydney Morning Herald, 6/7/72). This is a definite rightward step by the ALP leadership. In asserting that the Queensland ALP leadership had the power to proscribe some of its leftwing opponents, the Federal Executive implicitly approved this act and opened the way for similar actions in other states.

In the last issue of Direct Action we pointed out that all socialist-oriented critics of the party leadership are threatened by this move. Any leftwing dissidents are a potential embarrassment to Whitlam & Co. and their state counterparts. Action (June 16), the Victorian Socialist Left paper reported that a "short list" of branch members had been

RALPH NADER- APOLOGIST FOR CAPITALISM BY SOL SALBY



women, 1 per cent of engineers are women and now 4 1/2 per cent of lawyers are women?" His answer showed the superficiality of his analysis: "There is no reason except for a social pattern that pinholes women and prevents them from even thinking of aspiring to fulfill their talents": "Not one word about the nature of capitalist society and the importance of such oppression to the system! What do we do about this "social pattern"?

A large measure of Nader's reputation is derived from the personal vendetta carried against him by General Motors. But this campaign, which incidentally has ceased a long time ago was limited to a single corporation and a single industry and can not hide the usefulness of Nader's numerous organisations to the capitalist system. Even G.M prefers to undertake the expense incurred in recalling its cars as long as its basic powers are not challenged, especially as the

Malcolm X, Black Nationalism & Socialism

by George Novack

This article by George Novack, American socialist scholar, was originally delivered as a speech at the Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco at which Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, also spoke. We are reprinting it here in DIRECT ACTION, because the issues raised we feel are relevant to the developing struggle by black people in this part of the world.

When Malcolm X was shot down in February 1965, it was clear that his memory would be cherished by the millions of black men and women who mourned their martyred leader. It was not so certain that the movement he initiated after his departure from the Nation of Islam or the ideas he was elaborating and broadcasting during his last year would survive and gain ground.

The gunmen had silenced a personality in the midst of change who still had a great deal to learn for himself as well as to teach and tell others. Their bullets removed an exceptionally able commander from the battlefield before he was given time to train the officers and assemble the troops for an army of Afro-American emancipation.

When I wrote an obituary article on the meaning of his life and death at that time I thought it likely that Malcolm would become a heroic legend as an unbreakable defier of white supremacy and enter into the folk memory of the oppressed yearning for freedom, like Patrice Lumumba or Joe Hill. The image of "our shining black prince" evoked by Ossie Davis at the funeral service pointed in that direction and tended for a while to veil the more prosaic but potent political views and perspectives that Malcolm had projected in the most creative months of his career.

These were further dimmed when the movement he had just launched and barely begun to build, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, became fragmented and, passing under a different sort of leadership, veered farther and farther from the new course he had charted. This unfortunate development cannot be held against Malcolm himself. He was compelled to start out on his own in the spring of 1964 under extremely heavy handicaps. He had considerable national notoriety and international prominence and a large following. But this following was amorphous and remained to be welded together and re-educated along somewhat different lines.

Malcolm lacked the means to create a base of organization that was broad and strong enough to implement the aims he had set for the movement. These were big objectives and demanded extensive resources and mighty forces for their promotion and realization. It would have taken no little time and effort to acquire and assemble these—and that time was taken away from the thirty-nine-year-old revolutionary along with the breath of life.

Arena of Influence

However, if Malcolm's organization faltered and failed to fulfill its potential as a rallying center for black unity and militancy, his example and ideas have had a happier destiny. In the two years since his death these have penetrated into the hearts and minds of the ghetto population from North to South, from Harlem to Watts. His arguments, his pungent, witty sayings, and his telling points are repeated on many occasions by Afro-American spokesmen and woven into their debates and discussions over radio and TV. They orient the black power movement that won over SNCC and CORE whose members are sprudefing the gospel to broader circles. The Sunday *N. Y. Times Book Review* recently reported that Malcolm's autobiography and collected speeches stand high among the favorite reading in black communities.

The main channels of communication in these communities are not literary but verbal. So the ideas of Malcolm are transmitted through the spoken word he himself mastered by those who have read or heard about them from various sources. Growing boys and girls, afflicted by the brutal realities of poverty and racism, as Malcolm was, absorb his insights as readily as they inhale the dust of big city streets and rural roads. Malcolm's words are passed on in classrooms and schoolyards, on street corners and tenement stoops, and burgeon like seeds on rich tropical soil because they match the deepest feelings, the inarticulate aspirations, and life experiences of rebellious black youth. His ideas have become a precious, inalienable part of the cultural and political heritage of Afro-America, nourishing the black nationalism which bubbles and boils in the giant cauldrons of the ghettos.

Malcolm's influence does not stop at America's shores. He is honored and placed alongside Lumumba by freedom fighters from one tip of Africa to the other. This is not surprising. It is more remarkable that his autobiography and speeches have been published abroad and translated into a number of languages: French, German, Italian and Japanese. A play about his life has just been produced to great acclaim in England.

The main reasons for his renown are to be found in the integrity and courage of the man, the capacities for growth and leadership he exhibited, the rightness and relevance of his positions, and above all the gravity and importance of the cause of Afro-American liberation he represented. But if Malcolm's message has taken wings and traveled so far and so fast through the printed page as it has, no little credit must go to the devoted industry of George Breitman. He was one of the first, certainly among white radicals, to discern the real stature and significance of Malcolm as the most responsive champion of black nationalism since Marcus Garvey. He undertook to defend him against his detractors and defamers. He explained and propagated his views among white and black militants and then, when Malcolm could no longer speak for himself, collected and edited the materials to be found in *Malcolm X Speaks*.

Shortly before Malcolm's death I talked with the very tired leader and his lieutenant James Shabazz at the OAAU headquarters at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem about the publication of his speeches. He was agreeable to the proposal but it was not to be carried through under his direction. His movement was thrown into such disarray

following his murder that their appearance would have been indefinitely delayed, and black militants would have been deprived of these treasures for much longer, if George Breitman had not taken the initiative to gather them from different quarters and push them through the press.

Interpretation of Malcolm's Direction

After that he felt that something more was urgently needed than simply making the text of the speeches available, Malcolm's statements had to be knit together and accurately interpreted, not only in view of the many distorters of his positions, but also because Malcolm's outlook had evolved so radically and rapidly after he left the Black Muslims that even many of his followers and admirers could not keep up with the pace of his theoretical and political development and remained unaware of its full import and applications.

The prime purpose of Breitman's latest book is to show in just what respects Malcolm changed during the last year of his life. Breitman analyzes Malcolm, the agitator, in agitated transition. What did Malcolm move from and what was he heading toward?

In a symposium on this book at the Militant Labor Forum in New York April 14 one of the participants who was, like Malcolm X, a former Muslim minister, stated that in essence he never changed. This view sweeps aside and fails to do justice to the differential features in the successive stages of Malcolm's growth.

From the moment he was made acutely aware of his own degradation and the entrapment of his people in the cages of white capitalist

burning need to fight the devils of the white masters as a united band of brothers and sisters.

Despite the insurmountable difficulties he faced, Malcolm X was a valuable factor in the making of the revolutionary Malcolm X. He brought out in any other available way. By temperament and training they were worth. He thirsted for it in huge gulps. For him there was no flow from his own experience to knock his head against the walls of the Muslim movement or for incorrectness and inadequacy.

For a long time he firmly held the keys to the kingdom. He led the direction of the movement. In religious as well as radical discipline relationship and the millions who have adopted the obedience toward the declaration of this in movements which are not ably actuated by the critical philosophy of materialism.

Malcolm asserted his full recovery after he had recovered from the shock and shock of his rupture with Muhammad and proceeded to take successive steps in this second

of the Muslim movement, the inescapable, indispensable and revolutionary Malcolm X. He special talents of leadership. By temperament and training he had ideas in practice to see what he had of all kinds and assimilated generalizations did not precede struggle. For example, he had the Muslim movement for its incorrectness and inadequacy. He believed that Muhammad was a man of wisdom and that his wisdom was as well as radical in such a deferential master-stable attitude of blind faith and Stalin or a Mao Tse-tung—and in inspiration but presumptuous philosophy of materialism.

for self-reliant leadership only and shock of his rupture with Muhammad and proceeded to take successive steps in this second

Americans and the exploited and oppressed in the rest of the world were to be freed. These conclusions have an immense bearing on both the problems of black liberation and the prospects for a socialist America.

There are many misunderstandings about the real relations between progressive militant nationalism and revolutionary socialism. It is often contended that nationalism and socialism have nothing whatsoever in common, that they are irreconcilable opposites. This is a one-sided judgment. It is true that the nation-state has been the characteristic product of bourgeois society and capitalist political development; that Marxists are internationalists; and that one of the principal objectives of socialism is to do away with the national frontiers that straitjacket economic activity and the national animosities that divide peoples and enable reactionary forces to hurl them against one another.

Anti-Imperialist National Independence

All this makes up one part of the socialist program. But there is more to its position than that, especially at this point in history.

Marxists recognize that the imperialist conquest, division and exploitation of the globe has resulted in the subjugation and oppression of many peoples. Their strivings to throw off economic, political and cultural domination by the great capitalist powers and win national independence and unity are not only irrepressible but wholly legitimate.

regular development creates many agonizingly difficult problems for revolutionists, both black and white, who are concerned with building a winning opposition to the status quo.

However, the experiences of the colonial revolutions with which black militants feel such close kinship have many lessons to teach those who, like Malcolm, want to think through their problems in order to wage the most effective fight. Among these are the need for unity in struggle, uncompromising hostility to the men of money, and distrust of all their agents, conservative or liberal, open or disguised.

Two such lessons which Malcolm came to learn are of great and even decisive importance. One is the usefulness of having allies when you are beset by a formidable foe. To beat back and defeat the assaults of imperialism, the colonial insurgents need all the help they can get from any quarter, and not least from discontented residents in the homelands of their oppressors. We see a fresh example of this in the boost to the morale of the Vietnamese and the dissension sown in Washington by the antiwar mobilizations which have called forth such frenzied attacks from Johnson, Westmoreland, Lodge and Nixon.

So black freedom fighters here, as Malcolm came to realize, can benefit from alliances with fraternal forces at home, provided these alignments do not obstruct their own unity and independence or discourage and deter their own revolutionary action. What counts in alliances, as Breitman emphasizes, is not the skin color or national affiliation of the participants, but the nature and the goal of their partnership in struggle.

Another truth which has been brought home to many colonial rebels, sometimes to their astonishment and dismay, is that a national struggle which stops halfway cannot fulfill the deepest needs and social aspirations of their peoples. The struggle for emancipation must be carried through to its logical conclusion. It is not enough to win political sovereignty under capitalism. National independence can become fictitious and turn into a snare and a delusion if popular power, yellow, black or white, is not buttressed by public ownership over the means of life and labor. So long as foreign or native proprietary interests control the major national resources, the demands of the masses will remain unsatisfied and the country can again easily fall into economic subservience to imperialism. The reinstatement of neo-colonialism under formally independent black regimes is being enforced in many newly liberated African nations today.

From Nationalism to Socialism

This development is not foreordained. It can be averted and the high-road to progress be taken if the national revolution becomes combined with a deeper and broader revolution along socialist lines through which a government of workers and peasants takes over the productive facilities of the country and operates a planned economy in a democratic manner. That is why the anti-imperialist national liberation movements in the undeveloped lands irresistibly tend to pass over from purely nationalist grounds to socialist aims and measures, often in rhetoric but sometimes in reality.

This redirection of a democratic nationalist revolution into socialist channels, which is lodged in the very dynamics of a powerful mass upsurge, took place in Cuba after China and Vietnam. Starting as armed national liberation struggles, these revolutions grew over into consciously socialist movements through conclusions derived from direct confrontations and collisions with the imperialists and their servants.

What application do these developments of the colonial revolution have to the Afro-American struggle for equality and emancipation? There are three diverse components at work in the black freedom movement: its working class social composition, its black nationalism, and its submerged and latent socialism. The interrelation and interaction of these elements are seldom clearly seen, and are often denied and dismissed, because they do not come forward evenly and mature at the same rate.

It is obvious to almost every black American, whether nationalist or not, that he has to work for a living (if he can get a job), and that the whole existence of his people is disfigured by the color bar. These conditions generate fierce and explosive revolt. But the anti-capitalist, and therewith pro-socialist, dynamics and direction of his struggle are not so evident, especially when he is not yet acquainted with authentic socialist thought, when the labor movement is passive and indifferent to his plight, and when the avowed socialist elements are predominantly white and weak.

Under such circumstances there are dangers in an outlook, which is prejudiced in principle against socialism or Marxism, is politically unclear, and disregards the anti-capitalist implicit in the working class character of the black revolt. It runs the risk of lagging behind the needs and checking the forward march of the movement itself. The millions of ghetto dwellers are not only imprisoned by racial segregation; they are daily confronted with social, economic, political and educational problems which cannot be alleviated, let alone solved, within the framework of the existing economic and political system or without the aid of socialist ideas.

The outstanding significance of Malcolm's evolution from black nationalism toward socialism on a national and international scale was that, from his observations of the colonial world and his analysis of modern history, he had begun to grasp the necessity for the coalescence of these two movements and seek a synthesis of the revolutionary nationalist and socialist aspects of the freedom struggle. This step in his evolution was neither accidental nor strictly individual; it was a logical political conclusion from his entire experience as a revolutionary. In this respect he anticipated the future of the movement as well as embodying the best of its current stage.

His evolution was incomplete—or rather, uncompleted. He was not, or was not yet, as Breitman is careful to point out, a Marxist. However, some of his disciples today, inspired by Malcolm's vision and his gift for growth, are also beginning to see that black nationalism and revolutionary socialism need not be adversaries or rivals but can and ought to be friends and allies whose adherents can work together for common ends.



society Malcolm was imbued with an unflinching singleness of purpose. That was to oppose, combat and outwit the system that impoverished, crushed and humiliated twenty-two million blacks. That blazing revolutionary fire was never quenched in him.

From Individualism to Organization

His first modes of resistance and rebellion were individualistic. He sought relief and release from the white-dominated hell called America by "making it" in whatever ways, legal or illicit, ghetto life left open to him. The first big turn came when he had time to read and reflect inside prison walls and saw that this reckless course led to a dead end or an end in premature and purposeless death. His conversion to the Nation of Islam was not only a personal redemption and racial re-awakening but a tremendous step forward for him and thousands of others who entered the ranks of the Black Muslims in the postwar period.

It represented the passage from individual evasion of a terribly oppressive and cruelly depressive environment into collective organization and action. To be sure, the national and social revolutionary impulses which flowed through the congregation of this religious sect had yet to find their proper channel. Nevertheless, the Nation of Islam provided an elementary, albeit inadequate, expression of racial solidarity and emergent national consciousness, a cohesion born of the

period of transformation in his life. That change essentially consisted in going from the wholehearted identification of American society with the building of a political program to guide the building of an organization on a charter of black nationalism. The key ideas he advanced included black leadership of black people on all levels summarized in the idea of black power; self-determination and solidarity in the face of the enemy; identification with the struggle; intransigent opposition to imperialist interventions against black peoples; collaboration with blacks and those militant whites who are ready to do more than talk about fighting racial injustice and social inequality.

These results of Malcolm's evolution when his life was cut short wide through the black community he was embarked upon a new path not so well or widely known, passing with this incompleteness he has written about the subject in *The Negro Struggle*.

Malcolm was on the way to a simple black nationalist and power; he was beginning to understand especially the conscious conviction that imperialism had to be

That change essentially consisted in going from the wholehearted identification of American society with the building of a political program to guide the building of an organization on a charter of black nationalism.

The key ideas he advanced included black leadership of black people on all levels summarized in the idea of black power; self-determination and solidarity in the face of the enemy; identification with the struggle; intransigent opposition to imperialist interventions against black peoples; collaboration with blacks and those militant whites who are ready to do more than talk about fighting racial injustice and social inequality.

These results of Malcolm's evolution when his life was cut short wide through the black community he was embarked upon a new path not so well or widely known, passing with this incompleteness he has written about the subject in *The Negro Struggle*.

Malcolm was on the way to a simple black nationalist and power; he was beginning to understand especially the conscious conviction that imperialism had to be

These struggles are entitled to support on their own merits from any genuine supporter of democracy.

There are further reasons why revolutionary socialists hail and help the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America at all stages. These anti-imperialist movements deliver sledgehammer blows to the capitalist rulers who are the main enemies of the world working class and opponents of socialism and thereby alter the balance of class forces in favor of the anti-capitalist camp. Thus the insurgent nationalities are in objective alliance with the forces of socialism against all forms of imperialist reaction and repression.

This alignment of the two separate social and political movements is not confined to the international arena; it can also be operative within the imperialist strongholds themselves. That is the case in the United States today where the nationalist sentiments expressed in the black power crusade, and the revolutionary socialist movement are alike pitted against the capitalist regime.

Uneven Development of Workers

Unfortunately, oppositional movements do not march in unison but are often out of step with one another. That is certainly so nowadays when the Negro masses are far out in front, ready to challenge the power structure as the most rebellious social force in American life while most white workers are conservatized and apathetic. Just as the colonial areas are the scene of the most intense revolutionary activity on a world scale, so the black resistance movement takes precedence in the anti-capitalist struggles in the United States. This ir-

*The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary by George Breitman. Merit Publishers, \$1.95 paper.

THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

PART 3

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

Chapter 3: From 1929 to 1933. Formation of the International Left Opposition

The years 1929-33 marked the greatest economic crisis in the history of capitalism. Tens of millions of people were thrown out of work—or never even got a job after leaving school. The social crisis thus brought on ended not in a gain for socialism but in the victory of fascism in Germany.

Colonial revolts and revolutions were on the increase; the Chinese Communists set out on their "Long March." In the Soviet Union the period of the five-year plans began under the leadership of Stalin, who succeeded in strangling the Bolshevik party.

In this period, despite their policy of class-collaboration (the theory of the "lesser evil"), the Socialist parties generally did not occupy the seats of government. The Communist parties followed an ultraleft, sectarian policy (the "third period"). The combination of the two policies—Socialist and Communist—paralyzed the proletariat.

Stalin, faithful to his concept of "socialism in one country," expelled Trotsky from the Soviet Union early in 1929. In so doing, Stalin believed he had once and for all gotten rid of the man who, once again, found himself in exile.

Even at that time Stalin would have gotten rid of Trotsky in a more permanent way, except that, as Zinoviev and Kamenev declared after the troika broke up, he feared an assassination might boomerang against him—his position was still far from secure, while Trotsky still had considerable authority in the USSR. Inside the USSR itself, Trotsky would never have discontinued his activity. He had refused to make an agreement to that effect when Stalin had demanded it. It was after this refusal that Stalin saw only one solution—to forbid any relationship, any contact, between Trotsky and the USSR. That was the purpose of Trotsky's exile as intended to serve. Let us not forget that in the past Stalin had considered the pre-1917 revolutionary emigration as something of little importance. Later Stalin was to admit that he had made a mistake in exiling Trotsky. It was probably from that moment on that Stalin started the preparations for Trotsky's assassination.

Upon his arrival in Turkey, Trotsky set himself the task of creating an international Bolshevik-Leninist faction to fight against the disintegration of the international revolutionary movement.

As early as 1924, centrifugal currents had been appearing in the Communist International and in most of its sections, but, except in the USSR, practically no group

had developed political lineaments of its own—its own well-rounded program (outside of, perhaps, the Italian Bordighists). On the contrary, during the 1924-29 period a series of numerically tiny groups had been formed, generally without solid ties to the working class, quarreling amongst themselves, and without any real political cohesiveness. This can very well be explained by the fact that the Communist parties had arisen from currents of very diverse origin in the working-class movement, and there had not been enough time before the onset of the degeneration for reeducating and unifying these parties on the basis of the theoretical, political, and organizational experience of Bolshevism. As soon as the ebb in the revolutionary movement appeared, as soon as the impact of the Bolshevik party's degeneration was felt in the Communist International, reactions on the most diverse political bases occurred amongst those who avoided getting caught up in the Stalinist corruption. Thus in France, between 1924 and 1929, a half-dozen different oppositions appeared, each of them very varied in composition.

Immediately upon his arrival in Turkey, Trotsky addressed a letter to all of the groups and individuals who found themselves in opposition to Stalinist policy. Signed "Gurov," the letter projected an international regroupment and asked each of them what their positions were on the three basic questions: the USSR, the Anglo-Russian Committee, and the Chinese revolution. In this letter and in other documents that followed shortly thereafter, Trotsky distinguished three fundamental currents in the Communist International around which the different groups were, or would be, gathered—in a more or less clear-cut fashion:

- The Left Opposition*, which defended the fundamental political and organizational policies of Leninism advocated by the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union;
- The right opposition*, oriented by the right wing of the Bolshevik party (Bukharin) and composed of groups opposed to Stalinism, not because of its fundamental policy, not on the question of "socialism in one country," but more particularly because of its "ultraleft" errors. These groups, the most important of which was that of Brandler in Germany, each tried to have an independent national policy, with the result that they found themselves moving toward the social-democratic left.
- In the center, *the Stalinist faction*, the bureaucratic wing in the service of the Kremlin.

In his letters, Trotsky also specified that the problem of the internal regime of the party, no matter how important it was, nevertheless had to be considered subordinate to fundamental political problems, and there could be no question of entering into a bloc with the right (Brandlerites) because, while we had the same criticism of the party regime that they did, there was complete and total disagreement between us and them on the essential political problems, on the general political orientation.

The 1929-33 period of our international movement was essentially a period of principled delimitation (i.e., demarcating ourselves, in respect to other opposition groups, on the basis of principle) and formation of cadres. That was the period in which a large number of our sections were formed and in the course of which we learned, if such an expression can be used, to "talk Trotskyist."

It was during this period in France that the group which published *La Vérité* (The Truth) was established

(September 1929) and organized the Ligue Communiste (Communist League) in 1930. It was in April 1930 in Paris that the first International Conference of Bolshevik-Leninists took place, which was to give birth to an international center, very weak at the time, that would become the International Secretariat. The development of our movement led to the Copenhagen Conference of 1932, attended by Trotsky, and to a 1933 conference that adopted the "eleven points" summarizing our basic program.

Let us take a look at the principal problems confronting the Trotskyist movement at that time.

Defense of the USSR

Beginning in 1929, the opponents of Stalinism were faced with the problem of defense of the Soviet Union, occasioned by incidents that occurred during the summer of 1929 on the East China railroad. At that time, the Trans-Siberian included a section that passed through Chinese territory.⁶

Agreements did exist between the USSR and China on the management of the railroad on Chinese territory. These agreements had been established by the two countries on an equal footing, after Lenin's government had voluntarily repudiated all treaties concluded by czarism that were of the "unequal treaty" type between the imperialist powers and China. After the victory of the counter-revolution in China, Chiang Kai-shek wanted forcibly to expel the Soviet managers of that part of the railroad. From the strategic point of view, that constituted a great danger for the USSR, since the Pacific port of Vladivostok would thus be cut off from all of Siberia. In answer to Chiang, the Soviet government sent the Red Army to enforce the rights of the Soviet state, at which point denunciations of "Soviet imperialism," and other arguments we have often heard since, took place among a number of opponents of Stalinism. It was more or less at that time that Hugo Urbahns, leader of the Hamburg Insurance of 1923, began to expound theories on the existence of "state capitalism" in the USSR.⁷ It was at that time that Trotsky wrote *The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Left Opposition*,⁸ the first fairly complete examination of a question that was to be raised many a time thereafter.

In this pamphlet Trotsky defined the class nature of the Soviet state, product of the October Revolution. The aim of any war against the USSR would be to destroy the bases of the society (collective ownership of the means of production, etc.) and not to destroy its police rule. The defeat of the USSR would also bring in its wake colonization of the country by imperialism, which would thus be assured a new lease on life. This defeat would result in profound demoralization of the masses throughout the entire world. But defense of the Soviet Union does not at all consist in accepting or supporting Stalin's policy. On the contrary, the latter is one of the greatest dangers threatening the USSR—Stalin hunting around the world for "allies," to the detriment of the world revolution. This policy must be bitterly denounced, even in time of war. "For the defense of the Soviet Union, always! For the defense of Stalinism, never!" The only real defense of the Soviet Union in the event of world conflict is the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat in all the capitalist countries, "allies" or not of the USSR.

The United Front Against the Hitler Danger

The main struggle waged by the Left Opposition from 1930 on was the struggle for the united front in Germany against the rise of fascism. The Left Opposition's policy was radically opposed to the Stalinist policy of the "third period," which can be summarized as follows: Capitalism has entered a period of final crisis; consequently (by virtue of Stalinist logic), the entire bourgeoisie is turning fascist, and along with it, its party in the working class, the Social Democratic party, which is becoming a social-fascist party; consequently, the danger of war against the USSR is becoming imminent; and consequently the masses are becoming radicalized, placing on the agenda general strikes, revolutionary days, leading to armed insurrection. The political consequences of this "logic" of this theory of "social fascism," was that there could be no possible question of entering a united front with a social-fascist party; on the contrary, it was necessary to fight this social-fascist party, to cut right through it, in order to get at the bourgeoisie and at fascism, the "twins of social fascism."

This international policy of Stalinism had its most dreadful repercussions and its most horrible results in Germany, where the workers, faced with the Hitlerite gang, found themselves divided. Still worse, in certain cases (the plebiscite in Prussia) the Stalinists voted together with the Nazis against the Social Democrats. Another fact: following the May 1, 1929, assassination of some thirty Berlin workers by police led by the Social Democratic prefect Zoerglebel, the Communist party declared that all Social Democrats were also Zoerglebelists who had to be struck down. Children of Social Democrats were then "little Zoerglebelists," and the order was given to Communist children's organizations to beat up Social Democratic children at school. Shortly before Hitler came to power, members of the German CP and the Nazis had common picket lines during the strike of the Berlin public transport system, which was run by a Social Democratic municipality. This "third period" policy created a rift between Socialist workers and Communist workers and rendered the German proletariat helpless in face of the rise of the Nazis.

The Left Opposition led an international struggle against the line of "social fascism" and in favor of a united front of the German Communist and Socialist parties in order to stop Hitler. That campaign was based on a series of pamphlets by Trotsky: *What Next?, The Only Road, Letter to a German Communist Worker, Germany: The Key to the International Situation*.

The development of the situation and our intervention led the Stalinists, who had wanted to avoid the issue, to take a position on the Nazi danger. In France the CP leadership called an information conference of the Paris region, at which the then secretary, Semard, branded the German question "the Trotskyite hobbyhorse." A public meeting of the CP at Bullier Hall was the scene of violent fistfights between Stalinists and Trotskyists.

Later, forced to respond to the workers' anxiety about the fascist threat, as well as to serve the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvering between the democratic countries and Hitlerite Germany, the Communist International organized the "Amsterdam Committees" for the fight against fascism. It was one of the first experiments with a "mass"-type organization controlled by the Stalinists. Our organization "participated" in these Amsterdam and Paris (Fleyel Hall) Congresses in order to expose them as subterfuges. They were just that—on many counts. The Stalinists separated the fight against war and fascism from the revolutionary struggle for power.¹⁰ In that way, they spread the idea that, with a given political line, the rise of fascism could be stopped and imperialism prevented—within the capitalist system.

Even at that time, the policy of "peaceful coexistence" was already taking its toll. It was not invented by Khrushchev; he only adapted it to the new conditions of the postwar period.

In that way, too, and under the banner of Leninism and the October Revolution, Stalinism reintroduced social-democratic and opportunistic ideas. The door was thus opened to collaboration with the "antifascist" bourgeoisie or bourgeois "Friends of peace," and the Kremlin took its first steps on the road to the Popular Front in France and Spain, to be followed by the National Front.

Finally, these groups were subterfuges inasmuch as the Stalinist chieftains claimed they were building a united front by this "mass"-type method of organization, whereas they were only regrouping people who had accepted their leadership in advance. Thus did they distort—in the minds of revolutionary workers and in the masses—the concept of a united front among working-class organizations.

The Fight to Reform the Communist International

As we said, a great number of our sections originated in this period, which was also marked by numerous internal crises in our movement. Since there were no large-

scale workers' struggles taking place in that period and since our movement did not have much of a mass base, personal aspects of our internal discussions often assumed undue importance. But the personal elements of these fights were closely bound to, were grafted onto, political and organizational problems. All these crises were phases of the struggle to establish connections with the masses and to build revolutionary leaderships. Only phillanthes, only centrists, can sneer at these fights instead of trying to understand them. In this period, an attempt at collaborating with the Bordighists, in the same international organization, proved fruitless. The Copenhagen Conference registered the impossibility of our being in the same movement, under the given circumstances.

During this entire period, we were opposed to building a new International and new revolutionary parties. The essence of our political line was to struggle to reform, to regenerate, the Communist International and its sections. Although expelled, we considered ourselves a faction of the Communist International and of the Communist parties, a faction struggling to put these organizations back on the correct revolutionary road.

In that period we came up against tendencies that wanted to form a new International, that said there was no longer anything that could be done with the Communist International and its sections. Our answer was that our attitude toward working-class organizations could not be dictated by subjective considerations such as our expulsion, nor even solely by the policy followed by the leadership of those organizations. The birth and continued existence of revolutionary parties and of a revolutionary International correspond to a historical situation, to given objective conditions that cannot arbitrarily be dismissed with a few strokes of the pen. The Communist International and its sections had at their command the historic capital rising out of their origin, their connection with the Russian Revolution, their years of struggle in working-class movements. These organizations had deep roots in the masses. Stalinism was squandering the historic capital of the Third International, but only great historic events could show whether it was definitively finished, doomed to the revolutionary point of view, despite our efforts to regenerate it.

From 1923 on, we had seen the Left Opposition in the Communist parties grow, with (and by means of) every revolutionary upsurge of the workers. We had no grounds for saying that the bureaucratization of these parties was irreversible. It should not be forgotten that the CPs of that era, although already led by Stalinists, were quite different from the political machines of today. They were still revolutionary formations. Finally, in our struggle against the policies of the third period, we had warned that a defeat of the German proletariat and a victory for Hitler could constitute precisely the historic event likely

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

to change our course with regard to the Communist International. We must bear in mind the world situation at that time. The European working class constituted the majority of the world working class; the colonial movements had only just begun.

It should be noted that later on, when we turned toward the construction of a Fourth International and new revolutionary parties, practically none of the people who had condemned our policy of reforming the Third International and had taken a position against us in favor of creating a Fourth International—practically none of these people joined us in this task. Most of them continued to form ultraleft groupings. This proves that there were much deeper differences between us and those who criticized us at that time than the possible reform of the Communist International. Actually, these divergences stemmed from totally different concepts of the party and its relationship to the working class.

[To be continued]

6. Since then, a line has been built that goes only through Soviet territory.

7. The theory of "state capitalism" was really not new. It had been created right after the October Revolution by Social Democrats like Otto Bauer, Karl Kautsky, etc.

8. Available in English in the following issues of *Fourth International*: October 1946, December 1946, and March 1947.—Translator

9. These pamphlets are all contained in *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*, by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York, N. Y.—Translator

10. It is obvious that a revolutionary party must conduct specific campaigns and actions against fascism and imperialism war, but these actions must be anticapitalist in character.

Kremlin Orders the Arrest of Pyotr Yakir

By George Saunders

After months of threats, the Soviet political police have arrested Pyotr I. Yakir, a prominent dissident Communist, civil-rights leader, and son of one of the Red Army generals assassinated in 1937.

Yakir was taken into custody by plainclothesmen about noon on June 21, according to friends of his. The arrest was made at his apartment in the auto-plant district of Moscow. He was driven away in an official-looking black Volga automobile, dissident sources said.

His friends reportedly expect that he will be put on trial on charges of "anti-Soviet" activity.

Yakir was subjected to a prolonged search of his apartment in mid-January, at which time large quantities of personal documents, manuscripts, and files were confiscated from him. In connection with an official drive to suppress the *samizdat* newsletter *Chronicle of Current Events*, he was kept under close surveillance after that and, reportedly, searched a second time.

According to Charlotte Salkowski, writing from Moscow for the June 22 *Christian Science Monitor*, Yakir was arrested for "anticonstitutional activities which he had systematically carried on for several years, submitting to Western propaganda agencies information which was used against the Soviet Union."

Together with Vladimir Bukovsky, Yakir was one of three Soviet oppositionists who gave a filmed interview to CBS-TV correspondent William Cole in Moscow in early 1970. That television film was part of the evi-

dence used to convict Bukovsky in January of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," an offense for which he received a twelve-year sentence.

Salkowski says that her source named Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe as the agencies to which Yakir allegedly submitted information. Such a tactic of smearing pro-Soviet, but antibureaucratic opponents by association with reactionaries and real agencies of imperialism has been Stalinist judicial practice since the 1920s.

Salkowski had further unpleasant news to report from her "source," who "said Mr. Yakir had been warned several times by Soviet authorities that his activities were illegal, but he persisted in them. Also, he added, the dissident formed a group of young people, including his daughter Irina, to assist him." (This is an apparent reference to the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR.)

"The latter charge apparently will be used in the trial," Salkowski goes on. "At this writing, however, it is not known under what article of the Soviet criminal code Mr. Yakir will be tried or when the trial will take place."

If Yakir is placed on trial, a very sharp confrontation between pro-Stalin and anti-Stalin forces in the Soviet Union could result. In recent years Yakir has become widely known as an outspoken opponent of Stalinism. An open letter he wrote in March

1969 stipulated grounds in present-day Soviet law under which Stalin should be posthumously tried.

An earlier open letter, in January 1968, cosigned by the Crimean Tatar poet and activist Ilya Gabai and underground satirical songwriter and singer Yuli Kim, had protested the increasingly favorable views of Stalin being printed. The 1968 letter contrasted the rehabilitation of Stalin's reputation to the continued negative treatment of Trotsky, whose role as People's Commissar of War and Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Council was still being presented as "unrelieved wrecking activities."

To oppose what he saw as a growing return to Stalin's methods of police terror, Yakir joined with other Soviet dissidents to form the loosely knit Initiative Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR in May 1969. Most of its members have been jailed or confined in psychiatric hospital-prisons, the most recent victim being the Kiev mathematician Leonid Plyushch, who was arrested in January of this year.

The Initiative Committee's main activity has been to publicize violations of civil rights and to protest cases of political persecution. This has been done through protest letters and petitions, many addressed to the United Nations.

Despite the victimization of many dissidents in recent years, Yakir had not been previously touched, for all his outspokenness. In an open letter

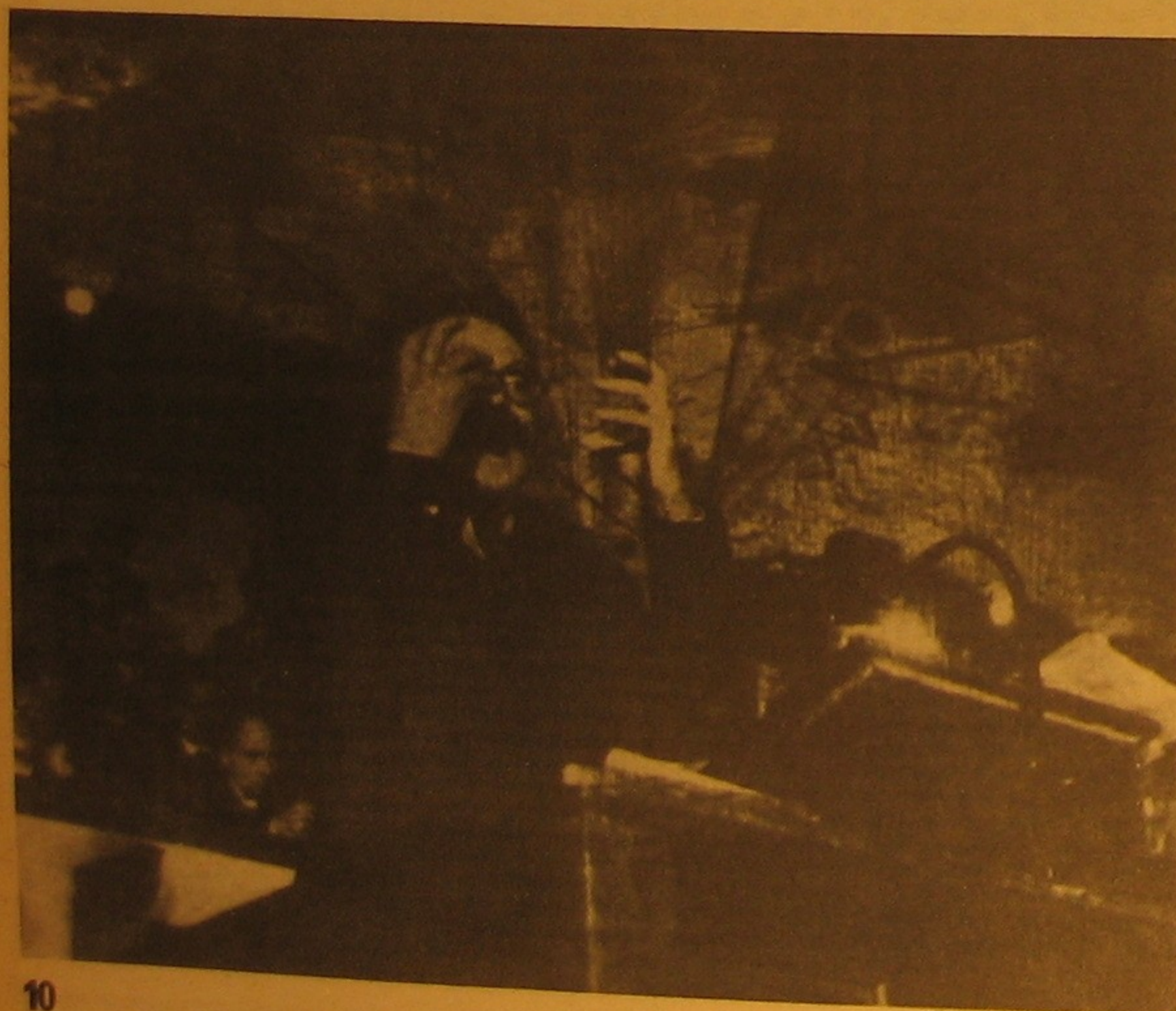
to the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Soviet Communist party in March 1971, in which he called Stalin "one of the greatest criminals of the twentieth century," Yakir indirectly referred to this temporary immunity he seemed to enjoy while friends and acquaintances were being picked off by the police on every side: "The selectiveness, the 'discrimination,' employed in exercising repression (for one and the same 'crime,' one person is given a reprimand at work, another is not bothered at all, and a third gets several years in a prison camp) only underscores the arbitrariness and illegality of the repressive measures."

The reason the KGB was reluctant to arrest him previously was of course that a legal case involving a Yakir would revive too many memories of the great purges of the 1930s. After his father, General Iona [Russian for "Jonah"] Yakir was shot, the general's widow and Pyotr, then fourteen years old, were interned in a concentration camp. They were not freed until after Stalin's death in 1953. In the "de-Stalinization" period they were rehabilitated, as were the Red Army officers Stalin had slaughtered on the eve of World War II, in a move that beheaded the first line of Soviet defense.

Khrushchev himself referred to Pyotr Yakir in the 1956 "secret speech" at the twentieth party congress. Allowed to work as a historian, Pyotr edited a collection of articles about his father. How far the rehabilitation of the purged generals of 1937 went may be judged from the fact that a Soviet ship was named the *Iona Yakir*.

Ironically, after Pyotr Yakir had

CONTINUED ON P. 12



SUPPORT PILLAR-NACO STRIKE!

BY RUTH CHAMPION

Pillar-Naco Pty. Ltd., a subsidiary of the giant English company Rio-Tinto-Zinc Corp. two weeks ago sacked 90 workers at its Henderson plant. In response to this sacking 600 workers at Naco occupied the plant and are refusing to leave until those workers dismissed are reinstated. The management has announced that a further 90 workers will lose their jobs in the next 5 months. The workers at Pillar-Naco believe that the whole plant will shortly be closed down and operations transferred to Jamaica and Ghana, where RTZ can take advantage of the cheaper labour available there. Just recently Pillar-Naco turned down a contract worth \$80,000 which gives the lie to the management's claim that they have been forced to lay off workers owing to the scarcity of orders.

Rio-Tinto-Zinc, which has subsidiaries in Britain, South Africa, Rhodesia, Bougainville, Canada and Australia to name only a few, in 1971 made a profit of £66 million (about \$150 million) despite the depressed world metal prices. On June 15 the *Australian Financial Review* published excerpts from a speech made by Sir Val Duncan to the annual general meeting of RTZ. The following quote is taken from his speech:

"So far as RTZ Pillar is concerned, I am glad to say they made record sales and record profits last year notwithstanding difficult trading conditions".

RTZ's profit is expected to expand rapidly in the future. A Melbourne investment advisory group has predicted a net profit of over \$100 million in 1973 from the Bougainville project alone (*Australian Financial Review* 15/6/72). Bougainville Mining Ltd. is a mammoth offshoot of CRA which in turn is an offshoot of RTZ.

RTZ, through its subsidiary CRA was responsible for the seizure of land on Bougainville against the wishes of the local inhabitants. It employs native workers at an average of \$8 to \$9 per week, with the top wage being around \$12 per week. While super-exploiting the local workers, CRA buys off the European workers by

paying them much higher wages. This is part of a clearly thought out policy on the part of the company. This policy is the part of the working class divided by whatever means it has at its disposal. The company also makes it a policy not to put local workers from the same area together; its conscious intention is to exacerbate any inter-tribal hostilities which may already exist as well as creating tension between the local and European workers.

The sacking of the Pillar-Naco workers further shows the attitude of RTZ to all its employees - they are expendable sources of labour power to be utilised while RTZ so desires, to be sacked at a moment's notice when it finds it can make larger profits elsewhere. Over the last period the workers at Pillar-Naco have been producing machinery that is being transported to Jamaica in order to set up a new plant utilizing the cheaper labour there. They have been engaged in work that is directly leading to their own redundancy.

The workers have been told that they are losing their jobs because of the availability of "cheap Asian labour". This has been linked to the question of international companies taking over Australian companies. (In March 1970 what was Appleton Industries Ltd. was taken over by the Pillar Aluminium Co.) The view has been put forward by the AMWU delegate at Naco that in selling their shares to RTZ, the shareholders of Appleton's sold out the interests of Queensland! This has led to the following demands being put forward: "Keep Aussies in Jobs", "Ban Foreign Takeovers", "Why Buy Queensland Made When There Is No One To Make It?" The workers have been told that if overseas investment in Australia were prevented then there would be jobs for all. These are diversions! The big companies like RTZ exploit not only Australian workers but workers of every country. The "cheap labour" overseas is even more exploited than workers here in Australia, and by the very same outfit.

Furthermore, even if industry were wholly owned by Australian companies, it would not be immune from the current capitalist crisis and would therefore be forced to cut back production and lay off workers. BHP, Australia's largest company, is expecting to effect large trenchments in the near future.

Any fostering of chauvinistic sentiments among the working class should be roundly condemned. Any diversions of the working class along national, racial or sexual lines, works directly in the interests of the ruling class. It should be explained that "workers of all lands" must unite if there is to be any long term solution to the problems of redundancy and inflation. The CPA, by including an article by David Lofthouse (the AMWU delegate at Naco who is also a CPA member) in last week's *Tribune* which expressed these sentiments, stands condemned.

CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT & THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

Redundancies are an inevitable part of the capitalist economic system. Fierce international competition results in certain sectors of industry becoming unprofitable because they are unable to compete on the world market. Thus we have the drive for cheaper labour, productivity deals and forced incomes policies. In recent years the situation has been growing steadily worse throughout all of the capitalist world: the US has an unemployment rate of 6%, Britain has approximately 1 million unemployed, Australia has over 100,000 out of work. The boom period of the 50's for international capitalism has come to an end and we see spiralling inflation and unemployment in all capitalist countries. This development is extremely significant in that it indicates that contrary to what the neo-Keynesians have been telling us, capitalism is incapable of solving its inherent contradictions for any lasting period of time.

The complete irrationality of capitalism

is evident to all when we have the situation where now millions of workers who are willing to work are unable to find jobs. Instead of producing goods for human needs the only criteria for production is profitability. The problems of inflation and unemployment can only be solved (for the betterment of humanity rather than for the enrichment of our present 'order' and thereby the introduction of a socialist society in which the production and distribution of goods is planned, not in order to maximise the profits of the shareholders, but in order to satisfy the needs of the world's people. Where there is need there should be production to satisfy that need, rather than the present situation where profit is the sole guiding force. In the present situation workers should fight for a reduced working week with no loss of pay if there is not enough work for all. The workers must take no responsibility for the capitalist crisis either by accepting redundancies forced on them or by accepting any cut whatsoever in their buying power.

The Pillar-Naco dispute is of great significance in that it indicates that there is a growing feeling among workers that they are not prepared to accept the dictates of the capitalist world market. By taking up the issues of redundancies the workers are challenging the right of the boss to hire and fire them at will. They are asserting their right to have control over the decisions that so intimately affect their livelihood. They are demanding the right to veto decisions of the boss that adversely affect them. This should be extended to the point where the workers have veto rights over all decisions that the boss may make, whether it be productivity deals in the form of speed-ups, or the introduction of new machinery that may result in further lay-offs.

THE ALP & THE SIT-IN

The Labor Party must, together with the union movement, develop a political campaign in support of the sit-in and against the redundancies. Socialists in

the ALP must raise these demands and fight for them, for it is clear that the present right wing leadership is anti-labour and will only aid the management, not the workers.

The ALP has shown that in times of capitalist crisis and working class upsurge, it will betray the interests of workers. The great coal strike of 1948 was betrayed by a labor government which sent troops against the striking miners in order to break their strike.

Whitlam has made it clear through projected legislation such as the Cameron Proposals, and watered down variants, that he intends to harness and shackle the labour movement. Capitalism today is finding that the traditional parties (Liberal etc.) are proving obsolete and cumbersome in adapting to its current needs. This is why sections of the ruling class are backing the ALP to victory so that it can carry through rationalisation of industry at the expense of the working class, under the guise of ushering forth socialism.

In the late 50's, Harold Wilson captured the leadership of the British Labour Party backed by a strong "left wing" ticket. He claimed to be leading British society to socialism. The subsequent world capitalist crisis forced the Labour Party to rationalise industry preparing Britain for the inevitable entry into the European Economic Community (EEC); an economic community that was necessitated by the situation where large European capitalist concerns needed protecting against their US and Japanese rivals.

To perfect the necessary economic restructuring in Britain, the capitalist class had to attack the unions. The Labour Party turned upon the working class by introducing anti-trade union laws and legislation.



Pillar-Naco strike meeting

SOLIDARITY
Because of the giant international resources of the modern day corporations, workers taking action in one small off-shoot can have little effect on the operations of these companies. The only avenue for success lies in obtaining the support of the whole working class: unity is strength! The workers at Pillar-Naco's Sydney plant went on strike in support of the Brisbane Pillar-Naco sit-in. Workers at Evans Deakin shipyards have discussed what action they can take in solidarity. The trade union movement as a whole and the Labor Party must build a campaign of all workers around the issue of redundancies. Evans Deakin itself is in line for massive lay-offs. Already the workers in the car industry and the mining industry and the wharves have suffered from redundancies. Any company that attempts to dismiss workers should be black-listed by all other unions.

So far the old Trades and Labour Council has come out in support of the sit-in, and has called on other unions both nationally and internationally, to take action in solidarity.

ROLE OF STUDENTS
Students, though physically isolated from the workers' movement, can play an extremely important role. (Besides they should not imagine that they can remain unaffected by the problems of unemployment. The number of graduates unable to find employment upon leaving university is steadily growing.) There are a number of things that students can do. Expressions of solidarity on the part of the students can have an encouraging effect on the workers actually engaged in struggle round redundancies. By donating money to strike funds, helping on picket lines, and providing creches and food for the striking workers, they can be extremely valuable. Demonstrations in support of the workers can be organised.

Not only can students support the workers by engaging in certain action, they can also carry out research into the activities of companies in order to furnish the workers with added ammunition in their fight against the bosses. This is probably the most important function the students can carry out as most workers have

neither the time nor the academic training needed to do such research. This can thus lead to the forging of a genuine and lasting worker-student alliance.

A WARNING TO ALL WORKERS
The action of the Pillar-Naco management is not an isolated incident. All over Australia workers are losing their jobs - in the car industry, the mining industry and on the wharves. If the Naco workers are defeated it will be a defeat for the whole working class. If one employer escapes others will follow in his footsteps.

- * THE PILLAR-NACO WORKERS MUST WIN OUT!
- * SPREAD THE SOLIDARITY STRIKES! THE WHOLE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THE LABOR PARTY MUST TAKE UP THE FIGHT OF THE NACO WORKERS!
- * WORKERS CAN TAKE NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE RUNNING OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!
- * NO TO ALL REDUNDANCIES!

THE 1972 LABOR YOUTH CONFERENCE: A STACK OF TROUBLE

BY ALBAN JOHNSON

For years, the Tasmanian ALP has suffered from a bureaucratic right-wing leadership. Despite the preferential voting system, the left has rarely gained any prominent positions in the internal superstructure, and has almost never had any parliamentary representative. Prominent ALP leaders in Tasmania are known to support the war and conscription. In 1968-69, the situation was such that even Brian Harradine, the extreme right wing Tasmanian Trades and Labour Council secretary, managed to exercise a powerful voice in state ALP politics. As the politicians continue to retain their positions, they, and hence the right wing, become more and more entrenched in the ALP state superstructure.

However, this aging leadership has rarely gone long unchallenged. Organizing on a basic anti-conservative stand, various forces to the left of the leadership have, in instances, been able to unite against the extreme right. And, in instances, they have won.

The 1971 State Labor Youth Conference held in Launceston was an example of this - a centre-left ticket made a clean sweep of the executive. And to cap this, a number of radical motions were brought forward, and passed. Perhaps the most publicised of these was one which called for the legalization of marijuana, and for its production and distribution to be governmentally controlled. This motion was passed without opposition at the conference. Immediately, the press blew it up until it became headline news.

And it was at this juncture that the ALP state hierarchy first began to stir. The mover, second and State president were summoned to meet various members of the State executive in committee: Doug Lowe (now Minister for Housing), Senator Ken Wreidt, etc. They were advised that it was in their interests not to do this again.

THE LEFT ORGANIZES
Recently, a Socialist Left was set up in the Tasmanian ALP, based around the magazine, *Tas-Action*. This grouping has gained the support of many individuals in the ALP, mainly from the Trade Union and Labor Youth sphere. And it was with this in mind that the Parliamentary wing decided that Labor Youth must be destroyed.

Since February this year, the right have been organizing on a fairly basic anti-Richard Mulcahy (state president of Labor Youth) stand, probably because Mulcahy has, despite a conservative and opportunistic past, been the most ardent organizer of the left wing of the party. The hope was that if Mulcahy could be deposed the left would fall apart. Thus, he has become an object of abuse from

the right, who use his past opportunism to the utmost, as well as calling him either "Communist", or "NCC infiltrate," depending upon who is listening.

The first attempt to destroy Labor Youth occurred when members of the conservative Newdegate branch wrote a letter to the ALP State Executive, levelling a range of allegations at Labor Youth, and requesting a full-scale investigation into the activities of the organization.

When the ALP State Executive met on Sunday, May 28, it set up a committee "to enquire into the activities of Labor Youth"; a committee which was intended to be a kangaroo court. Senator A.G. Poke was chairman, but, despite the right-wing majority on the committee, it found the charges basically groundless, thus failing in its original intent.

THE STACK
The right then decided to mobilise an all-out stack for the 1972 Labor Youth conference, to be held on June 10, 11 and 12. And in the weeks prior to the conference, they came across a real windfall. A loose supporter of theirs, Tony Jacobs, was defeated for the ALP endorsement for Denison in the federal elections to be held later this year. He was defeated by John Coates, a university research officer in bio-chemistry, who was supported by Mulcahy. Thus the right found in Jacobs not only a rabid Mulcahy-opposed, but also a willing organiser to this end.

The left counter organised: "If Labor Youth is taken over by the conservative, pragmatic element which does exist to some degree within the Party, then one can be certain that the new ideas will fast disappear - members will drift away, and there will be obvious repercussions to the Party in the electorate. It is vital that Labor Youth remain socialist as well as democratic - not become left-liberal and authoritarian." (*A Stack of Trouble - Tas-Action* 3 pp 2-3)

We won't trouble our patient reader with the shenanigans that featured at the conference. Suffice to say that as the smoke cleared, the left had the numbers.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS
On Saturday, June 10, at about 10.30 a.m. the conference opened with Richard Mulcahy in the chair. All delegates were presented with a yellow pamphlet written by Tony Jacobs which stated in part: "Dear People, 'Some members have been attracted to

this Conference upon one entirely false premise. That is, that the Parliamentary Party is attempting to take over and silence Labor Youth to avoid any embarrassment to the parliamentarians. Therefore, people were encouraged to rally to defend independence, radicalism, young idealism, and so on. "Our aim has been one thing only. I cannot emphasise this too strongly. That is, to replace the small and unrepresentative clique which now has Labor Youth in its pocket. Our only replacement criteria is for people honest in their opinions and truly representative of the Labor Youth members."

Senator Justin O'Byrne, father of the Senate and Labor Youth patron then gave an opening address, saying that this point should not be confused in the ALP aims.

On the Sunday (June 11) morning, the second day of the conference, a red pamphlet was circulated by various left-wing members, refuting Jacobs' pamphlet handed out at the opening of the conference and stating in part:

"Dear Comrades, "Yesterday, you were handed a yellow sheet of paper which was an attempt at character assassination motivated, possibly, by Mr. Tony Jacobs' failure to gain ALP endorsement for the Federal seat of Denison." "The sincerity of the Socialist beliefs of the present Labor Youth State Executive will be shown by the people they nominate for positions and by the way they vote on policy issues."

The opportunism of Jacobs and his supporters was shown very well when a motion calling for "the Nationalization under workers' self-management of industrial monopolies and the major financial institutions without compensation so that the productive forces of society can be used for the benefit of all humanity" was passed without any opposing vote. They have, at previous meetings opposed this, especially the "without compensation" clause.

The whole tussle climaxed when Andrew Lohrey, MHA, then stood up and grabbed the microphone to make an impassioned statement to the effect he had had enough of Mulcahy, and "of this disgusting conference", and that he considered the majority of the people present to be anti-ALP. This was clearly aimed at the left wing of the party. He then urged everyone to walk-out of the conference there and then. About 15 people, led by

Lohrey, then walked out.

This break-away group then re-formed downstairs, where they held their own little "conference", at which they passed a resolution requesting that the ALP state executive meeting on June 26 take action against Labor Youth.

Supporters of Lohrey and Jacobs withdrew their nominations for all the executive positions in the real conference, thus opening the way for a large left-wing majority on the executive.

REPERCUSSIONS
On June 20, about 50 unionists, representing some 15 unions carried unanimously a resolution which stated that Labor Youth should be allowed to operate without interference. They also urged the ALP State Executive to declare the conference properly constituted.

At the meeting of the State Executive on June 26, several proposals regarding Labor Youth were to be brought forward. Originally, the plan was to dissolve the organization. However, during a lunch-time discussion, the right decided that it was tactically unsound to carry out this plan. Whereupon they decided to re-constitute Labor Youth.

The various branches are to be zoned so that there are 2 in the North-West, 2 in the Launceston area, and 2 in the Hobart area. The University branch shall remain untouched. A sub-committee of the State Executive will draft a new constitution to be put to a Labor Youth conference in August or September, and to the 1973 state ALP conference for ratification. Multi-membership of branches shall be discontinued. And Labor Youth will not be able to make any press statements independently of the ALP. However, the recent Labor Youth conference and the executive it elected are to be recognized.

So basically, the State Executive reached a compromise intended to silence the left, yet satisfy the right. While the right has not won any absolute victory, it has moved, and will not stop here: Doug Lowe, MHA, has given notice of a motion to proscribe the Socialist Left. Senator Wreidt has suggested that if Socialist Left supporters do not resign from the party, they should be expelled as "anti-ALP" elements.

The attempts by the right to silence the left have not been successful. Socialists must continue to defend their right to put forward their views in the ALP and be on guard against the continual attempts to move the party to the right. The events in the Tasmanian Labor Youth are only part of the struggle. Further battles lie ahead.

Kremlin's Arrest of Pyotr Yakir (continued)

from P. 11
signed a protest letter to the United Nations the captain and crew of this ship sent him a letter remonstrating with him for his "unpatriotic" act. His reply to the crew of the *Iona Yakir* is one of the documents circulating in *samizdat* today.

Another of his uncensored works circulating privately is entitled *Concentration Camp Childhood*. Part one of his memoirs, this has also been published outside the Soviet Union. The second part was reportedly confiscated by the KGB this year.

If Yakir is placed on trial, it will be the first time since the denunciation of Stalin's crimes that someone directly linked with a victim of the great purges has been subjected to revived Stalin-type frame-ups. The protests around the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial, the Ginzburg-Galanov trial, the Litvinov-Bogoraz trial, and the Bukovsky trial might prove to be only preliminary skirmishes if all the forces opposed to a revival of Stalin's methods can unite and mobilize in defense of Yakir.

For several years the Kremlin has shied away from public trials for dissidents who might win too much support, especially if they are opposition Communists who might win support from left forces internationally. Thus

the tactic of "quiet" incarceration in madhouses was used against the dissident Communists Pyotr Grigorenko and Ivan Yakhimovich.

In recent months the Kremlin has adopted a new tactic: allowing dissidents to leave the country but not permitting them to return. Leading dissidents and associates of Yakir - Yuri Glazov, Yuri Titov, and Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin - as well as the poet Iosif Brodsky have thus been removed as immediate problems from the Kremlin's point of view.

A recent report in a Norwegian newspaper, *Aftenposten*, states that the Soviet authorities are planning to offer leading oppositionists a choice: to leave the Soviet Union or be imprisoned. Correspondent Per Egil Hegge claimed that among the oppositionists to be thus approached were Yakir, novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and Human Rights Committee member Valery Chalidze.

Hegge also claimed that, if expelled from the Soviet Union, oppositionists would be stripped of Soviet citizenship under Article 20 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Republic. This is the same article under which Stalin expelled Leon Trotsky in 1929, according to Hegge.

Other rumors have been reported that former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, confined in a psychiatric hospital under conditions sure to destroy him before much longer, might also be expelled from the Soviet Union.

Such rumors could well have been planted by the Kremlin regime to disarm international protest if new trials are being prepared. A relatively minor oppositionist writer, Valery Tarsis, it should be recalled, was allowed to leave the USSR and was then stripped of citizenship in the same week that the major trial of writers Sinyavsky and Daniel occurred in 1966.

The Kremlin has real reason to aim reprisals against Yakir, Chalidze, Solzhenitsyn, and others like them. The signs of mounting unrest and political consciousness among the masses, especially among some of the national minorities, cause the Brezhnev regime to fear any organized or prominent oppositional person or group as a potential spark that could set off a conflagration.

The regime's anger at the outspoken oppositional stands of Yakir, Solzhenitsyn, and Chalidze was obvious in the course of the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky in January. All three were repeatedly linked with Bukovsky by the prosecution; and the harsh sentence meted out to him was a gauge of the treatment they would like to give the others.

Yakir and Chalidze figured largely in the protests around the Bukovsky trial, both preceding and following it. Yakir especially was linked with the publication of the transcript of Bukovsky's trial, which the authorities wished to keep secret. Aleksel Tumerman, the young Jewish dissident who took responsibility for making that transcript public, is reportedly a close associate or even a secretary or assistant of Yakir.

In the month or two before Nixon's trip to Moscow, the Brezhnev regime seemed to suspend the sharp campaign it had opened up against all forms of dissidence at the turn of the year. Apparently, embarrassing incidents were to be avoided on the eve of Nixon's grand tour.

The dissidents, for their part, did not call a truce. Tumerman gave an interview expressing the hope that the question of human rights would come up in the Brezhnev-Nixon discussions, a vain hope of course. For that, he was immediately confined for "psychiatric" observation.

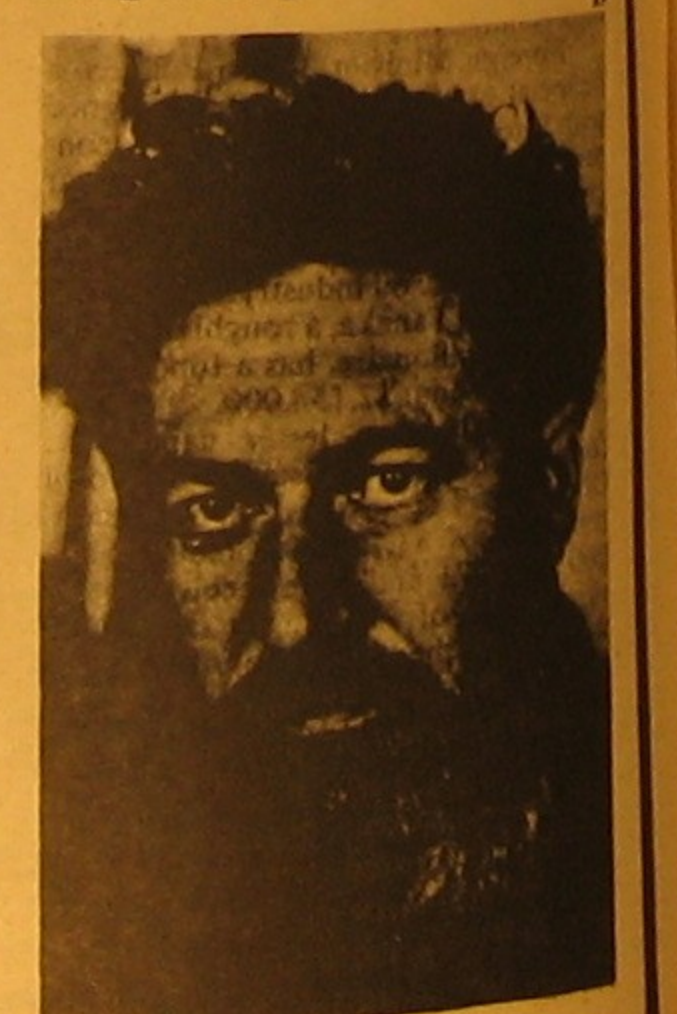
Yakir, too, issued a statement along

the same lines as Tumerman's. The guarantee of the freedom of the individual has ceased to be an internal matter and has become an international problem," he declared.

"Before the arrival of President Nixon," he reported, "people were called in to the militia [regular police] and the state security police, where they were asked to sign a promise not to commit any antisocial act during the president's visit."

"I would like to hope that after President Nixon's visit, reaction will not be stepped up, that arrests will stop, and that no one will be interned in an insane asylum," he added.

The regime has reacted otherwise. Under pressure from international and domestic public opinion to stop its repressive actions, it nevertheless has a mortal fear of a social uprising that would strip it of its privileges. It is casting about, seeking a way to silence the voices of protest without creating more protest in turn.



Pyotr Yakir

THE PANGU PATI

RAY SLOBODNIUK

"The Pangu Pati has emerged unmistakably as the territory's (Papua-New Guinea - PNG) dominant political force." And, continued the Sunday Australian's editorial of April 23, "is the first successful attempt to give expression to the independence movement in one of the last surviving colonies in the world." The same editorial went on to paint a picture of bourgeois respectability about the Pangu Pati. It was not full of "hot heads and revolutionaries" but on the contrary, "the Australian government should be thankful that when the time comes to hand over power to the Territory's own people, it will be dealing with a moderate, responsible and popularly elected body that respects the procedures of democratic rule and parliamentary government."

Such is the attitude not only of the Sunday Australian but of nearly all sections of the Australian ruling class. (1) It may be said by some that the Australian bourgeoisie was presented with a fait accompli and could do little but accept the Pangu Pati. But as we shall see, such a view, which implies that Australia saw its interests allied to those of the white ex-patriates in PNG does not stand up to scrutiny.

Even the most cursory glance at the evolution of Australian government policy in PNG over the past 10 years shows that this argument is untenable. If we accept that up to the mid 1960s the Australian bourgeoisie relied upon the expatriate elite to care for its interests, it is clear that after this time the situation changed very significantly. In response to imperialist pressure, both in terms of a demand to open PNG to foreign investment (i.e. exploitation) and in terms of imperialist activity within Australia (which forced the Australian bourgeoisie to start, at least, a token struggle for its own survival), we have witnessed the spectacle of the Australian ruling class turning against its expatriate ally in PNG. The existence of the white expatriate bourgeoisie in PNG as a component of imperialist domination was no longer essential nor in fact advisable.

Therefore it is not surprising that the Australian establishment no longer saw the United Party - the political expression of the expatriates, as its natural ally in PNG. In spite of the attitude of the Liberal-Country Party government, there is no evidence to suggest that the vast bulk of the bourgeoisie in Australia saw any potential in the United Party (UP). Long before the results of the 1972 elections were known, bourgeois commentators, whilst predicting a UP victory, were concluding that even with a huge majority,

the UP would be unable to "rule," (2)

As the already quoted Australian editorial intimated, the formation of the Pangu-led National Coalition (3) was greeted enthusiastically in Australia. A Sydney Morning Herald (4) editorial dated April 21, stated bluntly that the defeat of the UP was not surprising and that following upon this defeat, the UP "had retreated into formless conservatism, losing both its vigour and determination." But perhaps the most illuminating evidence about the attitude of former allies is to be found in an article by Vincent Smith in the National Times (April 24-29, 1972). Headlined "Pangu and Peacock - coming to a pati on self government" the article discusses Peacock's attitude to Pangu. Smith is careful to distinguish clearly between the priorities of Peacock and his predecessor Barnes, in the role as minister for Territories and implies very openly that with Peacock's appointment, the LCP government has stepped into line with the ALP and developed a "realistic" policy towards PNG. According to Smith: "The Pangu Pati with its desire for early self government, and the obvious ability of its leaders to govern and organize politically, was the obvious group towards which Mr. Peacock would gravitate."

Even more revealing is the description of how Peacock, and "his old friend the administrator Mr. Johnson," "Together... anxiously followed the fluctuating fortunes of Pangu." (5)

The overall tone of this article and its obvious attempt to link the interests of the Australian bourgeoisie with the Pangu, well reflects the attitude of the bourgeois mass media and shows very clearly who they see to be Australia's ally in PNG.

And where does this leave the Australian left, sections of which have been counterposing the Pangu Pati against the expatriate elite and imperialism in general? It is a truism to state that the Pangu Pati and the embryonic nationalist struggle, of which it is but a facet, cannot be viewed in isolation or statically. But it is worth repeating, for it seems a difficult concept for some to grasp.

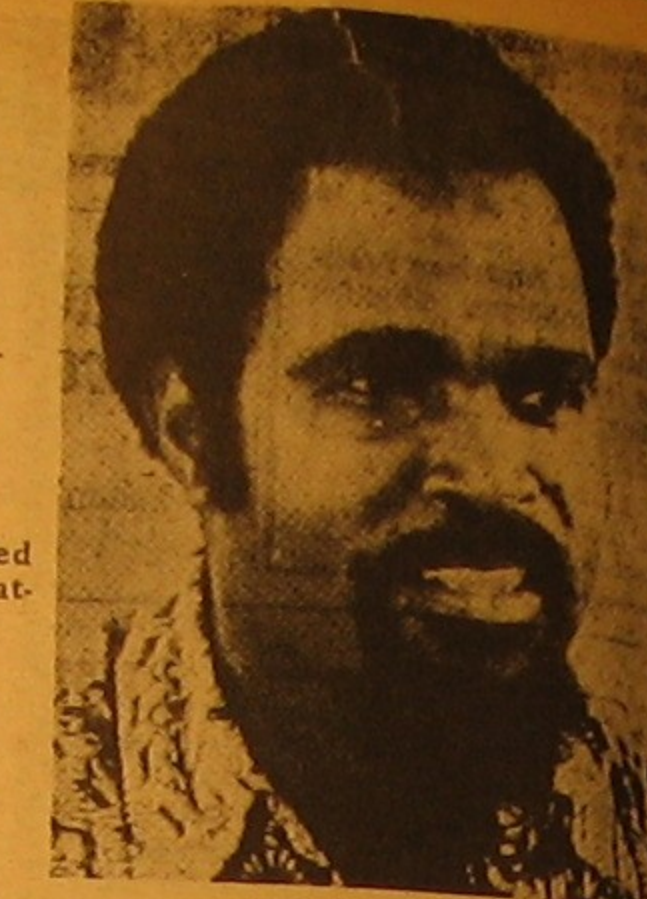
We unconditionally support the struggle of oppressed nations against imperialist domination. But socialists have one point of departure in an analysis of the struggle against imperialism: the historic weapon of national liberation can only be class struggle. We must decisively support the right of the black Niuginians to national independence. For it is only on the basis of a mutual struggle against domination by the same exploiter that

the solidarity of black and white workers will be cultivated and strengthened. It is only on this basis that the struggle against capitalist oppression (in all its forms) can be fought on all fronts, attacked at every opportunity, in the process activating and cementing the international solidarity of the toiling masses. Upon the basis of this historic solidarity humanity will be introduced to a new era of experience, an era in which human labour is seen in terms of human needs, not the profit of the individual.

So when we are assessing the struggle in PNG we must use the historic and international experience of the revolutionary movement as a tool and establish a meaningful, revolutionary relationship between the Australian working class and the weak but ever strengthening working class in PNG. Such an outlook is important even in the rather modest task of assessing the Pangu Pati. We must not jump to conclusions, condemning or rejoicing in some particular aspect of Pangu activity.

As already pointed out there can be no doubt that the Australian bourgeoisie is trying to link its interests with those of Somare's National Coalition. What we must determine is on what basis is this fusion taking place and what will be its effect upon the struggle for national liberation in PNG. Most evidence points to Somare being very amenable to incorporating the interests of imperialism into his own priorities. On a whole number of issues Somare lines up against the interests of the bulk of Niuginians. In fact to examine his National Coalition in terms of social reality in Niugini makes it very difficult not to conclude that Somare and friends are largely aliens in their own country.

Naturally enough the most obvious social division in PNG is the one between white expatriates on the one hand and the Niuginians on the other. And it is this division from which Pangu and now its National Coalition operate. Revolutionaries must support unconditionally the slogan which Somare was so fond of shouting - "Niugini for the Niuginians". But this does not mean that we support Somare unconditionally. Our attitude to Somare and the National Coalition will depend on what they mean by "Niugini for the Niuginians". Who does Somare mean when he talks of Niuginians - the bulk of the population which still lives in traditional tribal societies; the landless urban proletariat; the plantation labourers or perhaps the rapidly growing



Michael Somare

working class? Does Somare's National Coalition see the need to unite all these oppressed sectors in struggle, under the leadership of the working class, a fusion of interests which in a country at PNG's stage of development would not be as difficult as some imagine? Does Somare see the struggle for national liberation as a struggle against imperialism? Is there any indication that anyone in Somare's "radical" movement sees any relationship between the solution of the explosive land crisis in PNG, the demands of certain ethnic groups for the right of secession, the crying need to gear industrialisation to the needs of the people and the historic reality that such problems will never be resolved as long as imperialism dominates the entire political and economic life of a country? Has Somare ever indicated that his interests lie with those of the monstrously oppressed and swindled Niuginians?

Such questions are best answered by the Pangu itself. It will be seen that its current role in the National Coalition is the logical conclusion of its development since it was formed in 1966. And it is important to realise this point. The Pangu Pati is not betraying its principles in any way whatsoever. When Somare assures local private enterprise that the National Coalition will care for its interests, he is absolutely consistent. When Somare welcomes foreign investment and plans to prevent foreign domination by acquiring a 20% equity in all foreign ventures, again he is absolutely consistent. And when Somare sees Australia as the dominant influence in PNG after independence but suggests that this will be offset by closer ties with Japanese capitalism and with the most reactionary elements in South East Asia (eg. Indonesia & Malaysia), can there be any doubt whatsoever as to whom the National Coalition represents? What role has Somare other than saving a piece of the cake for the local bourgeoisie? What possible contact can there be between the components of the National Coalition and the mass of Niuginians when the Coalition sees its priorities in terms of containing the imperialist plunder in PNG?

Socialists must distinguish between the interests of the oppressed and the oppressor. On present indications one can do little but conclude that the Pangu and the National Coalition belong to the oppressor and as such constitute a stumbling block to the struggle for national liberation, social reform and industrial progress in PNG.

But as already pointed out the Pangu is almost as alien to PNG as the ridiculous attempts of imperialism to foist bourgeois institutions on that country. Pangu is "alien" because it is part of this "imperialist illusion" and because its political illusion is based upon the weakest and smallest class in PNG. So weak is this base, that imperialism has set as a major priority in the next 4 yrs before independence, the construction of a national petit bourgeoisie, which shall be able to accept the handouts which are being offered through the Investment Corporation.

So when Somare bewails the difficulty of solving the problems faced by PNG, and how his National Coalition plans to grapple with them, we may well sympathise with him. But not only are the problems difficult, but within the framework in which Somare works, they're absolutely insoluble. It is nothing short of lunacy for Somare to talk of solving the land and national problems, of uniting the country in the face of growing separatist movements in Bougainville, Papua and the Gazelle, when all he has to offer is more, and only more, imperialist plunder in PNG.

Out of necessity we can draw but one conclusion, and that is that the Pangu and its National Coalition are but a passing phenomenon in PNG. The most likely fate of the National Coalition is not its destruction by the masses unfortunately, but its evolution along the path taken by most colonial associates of imperialism. Already Somare and Guise (his deputy) are stressing the need to adopt and alter Westminster parliamentarianism to the conditions in PNG. What this means, only time will tell. Perhaps a semi-presidential system as suggested by Guise or the establishment of what the Indonesian butchers call an anti-communist democracy - an alliance of the military, political parties and professionals.

History has taught us that the last option is the most likely to be chosen. Not because Somare or anyone else in the National Coalition is particularly naive or unscrupulous but simply because to survive within PNG they have no other way to go.

Therefore in returning to the significance of the Pangu to the national liberation struggle we see how precarious its position is. Its connection with most Niuginians is of a most tenuous nature. And, there being no tradition of parliamentarianism in PNG, no institutionalized means of diffusing struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed, the tendency of such struggles would be simply to bypass the Pangu. For in such situations, the natural inclination of people is to take what is theirs rather than ask for it. It is the mass movement not the Pangu which shows the way forward in PNG.

The fate of PNG does not depend upon what Michael Somare and his coalition desires, but upon the ability of the mass movements to develop a conscious, socialist leadership, a leadership which can unite the struggle of the oppressed under the banner of socialism, and as part of the international revolutionary movement lead PNG towards real independence and fulfillment in the building of a socialist world, and there is no other way to solve the problems of national independence and development of the economy in Papua-New Guinea today.

(1) Just as an indication of how wide the acceptance of Pangu is at present, the DLP's Newsweekly (10/5/72) wrote "If they continue to move cautiously... they could turn out to be the best possible government for the country."

(2) Such suggestions have been scattered widely throughout the Australian press, in the immediate period after the elections, however it is interesting to note that the Pacific Islands Monthly (an Australian based Journal) in its February 1972 issue raised this very issue before the election had even started.

(3) The National Coalition, formed and led by Michael Somare's Pangu Pati consists of 1. Pangu Pati which contributes 31 members and holds the portfolios of Lands, Mines, Health and Education. 2. The Peoples Progressive Party - a breakaway from the United Party led by Julius Chan (a company director) contributes 10 members and holds the most important economic portfolios of Finance and Business development.

3. The National Party - which also has contributed 10 members (largely renegades from the UP) and holds the Public Works and Agriculture portfolios.

4. Independents - numbering 5, led by John Guise, Minister of the Interior

5. 3 Matabungan Association members. Thus in all, when formed, the National Coalition had 58 members against the UP's 42.

(4) For the past 3 - 4 years the Sydney Morning Herald and the National Times (since it was formed) have represented in the most logical manner the interests of the Australian bourgeoisie. Articles, especially by Peter Hastings contain invaluable material for those interested in the logic behind the new turn in Australia's attitude towards PNG.

(5) Investment Corporation of Papua New Guinea was established by the Australian government to acquire, on behalf of the Niuginians, 20% equities in selected foreign ventures. As Somare has pointed out, it will continue to do this until the Niuginian bourgeoisie has developed sufficiently to take over from it. It is interesting to note that such concerns as Burns Philp and Bougainville Copper have actually offered the Investment Corporation shares, even before the latter had approached them.

PERSEVERANCE FOR HIGH SCHOOLS AGAIN

(The following article is based on a report presented to the June Plenum of the Socialist Youth Alliance National Committee. It outlines the tasks of SYA in high schools for the coming months, and projects a national campaign for high school student rights, and better education generally.)

High school students in Melbourne have called on students in other cities to form coalitions to organize a national student strike around demands of civil rights and increased educational expenditure. SYA National Committee has endorsed this call in line with the conclusions of this report.

(Any high school student interested in building such a coalition can write to the SYA branch in their state for further information.)

The past months have witnessed the continuation of the radicalisation in schools, both nationally and internationally. As new struggles arise in Third World countries, high school students are more and more found in the forefront of the struggle. This was seen in Malagasy where alongside university students and workers, high school students took action to demand real national independence from France. Meanwhile in France the formation of a national high school organisation marks a step forward for the high school movement and for our comrades who are playing a leading role there. In England 2,500 London secondary students demonstrated against their archaic and extremely oppressive education system. These and many more examples invalidate the claim that the youth radicalisation is 'dying down'.

In Australia both student and teacher activity continues unabated. Teacher struggles continue on several fronts. Eruptions in Victoria and, to a lesser extent, in NSW have occurred consistently, and activity recently appeared in Queensland also. Strikes, sit-ins, and protests of students have taken place in all Australian capital cities. In some cases these received interstate coverage, while in others the protest was unknown to all but the school involved. Although these activities generally centre on issues which affect all students, in the absence of any means of broadening the fight these protests generally remain isolated.

Over the last few months, the Socialist Youth Alliance in its press and through leaflets has attempted to present some report and analysis of these incidents for the benefit of other students who find themselves in similar predicaments. The activity of other radical political groups in high schools has been less than encouraging. None of these understand the nature of high school radicalism, and their actions tend to dissipate it. Thus there is the attitude on the one hand of

organising actions for the students, which can only stunt initiative, and on the other hand encouraging students to do their own thing without any political rationale, which simply results in the repetition of all previous mistakes of the radical movements.

This latter point is very important. Earlier this year an attempt to form a Brisbane secondary students union met with failure. If instead this energy had gone into a campaign to fight the restriction of leaflet distribution at Brisbane schools, then at least the consciousness of some students would have been raised. Yet despite this lesson, and the memory of five defunct Sydney student unions, the Communist Party of Australia's response to increased high school activity in Sydney seems to be to blindly support those trying to initiate yet another such union. This is political irresponsibility. Maybe this one will catch on. More likely it won't. Past experience tells us that the energy could be better spent.

SYA's main activity in high schools has been to take the ideas of movements such as antiwar and women's liberation, and our analysis of the condition and content of education, to high school students. When a strike of 3,000 school students occurred in Melbourne our policy was put into practice. SYA members and supporters played an important role in building and organising the demonstration.

To project future action, the present state of high school affairs must be considered.

Political consciousness among students and teachers is presently relatively high. This is shown by such things as the number of teacher and student strikes and the response to the Little Red School Book. This consciousness will be expressed in interest in school democracy and better education, but also in other campaigns less directly linked with the school situation, such as the Black Moratorium, women's liberation and the antiwar movement, and also in increased interest in our ideas through Direct Action. Adelaide's Union of Secondary Students appears incapable of independent activity, and the Brisbane effort has already been covered. This was to be expected. On the other hand the Victorian Secondary Students Union has gained a new flood of recruits since the Melbourne strike, although it had not played a good role there. Yet like so many former VSSU members, these new recruits within the confines of this amorphous structure will quickly lose enthusiasm and possibly return to the apathetic fold.

In view of these existing conditions, and our analysis of the dynamic of the high school movement, the following seems the best future course of action.

Firstly, SYA sees the need for, and will build, a major campaign in schools for students' rights and better education. This would incorporate as a focus a

student strike (like the action seen in Melbourne) on a national scale later this year. Two major considerations must be made in planning such a campaign. Firstly whether it would gain student support. Secondly, if there are forces to organise it.

The first point has already been covered in so far as we can predict. The second point requires more consideration. Experience has shown that the best way to organise such a campaign is to involve all interested people in a coalition based on just these particular issues. This means that irrespective of their other opinions, all people who agree on a particular issue unite and fight around it. Most student radical activity is isolated in individual schools. In many schools people are grouped around a newsheet or discussion group. If these forces can be united together with established political groups, Young Labor Associations, student unions and others, the organisational base for the campaign clearly is sufficient. The demands around which to involve these forces will vary with area, and must be carefully thought out. The following is a general list:

- * Freedom of dress.
- * Freedom of expression, including: Availability of school facilities for all student activities, not just official speakers. Right of students to invite any speaker onto school grounds to address a meeting, not just those officially approved. No school restrictions on circulation of material, political or otherwise, inside or outside school grounds. Right to form a political group within the school.
- * Listing of all school rules so that students know their rights. No arbitrary punishment by the administration. The right of students to appeal against any disciplinary measures to a court of their peers.
- * No Corporal Punishment
- * End all segregation of schools, either partial or total.
- * More finance for education, more teachers. No educational discrimination against minorities (eg migrants, Aborigines).

With this perspective for a national high school mass action, SYA must understand the role it must play itself. As the only nationwide socialist youth organisation, we must accept a lot of the responsibility for building the action nationally. This will mean that in coming months, a major priority of SYA will be to ensure the campaign is best chance of success by working for coalitions in each state. In turn we hope to get our ideas across to radicalizing high school students throughout the country, to raise their political consciousness to the point of understanding that the high school movement is an integral part of the struggle against capitalism and that the current education system is a fundamental tool by which the bourgeoisie propagates its rule.

SUPPORT THE OIL INDUSTRY STRIKERS' DEMANDS!

There have been several strikes in the oil industry lately. One was of a small size, regarding working conditions, in the oil depot in Broadmeadow NSW. Of the other two, one involved the whole industry but was short in its duration. Undoubtedly the most significant strike involved the militant maintenance workers in the oil refineries.

The fight for a 35 hour week was the theme of both strikes. It was the main reason for the industry-wide strike and represented the stumbling block in the log of claims of the 1,500 maintenance workers. The strike at the refineries has been characterised by the intransigence of the employers and the extreme measures they have taken, in particular, the insertion of an additional part to the bans clause. Usually the employers practice is to insert the normal clause which advises unions not to impose any ban or limitation on the performance of work. This time, however an additional part aimed at individual workers was inserted which reads: "No officer, servant agent or member of any organisation party to the award shall be directly or indirectly associated with any ban, limitation or restriction on the performance of work".

The strike involves members of four unions: the Electrical Trades Union, Australian Society of Engineers, the Federated Ironworkers Association and the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union. The unions have presented a 48 point log of claims to the employers as part of a new two year agreement of which

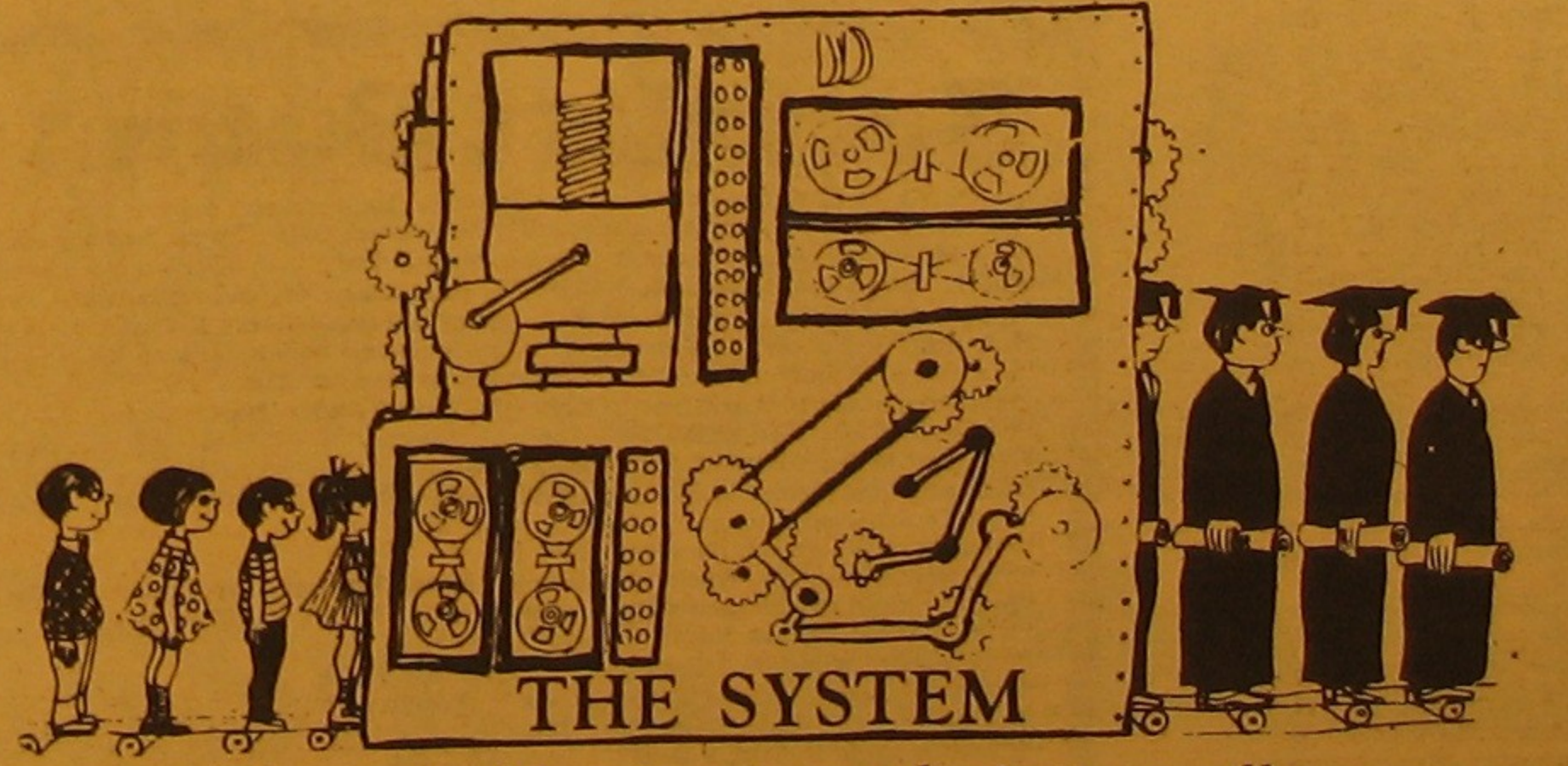
the 35 hour week was only one of the demands. The employers response was to indicate willingness to negotiate all but the 35 hour week issue which they proposed to take to the full bench of the arbitration commission as a national issue. Originally the unionists went on strike in Victoria and Queensland from June 9 to June 26 and in NSW and SA from June 22 to June 26. On June 26 the workers on advice of their leaders returned to work. This gave the oil companies a breathing space of three days in which maintenance work was carried out and supplies were allowed to continue. Several days later strike action was resumed. This time, after the employers made an offer that they would release details of their total offer on wages and conditions "as soon as it has been established that there have been a bona fide resumption on normal work at all locations". But on this occasion the trick didn't work: having been sold out previously on several occasions the workers voted overwhelmingly to stay out till a positive offer was made.

The maintenance workers strike takes on special importance for several reasons of which the employer's intransigence is only one of many. It was for these workers two years ago that Bob Hawke returned to the Arbitration Commission on their behalf following a protracted strike. He succeeded in obtaining substantial wage gains. The court however threw out the principle of giving the benefits of productivity to the workers rather than the capitalists. This

is the same principle expressed in a 35 hour week.

This year being an election year, Hawke will make an even more strenuous effort to try to reduce the militants' combativity. It is also the first major strike and first confrontation faced by the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union. Furthermore, it is one of the first strikes since the passage of the amendment to the Arbitration Act (the Lynch Laws) and it is quite possible that the wing of the ruling class which favour these laws as a means of attacking the organised labour movement will advocate tough action against the unions in preference to the more subtle method represented by the Cameron proposals and the ALP industrial policy and will try and prove their point by provoking a major confrontation. Once a confrontation has been staged Lynch and his allies will try and use their newly acquired powers to the full. A successful crushing of such a major union as the AMWU will certainly mean a success for this wing of the bourgeoisie - a success which will probably reflect itself in the polls in November. Thus more than ever Hawke will try to channel the struggle into arbitration, and attempt to avoid a real fight for the log of claims.

It is within this context that the importance of a firm stand by the maintenance workers becomes vital. It is the duty of all unions to support their struggle and to stop any moves towards a sell out by Hawke or any other labour "leaders".



The main thing is not to take it personally

The trial of Ceylonese rebels who took part in the abortive insurrection in April 1971 opened in Colombo on June 12. The trial is being heard by the Criminal Justice Commission, specially appointed because, according to the June 22 Ceylon News, "the practice and procedure of the ordinary courts were inadequate to administer justice in relation to those offences."

Outside the old Queens Club, where the commission is sitting, "soldiers with submachine guns stood on guard. Ten foot high barricades separated the area which is to house the suspects during the proceedings." The public was apparently discouraged from attending since many seats allotted to it were reported empty.

On June 13, Attorney General Victor Tennekoon named forty-one persons who are being accused in the trial of "conspiring to wage war against the Queen and of conspiring to overthrow the lawfully constituted Government of the country." Among them is Rohana Wijeweera, leader of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the youth organization that played a key role in the rebellion. The defendants also include S. D. Bandaranayake, a former member of parliament; Mahindapala Wijeserena, a student leader; and Susil Siriwardena, a former director of the Agrarian Research Institute of the Ministry of Lands.

The first witness called by the attorney general was the inspector general of police, Stanley Senanayake. He told the commission, according to Ceylon News, that most of those who took part in the insurrection were young people "between the ages of 17 and 25 who were unemployed, and poor but educated."

Senanayake cited a number of slogans inscribed by the insurrectionists on walls and posters during the rebellion. They included: "Born slaves, let us through revolution die free," "Liberate the motherland even at the cost of our lives. No solution except through revolution," and "Let us die on our feet (rather) than live on our knees."

NEW ZEALAND LABOUR PARTY BARS SOCIALISTS

The Socialist Action League (SAL) is organising a big defence campaign following a decision by the National Executive of the New Zealand Labour Party that "membership of the League is incompatible with membership of the Party."

The right-wing Labour party leadership began its witch-hunt immediately following the party's national conference in Wellington May 8-11. At the conference the SAL launched a "Socialists for Labour Campaign" for this year's general election.

The campaign is in support of the Labour party as the political arm of the New Zealand labour movement, but on the basis of a socialist programme and opposition to the right-wing leaders who have betrayed the interests of the party's working-class supporters.

The socialist election effort will be tied closely with union struggles and independent mass movements against the Indochina war, the 1973 South African rugby tour, and the abortion laws, campaigning on their demands.

Most major newspapers reported the socialist campaign and the SAL intervention in the party conference.

The May 11 Christchurch "Press" reported that "the young and militant members of the Socialist Action League - and in a more moderate form, university delegates - have made it clear that they are not happy with the 'conservatives' leading the party. . . ."

"The Socialist Action League is dismissed in private, by a senior member of the leadership as 'lunatic fringe,' but the league has been busily distributing its literature to any delegate who will accept it - and there are quite a few. . . ."

"Unimportant as the league might be, its thoughts echoed in the conference today," the report went on to explain the debate on women's liberation issues, the war, apartheid, and social welfare.

Delegates were very angry about Nixon's blockade of Haiphong, which was announced during the conference, and greeted a special motion condemning

THE WORLD



REVOLUTION

the escalation with sustained, standing applause. There was obviously great enthusiasm for action on the question, and many delegates signed a petition supporting the July 14 antiwar mobilisation. The party leadership, however, bureaucratically prevented a special motion in support of the mobilisation from reaching the floor, and ruled out of order an addendum to a remit that would have committed the party to July 14.

The mood of the conference was more radical than it has been for many years and there were heated debates over New Zealand's relations with apartheid South Africa and the abortion laws. A conference of about 100 of the party's youth held just prior to the main conference passed motions in support of the July 14 antiwar mobilisation, mass protests against the coming South African rugby tour, the abortion law repeal movement, and nationalisation under workers' control of all basic industries. It also condemned the party leadership's complicity in the smashing of the New Zealand Seamen's Union.

The futile attempt of the party leadership to stop these motions from coming to the attention of the party conference was countered by one delegate, on behalf of the Socialists for Labour Campaign, issuing a leaflet listing the motions passed by the youth. These leaflets were on delegates' tables when the party president, Bill Rowling, announced that the motions had been eliminated from the official youth report.

The party leaders have now clamped down on the developing socialist opposition to their procapitalist policies. The June 11 "Sunday Herald" explained it like this:

"It appears that the activities of the Socialist Action League at the recent Labour Party conference - when they distributed leaflets pledging a 'Socialists for Labour Campaign' but added some nasty swipes at the 'bankruptcy of the

Kirk leadership' - angered the party leadership and brought to a head a desire to curb the activities of some on the radical fringe of the party." The leaders also feared that the SAL "might associate the party with extremist ideas and frighten middle-of-the-road voters away."

Though the defence against the proscription has just begun, some party branches have already sent letters of protest. Prominent persons who have already signed a petition defending the right of SALers "to be members of the Labour Party and put forward their particular views" include five Labour candidates for this year's general election.

IRELAND: PROVISIONALS CALL FOR CEASEFIRE, TALKS.

The provisional IRA announced on June 22 that it would suspend "offensive operations" provided there were a "public reciprocal response" from the British Army. The statement continued:

"The leadership of the Republican movement believes that a bilateral suspension of operations would lead to meaningful talks between the major participants to the conflict."

It did not seem, however, that the Provisionals would be the ones to gain from their concessions. By not placing any preconditions, such as ending internment on negotiations, the way has been left open for more moderate political groups to compromise with the British without opposing pressure.

There were also rumours that sections of the Provisional ranks would refuse to obey the cease-fire. Disorientation in the Provisional ranks might be expected, since this group has been built almost exclusively on the perspective of guerrilla warfare, without a clear and effective programme for mass action.

Nonetheless, it seems clear that the Provisional campaign has ended in a political defeat. They have been forced to surrender almost unconditionally by a

peace campaign in the Catholic community fueled by little more than the promise of concessions from the British authorities. The concentration camps taken releases, and arrests continue. No serious steps have been taken to meet the long-standing grievances of the nationalist community. The suspension of the Belfast parliament has only given the British administration a fresh face and greater manoeuvrability. The system of religious bigotry remains intact, and the Protestant proimperialist organisations continue to play their role as a backup and ally for the occupation forces.

The real reason for the power of the peace campaign seems to be that a large section of the Catholic population has come to resent terrorist actions as a source of apparently needless discomforts and dangers. They have no control over such actions and the violence did not seem to be leading anywhere. There was support for the bombings and the other violent acts in the Catholic ghettos, but the most common defense of them was that "they make the government sit up and take notice." Now that the imperialist regime seems to be "taking notice," the support for terrorism appears to be ebbing with dizzying speed.

Moreover, since the Provisionals failed to build a mass political alternative to the moderate Catholic politicians, it was virtually inevitable that the halting of the military campaign would restore the position of these traditional "negotiators."

GREAT BRITAIN: DOCKERS' PROTEST FORCES TORIES TO RETREAT

In a judgement that will have far-reaching legal and industrial repercussions, the Court of Appeal on June 13 reversed an earlier ruling of the National Industrial Relations Court that had found the Transport and General Workers Union "in contempt" and had resulted in £55,000 in fines against the union.

The original contempt order and fines resulted from an application by a Liverpool container-lorry firm to force dockers there to end the "blacking" (boycotting) of the firm's lorries. This was the first trial of strength for the newly instituted Industrial Relations Act.

The docks dispute arose because certain companies are employing unregistered dock workers at lower wages to pack and unpack containers at special depots near the docks. The registered dock workers see this as a threat to their jobs and are blacking lorry firms that are known to be involved.

The June 13 Appeals Court judgement found the TGWU not responsible for the actions of its shop stewards in the docks who were providing the local leadership for the blacking of these firms. The only recourse under the Industrial Relations Act was to take legal action these rank-and-file leaders.

Contempt proceedings were begun the next day against three London docks shop stewards who, despite earlier court orders, continued to picket the Cobham Farm container depot in East London, where sixty-three unregistered TGWU workers were employed.

Sixty-five minutes after the deadline for their arrest the official union solicitors requested of the Appeals Court that the arrest not take place and that the charges be dropped due to insufficient evidence. Because of the imminent likelihood of mass strike solidarity, the judges agreed unanimously.

That day, in fact, some 35,000 dockers were on strike, and all work was stopped at London, Manchester, Hull, Preston, and Liverpool to protest the threatened imprisonment of the three dockers' representatives. Moreover, support was coming from miners, engineering workers, Ford and Vauxhall workers, printers and railwaymen.

Most certainly, the "blacking" will continue and the possibility of another confrontation with the Tory government is not ruled out. The dockers cannot afford to compromise on this issue; their numbers have fallen from 65,000 to 42,000 in seven years and threaten to fall another 10,000 in the next five years. Friday's unofficial protest stoppage has demonstrated the dockers' determination to counter this trend.

Socialist Books

- "An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory" Ernest Mandel 40c
 - "The Leninist Theory of Organization: Its Relevance Today" Ernest Mandel 30c
 - "The Marxist Theory of the State" Ernest Mandel 20c
 - "On the Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class" Mandel Novack 30c
 - "Peaceful Coexistence and World Revolution" Ernest Mandel 20c
 - "Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries" Ernest Mandel 15c
 - "The Revolutionary Student Movement" Ernest Mandel 25c
 - "Fascism - What it is and how to fight it" Leon Trotsky 20c
 - "I Stake My Life" Leon Trotsky 15c
 - "Marxism in Our Time" Leon Trotsky 30c
 - "Stalinism and Bolshevism" Leon Trotsky 20c
 - "The Transitional Program" Leon Trotsky 25c
 - "Statutes of the Fourth International" 15c
 - "The New Rise of the World Revolution" Fourth International Resolution 10c
 - "In Defense of the Women's Movement" Waters, Miller and Reed 15c
 - "Is Man an Aggressive Ape?" Evelyn Reed 5c
 - "Problems of Women's Liberation" Evelyn Reed 40c
 - "Women: caste, class or oppressed sex?" Evelyn Reed 5c
 - "Socialist Man" Isaac Deutscher 10c
 - "Class Struggle in Bangla Desh" Tariq Ali 25c
 - "The Truth About Israel and Zionism" Natham Weinstock, Jon Rothschild 15c
 - "The Class Nature of Israeli Society" Hanegbi - Machover - Orr 20c
- ADD 10c EACH FOR POSTAGE AND ORDER FROM SOCIALIST BOOKS,
P.O. BOX 151, GLEBE, 2037.

Published by Jim Percy, 139 St Johns Rd., Glebe, 2037. Printed by Messenger Print, 912 Anzac Pde. Maroubra Junction, NSW.