

DIRECT ACTION

A Socialist Fortnightly

No. 47 Sept. 13, 1973

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LABOR RETREATS

SEATO, DEFENCE,



ECONOMIC POLICY,



PENAL POWERS....

**GAY
LIBERATION
MOVES OUT
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ANALYSED
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DIRECT ACTION

No. 47, September 13 1973.

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EDITORIAL

Big Step Forward for Gay Liberation

The organisation of Gay Pride Week, to date the most aggressive public activity of the gay liberation movement in Sydney and Melbourne, points to the growing struggle being waged by homosexuals against the oppression they experience in this society. It also spotlights the whole nature of gay oppression, how to fight it and hence the future of the gay liberation movement.

The rise of gay liberation can be seen as an outgrowth of the changed attitudes towards sexual relations and morality engendered by the current radicalisation of youth. Homosexuals are standing up and demanding their rights and asserting their dignity along with other oppressed sectors of society.

Finding inspiration in the development of the women's liberation movement which provided the driving force in the struggle against sexual oppression, the gay liberation movement has emerged internationally as a component of the radical opposition to the capitalist system and its ideology. Although the movement is relatively small and still in the formative stages demonstrative actions by gays have been held recently in New Zealand, Canada and the United States where the annual Christopher Street Liberation Day demonstration in support of gay rights was held in New York on June 24.

The struggle of homosexuals against their oppression is one which should be supported unconditionally by all who call themselves socialists.

The activities of Gay Pride Week aim to bring to the attention of society the problems faced by homosexuals and aims to help dispel the reactionary ideas that homosexuality is a "perversion" or at best an "illness". In this it has a valuable function.

The week is important in another way as well, in that it provides a forum for gay activists to discuss the nature of gay oppression and plan a strategy for fighting it.

In this context an understanding of the root causes of the oppression of homosexuals is essential, particularly at a time when this question is being discussed in the movement and when many ideas are to be found - from those that say that gay liberation is possible under capitalism to those that say it isn't, from those that project aggressive mass action in the streets in support of gay demands to those that emphasise a more insular consciousness-raising only approach.

Socialists see that gay oppression is not something intrinsic to human society

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SYA Member Bashed

BY STEVE PAINTER

At about 6.30 pm on Thursday August 30, David Deutschmann, organiser of the Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA) at La Trobe University was attacked while returning to his car after distributing a leaflet on campus. He was knocked to the ground by a blow from behind and while on the ground he was kicked around the head and his hands were trodden on.

When he returned to his car he found a side window broken and the following typewritten note inside (the spelling and punctuation follows the original):

"DEUTSCHMANN
We preferred it when you weren't active on campus. You are only the first to be a victim of a show of force. This attack on you is an attack on all lefties. If you are prepared to align yourself to the left and the many crazy ones on campus then be prepared for more treatment. Deutschmann and SYA off campus!"

Immediately prior to the attack Deutschmann had been distributing a leaflet defending the previous day's expulsion from the campus of a representative of the Thieu regime in South Vietnam. The representative, Luu Tuong Quang, a South Vietnamese counsellor to Australia, had been invited to speak by the right-wing Democratic Club.

Quang was forced to leave the campus after a meeting of 200 students had voted not to allow him to speak.

Immediately following the attack the SYA called for the students themselves to investigate the incident through the SRC. Following a petition drive initiated by SYA, the SRC organised a meeting attended by some 200 students on September 5. A motion condemning the attack on Deutschmann was unanimously carried. All the campus political groups were prominently represented. The meeting included the Democratic Club and the Maoist front, the Radical Student Movement.

After the attack the SYA also circulated a statement for endorsement by representatives of all political groups on campus. The statement condemned the attack and dissociated the endorsing organisations from it. All the campus political organisations have signed this statement.

The response of the university administration has been less encouraging. On September 3 Deutschmann approached the Registrar T. S. Taylor to protest the bashing and ask the administration to do something. Taylor's response was that the matter was not important enough to investigate.

While it is not possible to be 100 per cent sure, nevertheless the attack appears most likely to have been carried out by right-wing elements acting either on their own or in collusion with other campus rightists. The right wing has suffered a steady decline in influence at La Trobe this year and given its political orientation it is not inconceivable that elements of the right have in desperation resorted to physical violence against a well-known leftist.

At the beginning of the year the right wing had high hopes that they had finally isolated and defeated the left at

La Trobe. They controlled the SRC and appeared to be in a strong position on campus generally. However, over the year progressed the right wing suffered several heavy defeats.

The first of these was during the campaign to disaffiliate La Trobe from the Australian Union of Students. The left organised in defence of AUS and eventually won a referendum on the issue with 85 per cent of those voting supporting AUS. Deutschmann and the SYA played a leading role in this campaign. Later in the year the right wing expected a crushing defeat in the SRC elections. From controlling the SRC they were reduced to the position where the left can usually count upon all but a few votes on the body.

Following these defeats the right have taken to red-baiting and making accusations of violence against left-wing students. They claim that two leading right wingers have had their cars vandalised in recent weeks. They have made unsubstantiated accusations that the Maoist Worker Student Alliance (MWSA) was responsible for the attacks.

In the Deutschmann case, straight after the appearance of an SYA leaflet giving the details of the bashing, the right-wing Democratic Club put out an issue of its leaflet Liberty implying that the Maoists were responsible.

The identity of David Deutschmann's assailants has not yet been discovered. In view of the fact that every political



Dave Deutschmann selling DA on campus group on campus has condemned the bashing, if it is found that the attackers belong to any such group then it is obliged to disown and expel them. If the attackers are found to be students of this campus they must be expelled. Student opinion is clearly absolutely against anyone using violence to settle differences of political orientation.

The energetic campaign the Socialist Youth Alliance has mounted around the Deutschmann affair should convince Deutschmann's attackers and anyone else harboring such ideas that the SYA will not be intimidated by threats or goon attacks. It will always defend its right to put forward its socialist ideas as vigorously as possible.

Labor to Power in Parramatta

BY DAVID NIZO

A snap poll taken by the Nationwide Opinion Poll organisation has indicated that Labor's popularity has slipped sufficiently for it to lose the Parramatta by-election. A further opinion poll commissioned by the ABC television programme This Day Tonight has shown that Labor can still win this election even though most voters expect the Liberals to win.

Whitlam's admission to David Frost that he expects Labor to lose the by-election makes the need for victory even more vital. The intransigence of the Liberals and their Country Party and Democratic Labor Party friends is based on their expectation of a massive turn away from Labor in Parramatta,

LABOR RETREATS: Seato, Defence, Penal Powers, Economic Policy.



BY SOL SALBY

The Labor Government is retreating right across the board. This is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the Government's performance over the last month.

The promises which Labor made last year are all but forgotten. The radical actions taken on its assumption of office are nine months old. On nearly every plane and in every sphere Labor is backtracking not only on its election promises but even on its actions of the last few months.

From defence to foreign policy, from economic action to transport the record speaks for itself.

Consider the following areas:

Defence: Writing in the August 24 issue of The Sydney Morning Herald Brian Jones wrote: "While he was in Washington for talks with President Nixon and other senior American officials, Mr Whitlam made it clear that the Australian Government had modified its view that Seato was 'moribund'." Whitlam told Nixon Australia did not intend to withdraw from Seato. What a contrast from Labor's previous policy!

Defence of Workers' Rights: The earlier version of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, which was rejected by the capitalist parties majority in the Senate, has been dropped. It is now being submitted in two parts. The first include all the "innocuous" clauses regarding union democracy and provisions expected to be approved by the Liberals. The second contains some of the vital parts of the legislation.

These include the abolition of the penal clauses of the arbitration system and the exemption of unions from civil law suits. These earlier gains reflect the massive upsurge of 1969 in the O'Shea struggle and the rank-and-file pressure to eliminate the Cameron Proposals in 1971. The betrayal of these workers' gains and the refusal of the Labor leadership to fight on this issue constitutes a serious backtracking.

Democracy: After a break of three months Labor has re-introduced the Electoral Bill in the Senate. This bill, while completely tied up to electoralism, guarantees the equal-value principle. If carried this would have meant an end to the anti-working class gerrymander which presently operates in the electoral system. This bill was defeated by the capitalist parties on August 29. Whitlam

and the Labor caucus have refused to take up the fight and call for a double dissolution although they now have the legal means of doing so.

There are other aspects of Labor's retreat both inside and outside Parliament. The Minister for Defence, Lance Barnard told the national executive of the RSL that the army's size will be increased. Further concessions were made to the AMA by the Minister for Social Security, Bill Hayden. Even on the question of the monarchy and statement of allegiance Labor accepted the Liberals' proposals.

The radical facade of previous months has now been torn away. The popular measures taken during the early period have given way to Labor action openly in favor of the employers.

Nowhere is this seen clearer than in the pursuit of Labor's economic policy. The tariff cuts, the Budget and now the credit squeeze and the second revaluation all represent the same thing. The bill to be foisted by the Australian working class is for the faults of the capitalist system, not for Labor's reform programme as The Australian's editorial arrogantly suggested on September 11.

The Australian working class is going to pay dearly for Labor's policy. The businessmen's Budget brought down on August 21 places the heaviest burden of taxation on the lower income groups. The people who are moving into higher income brackets as a result of inflation are paying an increasingly higher proportion of their income on taxes.

The credit squeeze has only one aim: to reduce demand in the market place and increase unemployment. Whitlam is adopting the same kind of tactics used by Liberal treasurers and prime ministers. The 1961 credit squeeze and the "horror" McMahon-Snedden Budget of 1971 were all based on the same policy: the only way the capitalist state fights inflation is by increasing unemployment.

Mass rank-and-file pressure has guaranteed that at least some of Labor's promises will be kept. But now the credit squeeze means that to reduce demand the Government is increasing interest rates.

Unlike the tariff cuts and the two revaluations which are aimed mainly at the imported component of inflation, the credit squeeze is aimed at Australian rather than overseas workers. There can be no question that the aim of this manoeuvre is to increase unemployment.

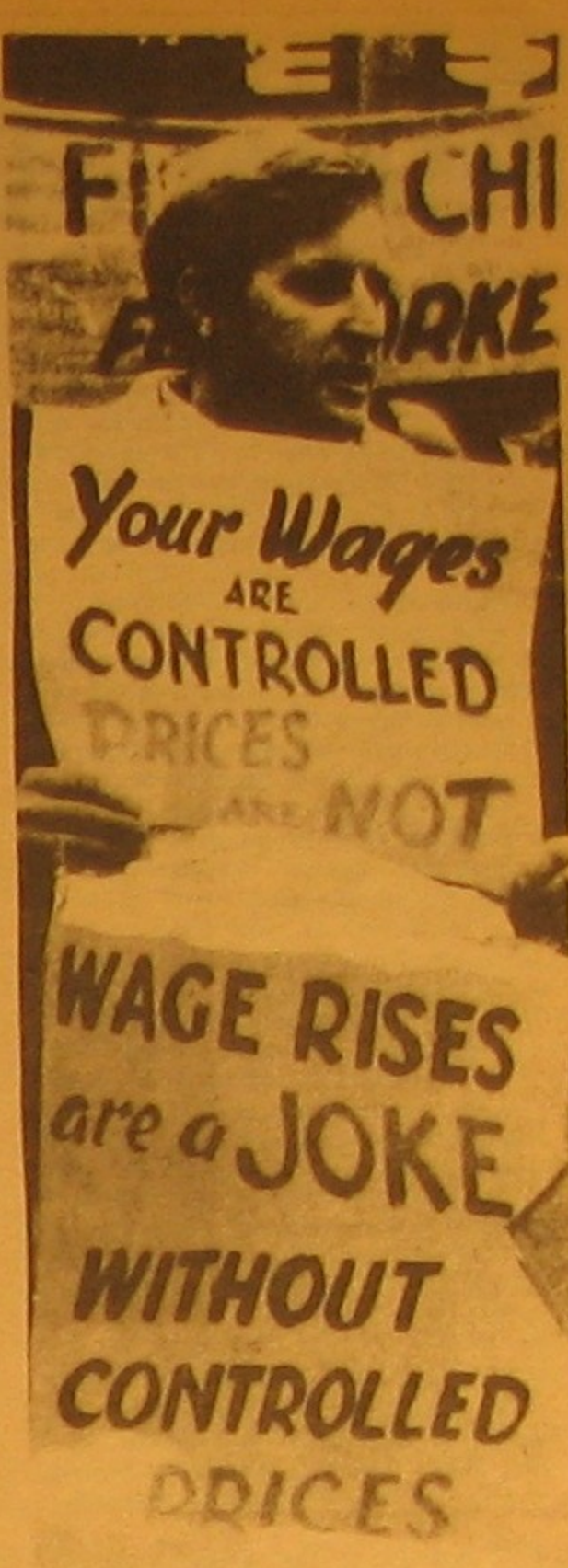


What has changed from the McMahon-Snedden era is the trade-off relationship between unemployment and inflation. Today a similar level of unemployment to previously means a much higher level of inflation and an identical level of inflation means higher unemployment. In other words even a moderate cut-back of inflation will require a large increase in the number of people unemployed.

Assessing whether an "incomes policy", i.e. a wage freeze, is any nearer or further away in the light of the various desperate manoeuvres by the Whitlam-Crean team, is only a secondary question. What we have to realise is that an assault on workers' standard of living is being made right now.

There is no need to accept any conspiratorial theory of events or a great turn in Labor policy. What Whitlam and Crean are doing reflects the nature of a party leadership which is in the main dependent on big business.

The revaluation can only be seen as an attempt to try and stop imported inflation. Both the earlier revaluation



of December 23 last year and the tariff cuts have demonstrated already that such measures have little or no impact on consumer prices. The only beneficiaries are the importers who make an extra profit.

To a large extent it represents nothing but a readjustment of the exchange rate to the position six months ago.

The Australian dollar has been pegged to the US dollar which has continuously been losing its value.

In relation to most of the trading partners of Australian capitalism the new revaluation will bring the relation back to what it was immediately after the last devaluation of the US dollar.

While a revaluation is going to decrease capital inflow, a major cause of inflation, the credit squeeze is going to have an opposite outcome. The new interest rates which are now 1-2 per cent higher than before are going to attract overseas capital. The higher return on capital which is also expressed in lower stock market values is another encouragement for capital inflow.

The Whitlam Government, pledged to implement cheaper housing and lower interest rates is now introducing policies designed to make interest rates higher than ever before, going up by more than one per cent.

The about-face by the Labor Government is just about complete. We can still rely on Jim Cairns to attack racism once in a while or Clyde Cameron to attack the multi-national corporations. But Labor is not going to implement policies radically different to those of the Liberals, let alone socialist policies.

Now is the time for all Labor supporters to take up the struggle for socialist policies to make sure that Labor serves the interests of the working class and not the employers.

ACTU Congress Dodges Issues

BY SOL SALBY

What was probably the most boring and uneventful congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions concluded in Sydney on September 7. The assessment of congress was quite descripting it as "conservative" and "disappointing".

The most significant feature of the congress, which featured prominently in Bob Hawke's presidential address was the existence of the Labor Government. It has been a quarter of a century since the ACTU biennial congress was held under a Labor government. In fact the address by the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, appears to be the first ever by a Prime Minister to congress. This was no doubt a cause for complacency.

The congress remained throughout the five days firmly in the control of the ACTU interstate executive. With only one exception the congress adopted all executive recommendations and rejected all amendments which did not carry the executive's mark of approval. That sole exception was the appointment of a full-time executive vice-president. The combined opposition of the extreme right forces and the left-wing Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union was mainly responsible for the decision.

This was the only defeat suffered by Hawke's centre forces. They were successful on every other question and never had to face another situation with only 352 votes for and 432 against.

Labor Government

The tone of the congress was set by the presidential address. Bob Hawke dealt with the election of the Labor Government on December 2, 1972. He pointed out that Labor's victory was the ACTU's victory and listed the achievements of Labor in office over the first nine months. The ACTU has been active to its limit in ensuring Labor's victory. He then stated that the ACTU is not going to support every action of the Labor Government. In particular he outlined three areas in which differences have arisen.

These differences included ACTU objections to a part of the new Conciliation and Arbitration Bill which the Minister for Labour, Clyde Cameron agreed to amend, and the tariff cuts. But the most serious criticism was levelled at the Budget. Hawke reaffirmed the criticism which he made on television on Budget night and while welcoming the increases in expenditure on education and welfare stated that means used to increase revenue for this expenditure were inequitable. In line with the ACTU's submission to the Prime Minister, he suggested other means like a capital gains tax and rebates for education, health etc, rather than tax deductions.

At the same time as adopting an aggressive tone on his personal role during the election Hawke was on the defensive in explaining his role in selling out the State Electricity Commission of Victoria strikers in early 1972 and the oil industry dispute later on that year.

Two significant matters were only referred to in passing by the president. One was ACTU enterprises which was ignored as a result of a special session being devoted to it later on. The other was inflation, the main problem facing Australian unionists and which, except for a brief reference to the need for "regulation and control of prices" was simply ignored.

The economic policy report was no less disappointing. The question of prices occupied a considerable part of the executive recommendation, however the seven demands on the Australian and the State governments did not include any serious or very specific measures designed to combat inflation. In the whole economic report the nearest reference to an "incomes policy" i.e. a wage freeze, was demand (d): "Direct regulation over non-wage forms of incomes as means of preventing excessive increases in these incomes."

Wage Freeze

The question of an "incomes policy" is not a theoretical question of academic interest only. The Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, was quite explicit in his

allusion when addressing congress on its second day. After spending some time complaining about the intransigence of the States' leaders who refused at that stage to grant the Federal Government power over prices, he suggested a price freeze.

Whitlam then went on to remind the delegates that during the last time a price freeze was operating in Australia, during World War II, a wage freeze was also imposed. The only guarantee he was prepared to make was that if a price freeze was imposed "incomes will be properly sustained". This vague formula

delegates like George Crawford, Victorian secretary of the Plumbers' and Gasfitters' Union and Merv Nixon president of the South Coast Trades and Labour Council. They all agreed that a strong ACTU stand could restrain the Labor Government from imposing a wage freeze (at least under some circumstances).

Unemployment and Inflation

The economic policy debate wasn't entirely valueless. The introduction by the ACTU's research officer, Robert

for this made the ACTU offensive rather weak. No-one in the whole congress raised the demand of a sliding scale of wages i.e. a monthly cost-of-living adjustment to wages. In the executive report the recommendation for quarterly adjustments was neatly tucked away as something good to have on the books. As usual Carmichael's amendment was defeated with only 235 votes in favor (with total votes being 812 the vote against wasn't even taken). Hawke's mover-in-reply address stressed that inflation is the number-one concern of Australian workers but despite this he refused to provide any solutions.



1973 ACTU Congress Refuses to Discuss Wage Freeze, Opposes Equal Pay, Supports Partnerships with International Big Business, and Retains its Youth Committee with an Average Age of 51!

lution was regarded as being sufficient by congress.

A resolution suspending the order of business of congress to discuss a motion of total opposition to a wage freeze failed miserably. The lack of interest in this topic was shown later on when a motion for suspension of the order of business was carried overwhelmingly to discuss... changes in postal regulations introduced in the Federal Budget!

The mover of the motion on the wage freeze, Graham Ashton of the NSW Teachers' Federation later told DIRECT ACTION:

"A wage freeze hasn't been mentioned at the congress for the last four and one half days. If we have no comment to make it will be a mistake, an omission which we couldn't rectify for two years. If a wage freeze is going to come up its going to come in the next two years."

Ashton expressed a sentiment conveyed to DIRECT ACTION by other left-wing

Jolly certainly provided a good background for some serious action to combat inflation and unemployment. Jolly stressed that despite the marked reduction in unemployment under Labor it was still too high at 1.5 per cent and there was a need for immediate action in the area of "manpower policy" to eliminate occupational and geographical unemployment.

The unanimous agreement of all speakers on the ineffectiveness of the Prices Justification Tribunal expressed by Jolly, Hawke (as the mover of the executive recommendation) and all others did not provide any solution to the problems of inflation. As usual, Laurie Carmichael, assistant Commonwealth secretary of the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union and a leading member of the Communist Party of Australia saw the solution to lie in a conference of shop stewards as well as some industrial action.

While the need to involve the rank and file in action combatting inflation is apparent to all the lack of a programme

The international aspect of inflation was highlighted by Robert Jolly who quoted Professor Harry Johnson, a conservative authority on the subject, who blamed inflation on international factors and the Vietnam war as did a recent report of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Equal Pay

One of the most radical motions of the congress was moved during the wages policy discussion. After a boring and long-winded report from Harold Souter, ACTU secretary, the following amendment was moved:

"(Congress) urges the ACTU to take immediate and urgent action to see that women are granted a minimum wage equal to that of men immediately and that the concept of a family wage be abolished immediately.

"Women to receive equal margins, bonuses, and flow-ons and all mention

of sex classification be abolished from awards and advertisements for jobs.

"The ACTU will fight for 'one rate for the job' in the belief that the job to be done should be done by the best person available, irrespective of sex. The ACTU to bring to bear its industrial strength on employers to grant equal opportunities in all fields and at all levels of employment."

The mover of this motion, Tessa Mallos of Actors Equity was the only delegate for her union. Despite that there were 22 other women delegates (out of 812). They were all under the domination of men and formed tiny minorities even in unions whose membership is overwhelmingly female such as the Federated Clerks' Union and the Shop Assistants' Union.

This Tessa Mallos was the woman delegate chosen to move this motion which was a recommendation from the Alternative Trade-Union Women's Conference (see page 9). She pointed out the crying need to abolish the family concept of wages. "Do women pay less money for rent?" she asked.

One of the points made by Mallos was that of the same minimum wage being granted to juniors. This was in contradiction to the official recommendation from the executive which was for only a percentage to be paid to juniors. An additional point was that young women were probably even more deserving of getting an equal minimum wage because so many of them face additional expenses of moving into the cities from the country country. There are no jobs available for women in the country.

The opposition to Mallos's amendment was quite fierce. Several delegates like John Maynes of the FCU opposed the amendment. The same argument was used by Harold Souter in reply. They all argued about a family-needs concept applying currently and claimed that awarding women equal pay will lead to an across-the-board reduction in wages.



Ralph Marsh



Harold Souter



John Halfpenny



Robert Jolly

Their argument disregarded women who support a family and men with no family responsibilities.

The only other amendment during the debate came from the acting Federal secretary of the Building Workers' Industrial Union and president of the Socialist Party of Australia, Pat Clancy. Possibly sensing a groundswell of opposition to him (later to be expressed in the elections) he moved a "radical" amendment for a 24-hour general strike on the commencement of the next national wage case.

He justified this move not on the grounds of efficacy or the need to involve the rank and file but through the need to accommodate the increased militancy of workers. "There is a more militant mood and willingness to take part in action in the working class," he said. The amendment was defeated by the margin of 269 for and 386 against. Tessa Mallos's amendment was defeated so overwhelmingly that no one even wanted to count the numbers.

A Visit From the PM

The wages policy debate was interrupted by the speech of the Prime Minister who did very little apart from snipe at the State leaders. As was the case with Hawke's presidential address, he received the most tumultuous applause when referring to Labor's role in ending the war in Vietnam.

The only thing Whitlam had plenty to offer was promises. Inequality in education would be removed in six years. The great examples of social-democracy from Scandinavia, West Germany, Austria and Israel are to be followed. He also promised referenda on just about everything as well as the abolition of all discrimination against women.

Election Deal

An indication of the right-wing and conservative nature of the congress was given when the results of the elections to the executive were announced. The ACTU executive is composed of 17 people including the president and the secretary who are elected for life, (that is until they die, retire, or commit a serious misdemeanor). As well there are six representatives from the State branches of the ACTU elected by these branches, two vice-presidents and seven industry-group representatives. During congress elections were held for the last nine.

In the election for vice-presidents the outgoing junior vice-president, Cliff Dolan was elected as the new senior vice-president while right-wing supporter Ralph Marsh was elected as junior vice-

This was of course nothing but crass opportunism for which Gallagher must be judged. The two dissenting votes were those of Munday and Mick McNamara who voted for Gallagher but not for Marsh.

Boycott South Africa

About the most left-wing actions of the executive were the recommendations contained in Bob Hawke's International report. After praising the detente and lashing out at "the criminal insanity" of French nuclear tests, Hawke concentrated on Papua and New Guinea and South Africa.

The international conference on Apartheid on which he reported was held in Geneva on June 15-16. For the first time ever the three major international organisations of trade unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (of which the ACTU is a member), the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the World Christian Trade Union Movement were brought together. Their unanimously adopted resolutions call on world governments to take action against the racist regime in South Africa. They also adopted a programme of action for trade unions to smash apartheid.

As a result of the Geneva conference, the ACTU adopted a resolution calling for a boycott of trade with South Africa following March next year. The important proviso was that a majority of similar union associations in the relevant countries (Japan, Britain, Germany) take similar action. While at this stage it is unclear just how many overseas unions will participate in such activity, it is a step forward. If the action will take place then Laurie Carmichael will be right in calling it: "probably the biggest and most significant campaign to be undertaken by the Australian trade union movement next year."

R.J. Hawke Pty Ltd

But unquestionably the most interesting and significant debate concerned the question of ACTU enterprises, that is the entry of the ACTU into retail trade, insurance, building, etc. Opposition was expected from both right and left. So Hawke's report was extremely



Pat Clancy



Jack Munday



Norm Gallagher



John Ducker

defensive. He even made sure he had a news item to announce to congress — the release of Commonwealth land for ACTU building activity.

Despite his effort the opposition persisted. John Maynes, a member of the right-wing Democratic Labor Party attacked the whole scheme as taking too much of the ACTU's officers time. This was the sole grounds used by the right wing, and was completely different argument to the one used by the left. The State president of the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union in Victoria and a leading member of the Socialist Left, Jimmy Roulston moved the following left-wing amendment to Hawke's report:

"We remind the ACTU that the objectives of the ACTU as stated in the ACTU rules is for the socialist ownership of production, distribution and exchange and this objective is in no way served by the ACTU involvement either in sole or joint ownership of capitalist-type enterprise."

The resolution was seconded by the AMWU's Victorian secretary, John Halfpenny. Halfpenny elaborated on the resolution and explained the current co-operation with the multi-national corporations with which the ACTU is collaborating.

Very little time was allowed to debate and Hawke soon had to reply. He spent the first few minutes attacking John Maynes and what he called the hypocrisy of his right-wing critics. They objected to him spending too much time on "other business" "to talk about them (ACTU officers) as wasting their time, in terms of not using their time properly, when he (John Maynes) has spent a very considerable amount of time in trying to ensure the retention in power of the worst type of a conservative capitalist government." This was the worst case of hypocrisy in Hawke's 17 years at the ACTU.

Hawke unfortunately went on to attack

John Halfpenny in personal terms. His fiery speech and clever rhetoric won the day. When the vote was taken it was carried on the voices without a show of hands taking place.

Bright rhetoric and the control of the numbers may have won the day for bureaucrats on this occasion. A continuation of the current policies based upon complacency following the Labor Government can be expected. But the mass pressure evident in some of the concessions granted both by Labor and the ACTU show where the future lies.

IN BRIEF:

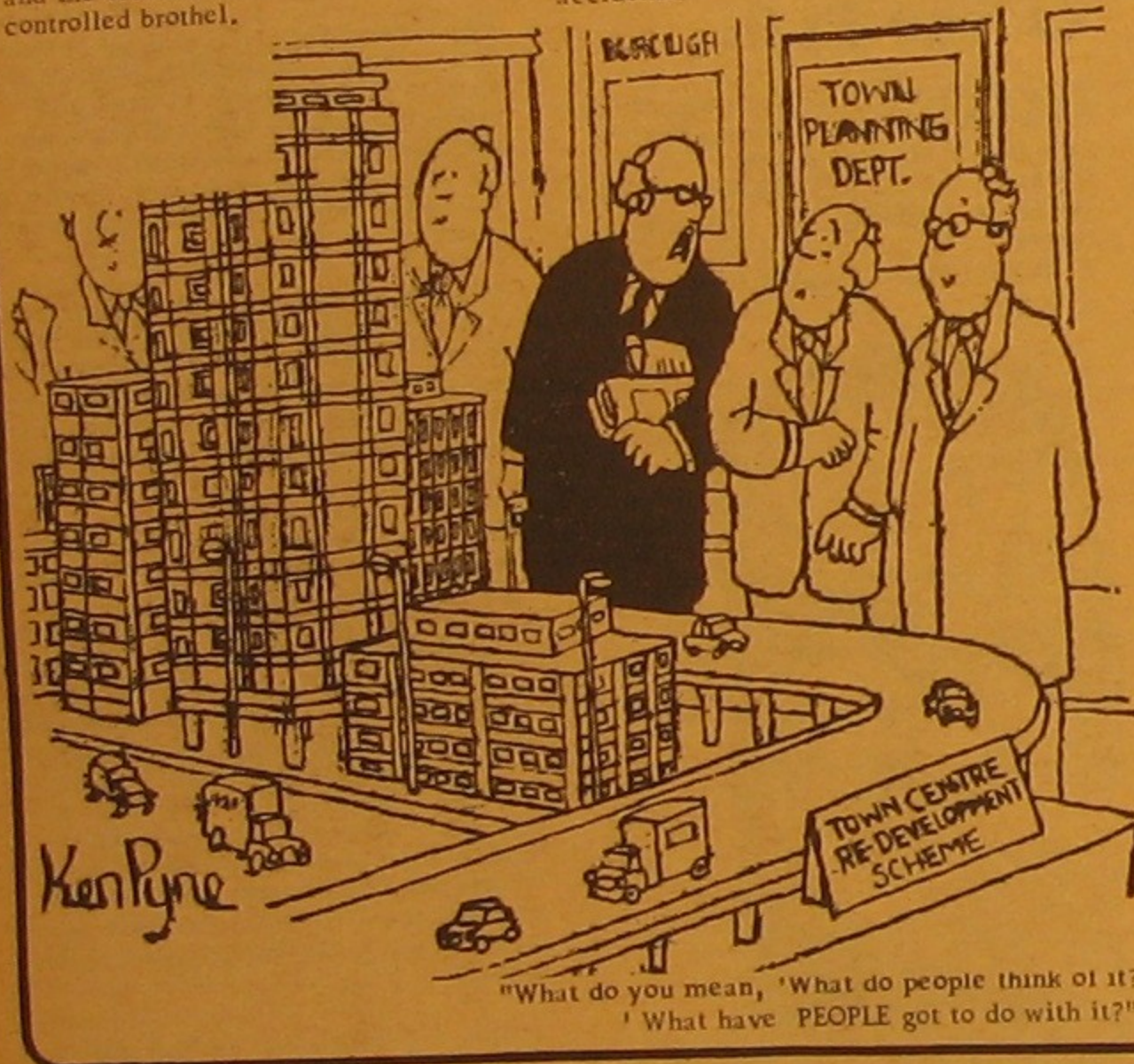
HIS IS NOT TO REASON WHY.

Lieutenant-Colonel M. van Gelder recently delivered his views on school cadet corps to a Senate committee on foreign affairs and defence. He said: "Despite any youthful arguments or protestations to the contrary, the training received in school cadets is valuable preparatory training to any later training made necessary by the Lieutenant-Colonel. Unfortunately for the Lieutenant-Colonel, his prospective cadets don't seem to agree. Their 'youthful protestations' reveal an increasingly clear understanding of what people like van Gelder mean when they talk about 'defence'. What they mean is defence of the right of capitalists to defend their foreign investments by any means necessary, including the bombing and burning of whole populations."

INSTITUTIONALISED PROSTITUTION?

The Queensland Young Labor Association held a two-day conference over the week-end August 25-26. The thirty delegates discussed such questions as transport, housing, social welfare, conservation, homosexuality, abortion and the legalisation of marijuana.

The conference supported motions in favor of lowering the age of consent, against the construction of further freeways, a call for commission into the share-holdings of all State members of Parliament, the legalisation of marijuana, against anti-homosexual laws, and the establishment of a State-controlled brothel.



"What do you mean, 'What do people think of it?' 'What have PEOPLE got to do with it?'"

This last motion has received considerable comment in the daily press. The Minister for Health was quoted in the August 30 Courier Mail as saying: "I cannot imagine any more blatant and insulting form of sex discrimination than the suggestion that prostitution be legalised."

Prostitution, while illegal means that prostitutes are discriminated against, not only as women in a sexist society, but also as criminals. It is therefore necessary to demand the removal of all repressive legislation and cessation of police harassment.

However, the legalisation of prostitution is no answer, it would mean in fact state-institutionalised sexism.

Such a stand taken by Young Labor shows that even the more radical members of the Labor Party who are prepared to support a woman's right to abortion and the rights of homosexuals, still do not understand the nature of sexism in our society.

NO ACCIDENT

On August 21 visitors to the tomb of Jan Palach, the Czech student who burned himself to death in protest against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, found the tomb surrounded by a six-foot-high plank fence. August 21 was the fifth anniversary of the invasion. A sign on the fence read "Danger of accident", armed police patrolled nearby to emphasise the point. There were no accidents.



NSW Premier Askin

ASKIN'S AMNESIA

The State Member of Illawarra, George Petersen, today described as amazing an admission by the Premier Robert Askin that he could not remember a question about New South Wales police efforts to infiltrate the labor movement.

George Petersen said he had raised the question in State Parliament in March. On Tuesday August 28 he had again raised the matter in Parliament.

Petersen said he had asked the Premier if he recalled the question concerning "an approach by Sergeant Neilly of the Police Special Branch to Mr Bruce McCartney, an organiser of the Federated Ironworkers Association and member of the Australian Labor Party on February 1, when McCartney was invited to join the Socialist Party of Australia for monetary considerations and report on its activities to the police."

"The Premier then said he would make inquiries and let me know whether this was normal practice and whether the police employed any other spies in the Labor movement."

"Is the Premier now in a position to advise me and the House of the information, or has he obtained the information, and is not releasing it because it would be merely adding to his numerous embarrassments?"

Robert Askin replied: "To be quite truthful, I do not remember the question to which the honorable member refers being asked of me last February. The best I can do is to say that I shall have prompt inquiries made, see what the situation is and try and inform the honorable member with the minimum of delay."

Speaking outside the House, George Petersen said the Premier had obviously attempted to cover up the matter.

"It is inconceivable that the Premier as ministerial head of the New South Police Force was not aware of an attempt by political police to spy on the labor movement," Petersen said.

ISSUE AVOIDED

On August 20, the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party decided to allow Labor members of Parliament a conscience vote on the issue of abolition of legal penalties against people committing homosexual acts. As with the abortion issue the ALP has capitulated to pressures from right-wing and religious groups. Instead of offering leadership to the workers movement on this issue, the ALP leadership has chosen to stand aside leaving the reactionaries to hold sway.

ASKIN EXPLAINS INFLATION

NSW Premier Robert Askin recently expounded his view of the causes of inflation and what should be done about the problem. He told a Liberal Party women's meeting: "You can see the reds, the pinkies and the socialists are responsible for the rate of inflation." The solution he put forward was equally simple: "We need the whole Liberal Party to embark on a crusade."

How fortunate the people of NSW are to have a Premier with such a profound grasp of the workings of the economy and so in touch with reality that he is still living in the atmosphere of the anti-communist witch hunts of the 1950s.



"Could you let me have \$36,000 till payday?"

DEMOCRAT

On Wednesday August 27 Liberal Party Senator Ivor Greenwood attacked the Federal Labor Government for having disbanded the special branch of the Northern Territory police force. If any-one doubts that the special branch functioned as political police, former Attorney-General Greenwood doesn't. In attacking the present Attorney-General, Senator Murphy, he said: "In an area where general intelligence ought always to be available as a matter of national security, the Attorney-General prefers to let communist activists, espionage agents, subversives, saboteurs and so on operate without check. He didn't say why communist activists who seek to convince the majority of people of the need for fundamental social change should be surveyed by political police."

But Greenwood and his party never have been too concerned about the democratic rights of those who do not hold their point of view.

...STEVE PAINTER

The Detente & Australian Politics

BY JIM McILROY AND JAMIE DOUGHNEY

To give some idea of how the new situation has affected Australian politics many examples of redirection in governmental policy and changed attitude toward Australia's position in the world can be cited. One example is the projected overseas tour of Gough Whitlam in October when he will visit Peking and lead an important trade mission to Japan, looking into the possibility of increased trade and co-operation. These are steps which previous Liberal governments were not prepared to take.

They indicate how Australia under a Labor government has been able to break with past Liberal policies of the cold-war era, typified among other things by rabid opposition to China and a less aggressive approach to the "independence" of Australian capitalism in the economic and political sphere.

Important sections of the Australian capitalist class are more than prepared to go along with Whitlam and his colleagues on these questions.

The ALP was swept to power in December last year, along with other mass reformist parties like the Labour Party in New Zealand, on the basis of growing radical moods within the population as a whole. Youth, women and workers saw the ALP as the alternative and looked to it for solutions to the social ills of capitalist society.

The election came at a time when the effects of the world economic situation were being felt within the Australian working class, which reacted to the high unemployment and spiralling inflation by calling on its political representatives in the ALP to govern in their interests. Labor reflected this pressure in its programme and action.

However, that same international political environment, which to a large degree laid the basis for Labor's victory, also shaped the thinking of a significant group of Australian capitalists. An understanding of the fact that they saw the ALP under Whitlam as a harbinger of new policies in international and national affairs, which would more dynamically take advantage of the emerging world situation for them, explains why they supported Labor in the elections last year.

It may not have been their first choice — but the necessary one in the new situation. It was the ALP, with its base in the working class and its reformist leadership which was best situated in government to intervene in the struggles of labor and quell industrial militancy. The blatancy of the Liberals could only provoke a rise in combativity.

Labor was more likely to provide state intervention into the economy with its "think tank" and "indicative planning". Further it could better build the political bridges necessary to cross if the markets of the workers' states were to become areas for investments.

Historically however, this hasn't always been the case. Labor hasn't always been seen this way in the eyes of big business. For example, Whitlam in a speech to Parliament in 1954 proposed the idea held by Labor of the recognition of the People's Republic of China — an idea thoroughly unpalatable to those intimately engaged in the cold-war hysteria of western capitalism.

It is only now that the world situation with its Australian reflection coincides

with the Vietnamese revolution and from its weakened economic position in regard to its principal competitor nations in the capitalist world. The themes of this new political situation thus have a profound effect on political relations between countries throughout the world and also on the internal political developments within them.

This article, aims to look at the Australian political situation characterised by the coming to power of the first Labor Government in 23 years and the subsequent actions it has undertaken, in the light of this new international balance of forces.



with the suitable availability of Labor's political policies, that things are to be regarded differently. All this thinking didn't occur in a vacuum, but was a result of a new line-up of forces in the world political arena. The detente had opened up the possibility of competitive economic initiatives in regard to the workers' states.

The world economic situation and an escalation in competition between the capitalist nations had necessitated an attempt to increase profit rates at the expense of the working class. This was exemplified by the international trend towards "incomes policies".

Australian capitalists also understood that US economic hegemony had been considerably eroded, that a new era of potential economic and diplomatic "independence" was possible for Australian capital. It was now necessary to flex their muscles and strike out, albeit cautiously.

Other smaller imperialist powers such as Canada are finding themselves in a similar position. The weakening of Wall Street and the increased competition for markets has opened up room for greater manoeuvre as a frantic scramble for the best position takes place.

In this context we can view the enthusiastic response of Australian business to the revaluation of the dollar in December this year which represented jockeying initiatives in international finance on the part of the new government.

Thus we have seen the growing prospect of penetration of Australian business into Asian markets (eg BHP into Indonesia, Malaysia, Burma); aims of better terms of trade with the US and other big capitalist countries; closer ties with Japan as mentioned earlier; regional co-operation (economic and political) with the other pro-capitalist states of SE Asia.

Just as importantly, through growing trade with the workers' states, including a realistic assessment of the need for a trade with China, Australia too has achieved a minor detente of its own.

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This article, aims to look at the Australian political situation characterised by the coming to power of the first Labor Government in 23 years and the subsequent actions it has undertaken, in the light of this new international balance of forces.



Australian businessmen realise they need an outward-looking government to express their mini-imperialist ambitions, to exploit the contradictions in the international politico-economic situation.

Thus many Australian businessmen are in support of the Whitlam/Cameron/Cairns "offensive" against the multinational corporations with their cries of "foreign control", "protect Australian ownership and control of our resources" etc. And this is where so much of the left — particularly the Maoists, but also the CPA and much of the labor left have fallen into the class-collaborationist trap. By succumbing to nationalism, and supporting nationalist fronts against "foreign imperialism" they are objectively aiding the greatest enemy of Australian workers and oppressed people — the Australian capitalist class which lives and breathes through the direct exploitation of Australian workers.

So the "new diplomacy" of Whitlam represents an advanced appreciation of the new international situation. Labor quickly responded to the rapprochement with the workers' states brought about by the US, and in many ways acted as a vehicle for sounding out China's integration into the political network of relations in South East Asia.

At the same time, Whitlam's trip to Washington was designed to reassure Nixon and the US rulers that he was no revolutionary, no "anti-American", no threat to capitalist rule — that he welcomed foreign investment in a proper, regulated manner (of course) but that he wanted to make it clear that Australia was not a "satellite".

This was accepted by the White House, because Nixon is aware that US responsibilities in the world must be cut down, must be reduced, commensurate with US capacities.

Indo-China was the telling factor in exposing the inability of the US to police the entire globe without incurring adverse

consequences for its position in the world. In future the economic and political burden was to be shared out.

And small imperialist powers like Australia will be expected to do their bit in propping up the system. (Hence, new regional economic and military pacts in SE Asia, Australian responsibility for New Guinea etc.)

In particular we can understand the proposal for a new Asia-Pacific Alliance including China which was propounded during Whitlam's Asian tour earlier this year — an alliance which fitted into the new emphasis on the preventative method of quashing revolutionary developments in Asia, through relying on "peaceful co-operation". If this didn't work there was the new mobile volunteer Australian army which was being trained to put down revolutionary outbreaks, as opposed to the old model of forward defence.

At the same time, we must be clear that Whitlam himself does not have a free hand at home. He is trying to give himself manoeuvring room. He is forced to respond to pressures from the working class base of the ALP as well as those from the running of the capitalist state. (For example, in his earlier attacks on US bombing policy in Indo-China — Whitlam has a definite tactical difference with the "hawks" here — now he is offering Australian support for "reconciliation" in Cambodia.)

In all this, an Australian Labor government is able to play an important role, as a government untainted with the policies of the past Liberal era.

There is another side to all this and that is the risky side of a Labor government. The capitalists who supported the ALP recognise this fact. The tide of radicalisation which swept Labor into power continues to buffet the Labor leadership. Complementary to Whitlam's international strategy is the policy aimed at curbing industrial militancy at home.

So far, this has been tackled through emphasis on conciliation, close working with the ACTU leaders and the trade-union bureaucracy. But in the background remains the threat of tougher measures — for instance, Whitlam's acceptance of Victorian Premier Hamer's call for a conference to discuss a "prices-and-incomes policy". So far, Labor spokesmen's rejection of Billy Snedden's call for a wage freeze has been (through Bob Hawke) that a "wage freeze" would not work and not a rejection in principle.

The Ford strike experience shows that the Labor bureaucrats seek merely to placate the employers, to make deals and divide the workers, while the bosses strive to increase the rate of exploitation, and raise prices all in the pursuit of higher profit rates.

What has briefly been described here is the operation of a policy of so-called "class peace" by the ALP leaders. But this peace is very fragile (as is the international one). Problems of inflation, unemployment, higher rates of exploitation etc are increasing. The trade union leaders can get nothing by appealing to the employers for a bigger share of the cake for the working people (as with the Prices Justification Tribunal).

Just as class peace at home is short lived, so it is internationally. The increasing repression in Europe and the new economic policies of Nixon at home show the path of the future in this country.

West Australian Labor Party Conference

BY TERRY LOCKWOOD

The 26th State conference of the West Australian ALP which ended in Perth on August 31 registered gains for the left wing. Combining to pass reform-oriented agenda items, members of the Young Labor Association and militant trade unionists many times overturned the officers' recommendations.

An indication of the change of mood of this conference was the weakening influence of F.E. (Joe) Chamberlain, longtime State secretary of the WA branch of the ALP. Although known as a left winger he opposed several progressive motions but this was no automatic guarantee of their defeat. One agenda item of special concern to Chamberlain was the proposal to impose an age limit of 65 years for future Labor politicians and full-time party officials. Chamberlain is 73 and the Premier Tonkin is 71. But despite opposition from Chamberlain and the "old guard" the motion was carried. A qualifying clause permits exceptions in special circumstances. The vote reflected the widespread feeling that Tonkin is too old and that if he leads the party in the next election labor will be defeated.



WA Premier Tonkin

One of the most significant aspects of this year's conference was that it favored the removal of all restrictions on the right of abortion. Furthermore, it decided that MPs should not have a free vote on the abortion question. It will instruct State delegates to the next Federal conference to support abortion law reform and to oppose a "conscience vote".

On homosexuals, conference reaffirmed its policy on homosexuality that homosexual acts between consenting adults in private should be legal. However, it decided against instructing the parliamentary ALP to put the policy into effect during the current sitting of Parliament, but merely urged it to implement the policy without setting any time limit.

The State Government this month put into operation a free bus service within the Perth city area. Conference, while endorsing Labor policy that public transport should be free, claimed that this was impractical at present due to lack of funds. A motion was carried that when funds became available, free transport was to be provided during the hours workers travel to and from their workplaces.

Item 166 on the agenda... "owing to the biased media, possibilities be investigated of (starting) a daily or weekly Labor newspaper. This could involve commercial ventures with advertising from businesses, with the ACTU supplying it nationally or locally, or to be financed financially." An amendment was carried calling for the ALP and Trade and Labor Council to "investigate the feasibility of establishing a joint publication and/or printing venture." The motion was similar to the trades hall committee which will administer the new trades paper being built; revenue from the paper will be used to the benefit of the labor movement. (Incidentally, the much anger on the part of the Liberal Government over the fact that government funds were being used in the form of a loan to the TLC). The proposed newspaper will, in principle, be free to criticise the ALP if necessary.

Premier Tonkin was right when he said that the most notable feature of the conference was the obvious emergence of the left-wing youth section of the party.



ALP delegation to China on the Great Wall from left: Mick Young, Tom Burns, Stephen Fitzgerald, Gough Whitlam and Rex Patterson

Interview: Alain Krivine Freed in France

The following interview with Alain Krivine is reprinted from the August 10 issue of Rouge, formerly the newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.

The Ligue Communiste was banned by the French Government on June 28 for its sponsorship of a demonstration protesting a meeting held on June 21 in Paris by the fascist group Ordre Nouveau (New Order). The fascist meeting was aimed at whipping up racist opposition to immigrant workers in France.

Alain Krivine, the Ligue's candidate against Pompidou in the 1969 elections, was arrested for supposedly instigating the anti-fascist demonstration, even though the night of the action he was speaking at a meeting in another city. He was charged under the infamous "anti-wrecker law," which enables the government to hold leaders of an organisation responsible for any illegal acts that take place in a demonstration sponsored by that organisation.

Q: What are conditions like now in La Sante prison?

Krivine: They have been improved slightly since the last (prisoners') rebellion and the growth of public awareness they fostered. But the scattered reforms of 1972 have not fundamentally changed the de-personalising and degrading set-up that the French penal system represents. Isolated in tiny cells, the prisoners spend months awaiting their trials. A large part of them are young people, and there are many immigrants, who are put together in a special section.

Pierre Rousset and I were given a special status, what they call "political." Among other things, this allowed us to have a radio, daily and weekly papers, and one-hour visits each day. But we are kept totally isolated, with no possibility of seeing or meeting other prisoners.

Q: How did you get news from the outside?

Krivine: You could get news through the visits from your family or friends, but also by mail, and that was very important. Pierre and I received dozens and dozens of letters from all over France — from former militants of the Ligue Communiste, from Maoist militants, from members of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the United Socialist Party. This is how we were able to get a sense of the breadth of the solidarity movement that developed despite the vacation period. These letters were all opened but they have not as yet been censored.

Q: What is there of importance in the prosecution's case?

Krivine: Unfortunately for Marcellin (Minister of the Interior), nothing. There is a memorandum from the political bureau of the former Ligue Communiste explaining to the militants in two pages why it was necessary for them to come to the June 20 demonstra-

Krivine was released from prison on August 2 as a result of a massive defence effort, but still faces trial this fall.

Pierre Rousset, formally a member of the political bureau of the Ligue Communiste, was arrested and tried simply for being present in the Ligue's headquarters when it was sacked by police, who found weapons there.

The international defence campaign continues, demanding the lifting of the ban on the Ligue, and dropping of all charges against Krivine and Rousset.

The French National Committee Against the Dissolution of the Ligue Communiste asks that letters and petitions of protest be sent to the Pompidou regime, with copies to the defence committee c/o M. F. Khan, 15 rue Clerc, Paris 75005. Financial contributions to the defence campaign can be sent to Michel Foucault, C.C.P., Paris 26-15, France.

tion organised by the Communist Party and the United Socialist Party for the defence of civil liberties. The memorandum also explains in a few lines why — in the context of this action — it was necessary to prevent the June 21 meeting of the New Order.

That's the famous "secret directive" discovered by the Minister of the Interior. And the manuscript is written in my handwriting! As for the rest of the "directives", they are nothing more than press releases published by Le Monde which is, as far as I know, neither secret nor confidential.

Finally, there is a call for a united meeting to organise the anti-fascist campaign, a call signed by Michel Recanti for the Ligue Communiste. More than 20 organisations received this "secret" letter. And the site of the meeting was the Parisian cafe best known for the left and far-left meetings that are held there. Another indication of how clandestine the "plot" was!

Q: What has the role of the defence been?

Krivine: Decisive. Attorneys Jouffa and Compte have succeeded in bringing out the whole political character of the case without neglecting to utilise the bourgeois laws to the maximum, fighting step-by-step on all the procedural aspects. One of the goals is to show concretely what a scandal the "anti-wrecker" law is.

Q: What is exactly the situation of Pierre Rousset?

Krivine: Pierre had the misfortune to be at 10 Impasse Guemenee (then headquarters of the Ligue Communiste) with 22 other militants the day after the demonstration. It was the normal rotation of militants to guard the headquarters. Today they are accusing him of concealing molotov cocktails and guns in the headquarters.



Rousset and Krivine leaving prison after their arrest in June 1968

As far as the molotov cocktails go, we have never denied that we stocked them for our defence since the attack on us by a New Order commando squad.

As for the two army rifles, we have already explained their presence at some length. They were brought to the headquarters in broad daylight, poorly wrapped and bundled, by an unknown person who can only have been a provocateur or mentally ill.

What were we to do? The provocation could have consisted of arresting this person in the act of leaving the Ligue Communiste's headquarters with the weapons. We had no way to verify this hypothesis. We therefore kept the weapons, and the person in charge at the time gave instructions for getting rid of them rapidly.

This affair — a secondary matter — remained at this stage until the day of the brutal search by the police, which brought to light the fact that the instructions had not been carried out. No-one knew this. Pierre Rousset did not know it.

Furthermore, there is no one who is not aware that the Ligue Communiste is not preparing for immediate armed struggle.

Moreover, a court-ordered test was carried out. The molotov cocktails, such as they were presented to the judge by the police, were inoperative; thus they are not molotov cocktails. And ammunition for one of the two rifles has not been available for years!

Pierre Rousset has appealed the judge's refusal to grant him provisional liberty, and a higher court must still rule on the appeal.

But Pierre had already been given an eight-month suspended sentence last year for an act of solidarity with Latin American revolutionaries. If he is sentenced to more than two months in prison this time, he will have to serve the other eight months as well.

The essential task today is to organise the campaign to free Pierre Rousset. The greatest danger would be to be lulled to sleep by what seems to be a spectacular victory (my release) but a really only a modest success.

Rousset Freed - Further Support Actions in Australia

BY DAVE HOLMES

Pierre Rousset has been released, Rousset, a leader of the now-outlawed Ligue Communiste, the French Trotskyist organisation, was arrested on June 22 during the police search of the Ligue's Paris headquarters. The search followed clashes between police and demonstrators protesting a meeting the night before of the fascist Ordre Nouveau.

Rousset did not take part in the demonstration but remained at the Ligue's headquarters (he had been under an eight months suspended sentence for another alleged offence). Rousset was charged with having been in control of premises containing illegal weapons (some old rifles).

Rousset was tried for this and given two

months' goal but was released since he had already served that time on remand.

In Australia two more noteworthy shows of support for the banned French Trotskyists have taken place. The recent Australian Union of Students conference passed a motion denouncing the ban on the Ligue. And in Canberra on August 20 some twenty people attended a protest meeting.

The Canberra meeting was chaired by Gordon Walsh, ALP representative on the ACT Advisory Council. The meeting was jointly organised by the Communist Party, the Socialist Labour League and the Socialist Youth Alliance. The meeting agreed to picket the French embassy on September 1 and present the resolution of the meeting to the ambassador.

Alternative Womens' Trade Union Conference

BY TINA HARSANYI

On Sunday, September 2, the day preceding the opening of the ACTU biennial congress, women held their own Alternative Womens' Trade-Union Conference in Sydney to examine all aspects of women's role in the workforce and in the union movement.

Organised by the Working Women's Group, the conference was largely unstructured with discussion ranging over such questions as the double work load of women at work and in the home; the channelling of women into traditionally "female" occupations; discriminatory job classification systems; the problems of unionising women; the super-exploitation of women who take in work at home; problems of child-care; the unjust concept of a "family wage" to justify a higher minimum male rate of pay; barriers to women wishing to do apprenticeships; a domestic workers award covering housewives, and many other topics.

Of major concern was the under-representation of women at the coming ACTU congress. Despite the fact that women comprise approximately 25 per cent of trade union memberships, only 2 per cent of the elected delegates to the congress were women. On top of this only 40 per cent of all women workers are members of trade unions.

The male domination of the union movement was seen as just one aspect of male-dominated capitalist society. Women are not encouraged to take part in trade-union activities as their role in industry is not taken seriously, but is seen as secondary to their role in the home.

A leaflet produced by women following the conference read in part: "Most jobs which women do are an extension of the passive serving, unpaid



Tessa Mallos

role which society expects them to perform.

"Thus women are shop assistants, waitresses, bar attendants, clerical workers and secretaries, cleaners, nurses and teachers (especially to younger children), textile workers and unskilled factory workers.

"Nearly all these jobs have male superiors; nearly all are serving people or doing something which is 'natural' to women, like sewing or cleaning or being understanding.

"So the nature of the jobs which women perform in society at large serves to reinforce the feeling among women that they are inferior and less important. This will only change when all people perform all jobs, irrespective of sex."

During the afternoon session of the conference women broke up into five workshops to draw up statements of needs and action priorities to distribute to delegates at the ACTU congress.

Two women delegates of the ACTU congress present, Aileen Beaver of the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union and Tessa Mallos of Actors' Equity spoke of their intention to move a motion at congress, demanding that the ACTU arrange a women's trade union conference, which would decide on union policy, women's conditions and wages and all other matters of concern to women workers.

From the conference, a statement of views was drawn up which outlined most of the immediate demands of women in relation to work. This statement read:

"Immediate and urgent action is needed to establish that all workers, with no discrimination of sex, age or color, receive at least the minimum wage for the official working week and that the concept of a family wage be abolished.

"Equality of rates without discrimination to be established and observed in all workplaces.

"Part-time work to be paid on a proportional basis with all allowances and conditions to apply proportionally.

"Women to receive equal margins, bonuses and flow-ons, all mention of sex classification to be abolished from awards and agreements and from advertisements.

"Apprenticeships in all trades to be made accessible to women and that women be encouraged to take up these apprenticeships with no age barrier. Industrial strength must be brought to bear immediately on the employers, both government and private to grant women these rights in all fields of employment.

"We submit that full employment, reduced, flexible working hours, opportunities for subsidised job training and withdrawal from and re-entry into the work-force according to individual needs and circumstances are valid objectives for all members of the work-force, (and not merely for special groups within).

"We reject the concept of a mother's allowance. However, because of the inequitable situation that exists in which a large section of the community is performing a necessary economic function without remuneration, (e.g. housework, caring for children, etc.), we suggest that the idea of a domestic workers' award covering both sexes be considered.

"We propose that individual workers have the right to draw on accumulated superannuation and/or pension funds at any time during their lives, as the need or wish arises."

The statement also declared that the ACTU congress was not a competent body at this stage to resolve issues of concern to women workers and called on the ACTU to underwrite costs of a women's trade union conference.

Most of the motions and amendments raised on the floor of the ACTU congress around these demands were overwhelmingly defeated. One amendment concerning child care, circulated by Tessa Mallos was finally adopted after it had been moved as the official resolution by Ray Gietzelt on behalf of the executive.

It is ironic that unions with a high composition of women in the membership, such as the Federal Clerks' Union presently hold some of the most backward views on women's issues. It will be the leaderships of these unions which will be most affected as women increasingly begin to demand their rights.

The ACTU congress and the Alternative Women's Trade-Union Conference indicated both the growing realisation among women of the need to organise within the union movement and the enormity of the task which lies ahead.

Women in Revolt



Canadian Doctor Defence Campaign

Dr Henry Morgentaler stands accused of three charges of conspiring to perform and performing illegal abortions. Under the criminal code of Canada, he is a criminal.

But to the more than 5000 women who have been able to get safe abortions at his modern clinic in Montreal despite the restrictive laws, Morgentaler is not the criminal — the law is.

While addressing the March 16, 1973 conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, Morgentaler said "I do not believe that doing medically safe abortions is a criminal act. On the contrary, I feel very strongly that denying women safe abortions and exposing them to death and injury is criminal. I am firmly convinced that all those who oppose the liberalisation of the Canadian abortion laws and those who have the power to act to change these laws yet do not do so, have a moral and perhaps more than moral responsibility for the deaths and injuries of women who died and continue to die and be injured as a result of self-inflicted or botched incompetent abortions, because they were denied access to safe medical procedures by the law."



Dr Henry Morgentaler

Already the support for the Morgentaler case is impressive. In Quebec, the Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement is active in waging a campaign for the dropping of the charges. Canadian Women's Coalition for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, at its spring conference committed its resources to Morgentaler's defence.

Equal Pay Decision for NSW Clerks

On August 17, the Federated Clerks' Union won their claim of equal pay for women put to the NSW Industrial Commission. Their victory will flow on to another 200,000 women under State awards as well as the 60,000 women in the Federated Clerks' Union.

The decision represents an important establishment of the principle of equal pay, however it may not be realised in the women clerks' pay packets. This is because the judgement merely phases in an equal basic wage for male and female clerks by June 1975. But in all States except Victoria wages are made up of a basic wage and margins and there was no decision on ensuring that margins fixed for male and female clerks will be equal for the same work done.

For instance a woman may be doing the same work as a male clerk, but unless she is classified as a clerk, she will not necessarily receive equal pay. This leaves employers room to manoeuvre themselves out of paying equal pay. It also means that a woman clerk with the additional skills of typing and shorthand can be paid the same wage as a man completely devoid of those skills.

Thus, women must press the demand for an equal rate of pay for "office workers" regardless of sex and loadings for additional office skills. If this was introduced many women clerks would in fact be earning more than men.

Women's Liberation and the Halacha

In recent years, a movement has grown among Jewish women who, although willing to accept the Tora (the first five books of the Bible) as embodied in Halacha (Jewish Law) are questioning whether it makes sense to speak of men and women accepting the Tora "in different ways."

In the Book of Ruth is a classical example of an acceptance of the subservient role expected of a Jewish woman where Ruth tells her mother-in-law Naomi: "Where you go, I will go, and where you will stay, I will stay. Your people shall be my people and your god my god. Where you die, I will die and there I will be buried."

A rapidly increasing number of Jewish women have organised into various groups in America, England and Israel aimed at pressing for equality in participation in the Jewish religion. Jewish law prohibits women from becoming rabbis, being witnesses in the courts of Jewish law.

This movement among Jewish women has obviously been influenced by the women's liberation movement and the effect it has had on the most anti-woman religions of the world.

Such movements as the "Halachi liberation" and the other groups of dissident women in the Islamic religion show how deep the ideas of the inferiority of women are embedded in all "civilised" societies and what massive potential and how universal a struggle the women's liberation movement must wage.

Abortion Inquiry

Last May after the defeat in Federal Parliament of the Mackenzie-Lamb proposals advocating reform of the abortion laws, Race Matthews moved an amendment for a royal commission into abortion in Australia. It was defeated 80 votes to 42. On September 13 Matthews is moving for the appointment of "a judicial inquiry into all aspects of sexual relationships, including abortion" (1) reported The Australian on September 8.

Matthews was private secretary to Gough Whitlam before he won a seat in last year's election. He is hopeful that his new proposal will gain majority support in Parliament. Matthews' move should be seen in the light of his opposition to last session's Mackenzie-Lamb bill. According to The Australian he is "for changing the present law but against repealing it." His latest proposal is both a reflection of the widespread support for the abolition of the abortion laws as well as an attempt to head off any movement in this direction.

... TINA HARSANYI



Mass meeting of Ligue Communiste

THE DEBATE ON STATE AID

BY JIM McILROY

Consider these three responses to the Federal Labor Government's recently-announced decision to cut off direct financial state aid to 105 of the country's wealthiest (mainly Protestant and Jewish) private schools:

1) "The Australian people have rejected socialism by revolution or socialism by statute. It is the achievement of the present Government to have discerned and applied in this field, as elsewhere, its own way: Socialism by Cheque Book." (Letter to The Age, August 11).

2) "If the Catholic schools, and the bishops and religious orders who ultimately run them, condone this outright political bribery and the clear discrimination against children in the eliminated Protestant schools, they will get a sectarian backlash which will be thoroughly deserved, and they will be responsible for the consequences which will inevitably follow.

"For what will happen if Catholic leaders accept this transparent political bribe can be predicted,

"The entire Protestant community will feel a very deep sense of injustice. The sectarian backlash which will grow out of this justified bitterness will spread to other sections of the community which have no religious beliefs whatsoever, but which are quite prone to anti-Catholic sectarianism.

"The Liberal and Country parties, whose leadership largely comes from the schools which have been attacked, will gradually turn against the principle of state aid. The bipartisan consensus carefully built over the past 20 years will disappear. The Catholics will once again become completely dependent on one party as they were for 70 years when their schools got nothing at all.

"Once their complete dependence on the Labor Party has been re-established, the Catholics will discover that the majority influence in the party — the socialist, communist and humanist left — is invariably opposed to their system.

"The 'climate' and the political circumstances will then be carefully prepared; and the time will come when they will be 'axed', as so many of the Protestant schools are 'axed' today. And it will be useless for Catholic leaders then to talk of the rights of parents, which they will justly be accused of having disregarded when things were going well for them."

(From an article entitled 'It's a Bribe With Barbs', by B.A. Santamaría,

president of the extreme right-wing Catholic National Civic Council, in the *The Age*, August 9.)

3) "If this dollar-a-week palliation is creeping-socialism then the pace of the creepers is glacial." (Education writer, Henry Schoenheimer, in an article entitled: Keeping the Karmel Study in Perspective, in *The Australian*, August 21).

There are some examples of the attitudes expressed in the furore which broke out when the education-aid cuts were announced on August 7. Why all the fuss? The aid cuts to the "top 105" are merely part of a new grading system, based on existing resources, which actually increases state aid to about 65 per cent of non-State (mainly Catholic Church controlled) schools. Those losing their direct grants cater for little more than 2 per cent of the school students in Australia, almost entirely the sons and daughters of the very rich.

At the same time, the money cut off amounts to only \$3.4 million in a programme of \$661 million of Federal Government aid to government and non-government schools over the next 2 years.

The new programme is almost entirely a result of the report of the Karmel committee, the interim committee of the Australian Schools Commission, which was set up to fulfil one of Labor's pre-election promises. The Labor Government accepted, with only one significant change, all the recommendations of this committee, composed entirely of educationists of one sort or another, without student or parent representation. This in itself says something about the Labor Government's approach to social problems — reliance on expertise and bureaucracy rather than on grass-roots representation of those who teach and study and suffer in this iniquitous education system.

The make-up of the permanent Schools Commission has not been announced, but it will doubtless be a similar body to the committee chaired by Professor Karmel. It would not be sufficient merely to add token representation from parents and teacher organisations to live up to the commission, and give it a real democratic character. Rather, a representative schools commission should be elected directly from those who are concerned with the day-to-day work of the education system — in particular, students, and teachers in the schools.

Such elections, with full freedom to campaign, would really galvanise the education scene and permit a truly radical alternative programme for education to get a broad hearing. Going on past performance and the conservatism of the present Labor leaders, most particularly, Federal Education Minister Kim Beazley, this is not a possibility.

Despite this fact, it is important

evaluate the policy drawn up by the Karmel committee, and now endorsed by Cabinet. The first point is that it is most clearly an advance over the education policy of the previous Liberal administration.

There is a real reordering of priorities expressed in the new policy. As Kim Beazley pointed out in *The Age* on August 7, the Labor Government has effectively trebled aid to Australian schools over the former Government's programmes. The proportion of grants allocated to private and government schools has been changed considerably. As Beazley again pointed out, in a letter to *The Australian* on August 27, "In the biennium 1971 to 1972, the Liberal-Country Party Government granted to State schools \$40.5 million, and to non-government schools \$71.5 million.

Although the enrolment in State schools was about three times as great, they were habitually given about half as much.

Under the Karmel proposals and other grants, the grant to State schools will be multiplied by twelve to \$480 million, plus a share of an unallocated \$20 million.

Similarly, all forms of grants to the non-government schools in the biennium 1974 to 1975 will be \$190 million, plus a share of the unallocated \$20 million. These sums do not include some \$20 million in the biennium for isolated children.

The increase of funds for State schools is significant, although it should be noted that part of this is the Commonwealth taking over State functions. Also, even with the change, and using Beazley's figures, there is still a considerable weight in favor of private schools relative to State schools. In addition, even the 105 schools rated "A", in the A-H scale of classifying non-government schools, will be eligible for capital grants for new buildings etc, under the new scheme, according to *The Australian* on August 15.

Despite this, the change away from the Liberals' savagely class-biased system of per capita grants, regardless of resources is a step forward. The new, so-called "needs" approach is a clear response by the Labor Government to the demands of the working people, who are seeking better educational opportunities for their children. Education was continually rated in opinion surveys as the number one issue in the minds of the electors last year.

Quite a considerable proportion of the radical impetus of Labor's successful campaign in 1972 came from teachers, students and parents seeking a way out of the education crisis. They wanted more equality, better facilities, more teachers and classrooms, less bureau-

cracy, a more liberating educational environment, more democratic rights for students and teachers and other changes. Many of the most active campaigns for a Labor victory were teachers, in particular, as well as students.

They were looking for solutions after decades of miserable Liberal educational policies designed to help the rich and discriminate against the poor, to subsidise wealthy private schools, maintain a ramshackle Catholic school system for the Catholic working class, and systematically run down State systems of education.

The changes announced by Labor are only a start, however. They can do nothing in themselves to basically alter the class nature of education in this country. While private schools exist there will always be "superior" schools for the training of ruling-class youth. The effect of the aid cuts on the top 105 will be minimal (\$1 to \$1.50 a pupil a week). Fee rises will only mean higher tax deductions (another continuing aspect of class inequality in education).

Contrary to Karmel's suggestion, Labor intends to cut out aid at the end of 1975, and not to phase it out gradually. This is certainly a more radical measure.

The first step towards a real solution is the abolition of all aid of any kind to private schools, combined with increased taxation of the rich. This would undoubtedly spell doom for the Catholic school system. The working people are not obliged to support religious bigotry with their hard-earned cash. The goal must be truly free, secular, state-supported, and equal education for all students — with student-staff control of all facilities.

Private schools for the rich must be abolished. While they continue to exist education privilege will exist. This is the basic dilemma which is not faced by Labor's policy makers. Education Minister Beazley, in outlining the goals of the Karmel committee scheme, pointed out that the committee set a base unit of a hundred for an "average" State school's recurrent resource. Measured against this index, non-government schools in the categories listed H-A varied from 40 to 270.

"The committee's aim is to bring all schools, government and non-government, up to a base level of 140 within 6 years", he said. "This will cost at least \$2000 million". But what will have happened to the rich schools in that time? The gap will even be greater then without doubt.

And will Labor's reform plans move smoothly anyway? There are already signs that Liberal State governments are obstructing education departments and obstructing at every opportunity. Because grants are not tied, State



BY CHRIS GRAHAM

Nixon's Watergate speech on August 15 marked a turning point in the Watergate affair. Nixon may not have the unanimous backing of the American ruling class over his handling of Watergate, but all the exploiters were agreed on Nixon's call to the American people to forgive and forget Watergate.

Watergate has become too great a liability for capitalism. The ruling class, whatever its tactical differences on how to handle it, are determined to suppress the Watergate scandal as soon as possible. For them Watergate has become, in Orwellian terminology, an "un-fact".

NIXON'S COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

Following his August 15 speech, Nixon has launched a counter-offensive. He resolutely refused to turn over the Watergate tapes in his possession to Watergate prosecutor Cox, and has disregarded an order by Federal Judge John Sirica to release them. This has ensured that the case will go to the District of Columbia Court of Appeal, and ultimately to the Supreme Court for a final decision. By this legal manoeuvring both sides hope to take Watergate out of the public eye.

This manoeuvre is not likely to succeed. For all their faults, the televised Senate committee hearings on Watergate have the approval of 52 per cent of the American people according to the Gallup Poll, and the suppression of these hearings would cause a great public outcry.

To compensate for this, Nixon tried a series of other ploys to regain his lost credibility. His appointment of foreign affairs adviser Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State may partially accomplish this. No doubt, because of the still prevalent illusions about the detente with China and the USSR, Kissinger as architect of that detente may help to provide a "Mr Clean" image to compensate for the hordes of rats that have deserted Nixon's sinking ship.

To further regain public sympathy, Nixon has exploited two rather dubious attempts on his life. The first of these concerned the arrest of Edwin Gaudet, an ex-policeman who had allegedly threatened to assassinate Nixon when he participated in a motorcade through New Orleans. The informer in this case was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. As it happened, Gaudet was not even in New Orleans when the attempt was alleged to have been carried out.

The second "assassination attempt" was alleged to have been made by six anonymous black militants, one of whom was a police informer. However, the evidence was so flimsy that the Secret Service refused a request from the New Orleans police to detain the "gang". No warrant for their arrest has been issued.

It appears obvious that these "threats" were simply frame-ups designed to divert attention from Nixon's situation (and in the latter case to discredit the black movement). And if that is the case, it is certainly a commentary on Nixon's credibility that an alleged assassination plot would gain credence.

At any rate, Nixon appears to have bolstered his position since the August 15 speech. His credibility has increased from 31 per cent approval to 35 per cent, according to the Gallup Poll. But there can be no cause for complacency on Nixon's part. What is likely is that this rise in popularity will be but a temporary respite for Nixon.

Nixon's attempts to rehabilitate himself have had the full co-operation of Judge Sirica. In almost the same breath as Sirica ordered Nixon to release the tapes, he slapped a ban on Watergaters Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt from making public statements on Watergate. Liddy and Hunt were previously making nationwide speaking tours on Watergate.

... THE DEBATE ON STATE AID

education department obstructionism can be decisive in holding up changes. In addition, Liberal State governments show every intention of passing aid to rich private schools to cover losses from Federal coffers.

A much more thoroughgoing will be needed to effectively tackle educational inequalities in this country than has been so far shown by the Labor Government, despite a beginning

Water-Gate Under the Bridge?



Sirica has also been at pains to soften the effect of the publication of Nixon's tapes if it eventuates. He has suggested that if Nixon releases the tapes that he (Sirica) examine them and determine which of the tapes have a bearing on Watergate. A number of other alternatives have also been bandied about. None of them, however, project a full and open disclosure of the contents of the tapes, which could provide the most



Professor Karmel

damaging revelations in the Watergate affair so far.

The ruling class faces a most contradictory situation in deciding how to deal with Nixon's tapes. On the one hand, complete exposure of the tapes would be fatal. Not only would this ruin the Nixon Administration, but it would also be a nail in the coffin of executive privilege, the doctrine which allows Nixon to suppress information which might discredit him.

On the other hand, to persist in applying this ban would do no less damage, as the Gallup Poll shows that two-thirds of the American people believe that Nixon should release the tapes. The *New York Times* reported on August 28 that, of all the occasions when a US President has refused to divulge information, two thirds of these occurred in the last twenty years and one third under Nixon's Administration.

This explains why the pages of the bourgeois press have given prominence to discussion of the legal issues involved in the Watergate affair.

CAPITALISM ON TRIAL

DIRECT ACTION has stressed that the importance of Watergate lies not purely in the bugging of the Democratic Party headquarters last year and the attempt to cover it up. The central importance of Watergate is centred round what it has revealed about the capitalist system. A survey conducted by *Time* magazine and published in its September 10 issue has quite cogently revealed that large sectors of the American population are rapidly coming to this conclusion.

If the ruling class ever hopes to defuse Watergate they have to contend with the following prevailing sentiments ascertained by the survey.

45 per cent of the American people believe Nixon was involved in the planning of the Watergate burglary and bugging.

On the credibility of key witnesses in the Senate hearings on Watergate, the survey shows the following credibility ratings:

32 per cent believed Dean's testimony and 34 per cent disbelieved it. 19 per cent believed Haldeman's testimony, 38 per cent disbelieved it. 19 per cent believed Erlichmann and 40 per cent disbelieved him, and 22 per cent believed Mitchell as opposed to 41 per cent disbelieving. (The remainder in all cases were undecided). Dean's credibility rating is surprisingly low, but compares infinitely more favorably with that of Haldeman, Erlichmann and Mitchell.

This revelation of popular opinion on Watergate would have been bad enough for the ruling class, but worse was to come. 57 per cent of the people rejected Nixon's claim that the furore over Watergate was designed to discredit him.

The conclusions reached by the American people were by far the most damning indictment of Nixon's Administration. The survey summed up these conclusions in the following terms:

"The public is more concerned about events peripheral to Watergate than about the bugging of the Democrats. Half the people thought that was 'just politics'. But a majority see as 'shocking' the break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist (and) the suggestion that income tax audits might be used against Nixon's political opponents."

The feeling of revulsion against Nixon's repression of the mass movements of the American working people illustrates the momentous effect these have had on American politics.

This revulsion cannot be put down to mere apathy, resulting in cynicism towards politics. According to the

survey, 82 per cent were "disgusted" about the Watergate affair.

When asked what they thought about the significance of Watergate affair, 77 per cent agreed with the following statement: "Watergate shows how even the privacy of ordinary people is being threatened these days."

70 per cent agreed with the following statement, "somewhat mysteriously" Time hastens to add, that "Big business is misusing its influence and controls the country."

But the most dramatic revelation of all was shown in the catastrophic loss of credibility of the "hallowed" institutions of American capitalism. Respect for big business has gone down by 28 per cent. The Internal Revenue Service rating has slipped by 23 per cent, that of the Central Intelligence Agency by the same margin and respect for the Federal Bureau of Investigation has decreased by 21 per cent. Significant too was the decline in respect for the courts and Congress, down 13 per cent and eight per cent respectively.

Paradoxically respect for the press increased by five per cent.

The effect of the Watergate crisis on American capitalism is further underscored by the decline in support for the two major capitalist parties. According to a survey published in the August 16 issue of *The Los Angeles Times*, only 19 per cent of the population consider themselves Republicans, and only 26 per cent Democrats.

In other words, less than 50 per cent of the American people support either of the major capitalist parties!

VVAW ACQUITTAL SET-BACK FOR REPRESSION OF RADICALS

The trial of the Gainesville eight has ended. The defendants, members and sympathisers of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, have been acquitted of all charges against them. The charges were that the VVAW had plotted to violently disrupt the Republican convention last year.

From the outset it was abundantly clear that the charges against the Eight were brazen frame-ups. This was confirmed when the prosecution called four FBI informers who had infiltrated the VVAW to testify. This gave the lie to previous "assurances" that none of the prosecution evidence was provided by informers.

The informers were not very informative. Under cross examination they were all forced to admit that they had not seen any VVAW member in possession of firearms. When one of the informers produced a menacing-looking plastic missile, claiming that it was designed to incinerate police cars, defence lawyers produced a weapon expert — in fact, the only witness called by the defence — who proved that it would not be as effective even as a lighted cigarette dropped down the petrol tank.

The jury's verdict was reached after a deliberation of only four hours. It has dealt a severe set-back to Nixon's repression of radical groups, which has been primarily expressed in the form of frame-up trials, organised by FBI provocateurs. To cite the example of just one of Nixon's numerous security organisations, the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department has conducted 100 investigations in 36 States resulting in over 400 indictments. Only 10 per cent of these indictments have been successful, however, and a large number of these only secured convictions on minor charges.

But now events are calling for new indictments. And the defendants in this case will not be, as in the past, the victims of the Watergate conspiracy — the anti-war, women's, black and labor movements. This time, American capitalism is on trial.

terms it, to fight against this conservative perspective, and oppose to it the goal of a secular, equal and democratic education system in a socialist society.

The present Government will not push through what it has started. It does not even see the problem. As was pointed out in DIRECT ACTION No. 46, August 23, most of the additional Federal allocation for education in this year's Budget is directed to the tertiary sector. This is in accord with big business's need for more highly-trained technicians — not with the needs of the majority of students and working people. This neo-capitalist outlook must be challenged by socialists at every level.

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Diego Rivera: The night of the poor

MANIFESTO TOWARDS A FREE REVOLUTIONARY ART

Introduction

By
Gordon Adler

In modern times, literature and art have been the constant companions of Revolution. At the time of the English Revolution of 1642, and in the century before the great French Revolution of 1789, the great writers and poets of the day struck at the moral foundations of the old society, and contributed materially to the awakening consciousness of the masses who made those revolutions.

The overthrow of the ancient regime in France itself provided an enormous stimulus to creative literature and art in Europe, and almost all of the writers of that time sided with the revolution and derived their most profound inspiration from it. In the hundred years between the recession of the revolutionary wave in Europe and the triumph of the Russian

Revolution, practically all of the Russian novelists and poets whose work survives today rejected the values of the old imperial society and exposed its decadence and all its evils in their writing. The socialist revolution in Russia aroused the sympathy and support of writers and artists throughout the whole world, and gave promise of becoming the most powerful influence on cultural development in the entire course of human history.

With the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, however, and the substitution of literature and art to the material interests of the privileged caste that arose in the Soviet Union after the end of the civil war, revolutionary art passed under an eclipse, and its place was taken by a sycophantic, degenerate, commercial art that dominated the commanding heights of established culture both in the capitalist world and in the workers' state that resulted from the victory of the October Revolution.

Much of what passes for art today in the capitalist world is nothing more than a limpid reflection of the rapacity and

anti-humanist values of monopoly capitalism.

In the Soviet Union and the other workers' states genuine art is subject to the censor's pencil while the official art is distinguished only by its triviality and its irrelevance to the real conflicts and problems of life.

Capitalism, in its death throes, menaces the very existence of human life, and threatens the destruction of all the greatest cultural achievements of humankind. The most terrible wars in all history have occurred in the twentieth century, and without the victory of world socialism the human race will experience even more violent conflicts than have yet been seen, with the reduction of the economic and cultural level to an extremely primitive state.

The world socialist revolution is vital to the growth and development of all culture, yet one of the most serious obstacles to this development is the grip of Stalinism not only in the workers' states but also on the minds of so many writers and artists in the capitalist world

who have been deceived by the false front presented by Soviet officialdom with the aid of its vast state resources under the title of "socialist realism".

Leon Trotsky was well aware of this, and perceived more clearly than anyone else the threat to the survival of humanist culture presented by the simultaneous rise of fascism in the capitalist world and the triumph of Stalinism in the only existing workers' state.

Trotsky, considered a brilliant writer by even his severest critics, had always taken a keen interest in contemporary literature and wrote extensively on this subject. In 1938 he collaborated with the renowned mural painter Diego Rivera and the French novelist Andre Breton to produce a manifesto of revolutionary art and literature. This document bears the stamp of the critical period in which it was written, with the imminent approach of the second world war. Much of it is of considerable importance today, however, and for this reason we publish the manifesto as the first of a series of articles discussing the problems of literature and art today.

We can say without exaggeration that never has civilisation been menaced so seriously as today. The Vandals, with instruments which were barbarous, and so comparatively ineffective, blotted out the culture of antiquity in one corner of Europe. But today we see world civilisation, united in its historic destiny, reeling under the blows of reactionary forces armed with the entire arsenal of modern technology. We are by no means thinking only of the world war that draws near. Even in times of "peace" the position of art and science has become absolutely intolerable.

Insofar as it originates with an individual insofar as it brings into play subjective talents to create something which brings about an objective enriching of culture, any philosophical, sociological, scientific or artistic discovery seems to be the fruit of a precious chance, that is to say, the manifestation, more or less spontaneous, of necessity. Such creations cannot be slighted, whether from the standpoint of general knowledge (which interprets the existing world), or of revolutionary knowledge (which, the better to change the world, requires an exact analysis of the laws which govern its movement). Specifically, we cannot remain indifferent to the intellectual conditions under which creative activity takes place, nor should we fail to pay all respect to those particular laws which govern intellectual creation.

In the contemporary world we must recognise the ever more widespread destruction of those conditions under which intellectual creation is possible. From this follows of necessity an increasingly manifest degradation not only of the work of art but also of the specifically "artistic" personality. The regime of Hitler, now that it has rid Germany of all those artists whose work expressed the slightest sympathy for liberty, however superficial, has reduced those who still consent to take up pen or brush to the status of domestic servants of the regime, whose task it is to glorify it on order, according to the worst possible aesthetic conventions. If reports may be believed it is the same in the Soviet Union, where Thermidorean reaction is now reaching its climax.

It goes without saying that we do not identify ourselves with the currently fashionable catchword: "Neither fascism nor communism!", a shibboleth which suits the temperament of the Philistine, conservative and frightened, clinging to the tattered remnants of the "democratic" past. True art, which is not content to play variations on ready-made models but rather insists on expressing the inner needs of man and of mankind in its time — true art is unable not to be revolutionary, not to aspire to a complete and radical reconstruction of society.

This it must do, were it only to deliver intellectual creation from the chains which bind it, and to allow all mankind to raise itself to those heights which only isolated geniuses have achieved in the past. We recognise that only the socialist revolution can sweep clean the path for a new culture. If, however, we reject solidarity with the bureaucracy now in control of the Soviet Union, it is precisely because, in our eyes, it represents not communism, but its most treacherous and dangerous enemy.

The totalitarian regime of the USSR, working through the so-called "cultural" organisation it controls in other countries has spread over the entire world a deep twilight hostile to every sort of spiritual value. A twilight of filth and blood in which, disguised as intellectuals and artists, those men steep themselves in have made of servility a career, of hypocrisy a custom, and of the palliation of crime a source of pleasure. The official art of Stalinism mirrors with a blatant unexampled in history their efforts to put a good face on their mercenary profession.

The repugnance which this shameful negation of principles of art inspires in the artistic world — a negation which even slave states have never dared to carry so far — should give rise to an active, uncompromising condemnation. The opposition of writers and artists is one of the forces which can usefully contribute to the discrediting and overthrow of regimes which are destroying, along with the right of the proletariat to aspire to a better world, every remnant of nobility and even of human dignity.

The conception of the writer's function which the young Marx worked out is worth recalling. "The writer", he declared, "naturally must make money in order to live and write, but he does not under any circumstances live and write in order to make money... The writer by no means looks on his work as a means. It is an end in itself and a little a means in the eyes of himself and of others that if necessary he sacrifices his existence to the existence of his work... The first condition of the freedom of the press is that it is not a business activity." It is more than ever necessary to use this statement against those who would regiment intellectual activity in the direction of ends foreign to their own and prescribe, in the guise of "reasons of state", the themes of art.

The free choice of these themes and the absence of all restrictions on the part of his exploitations — these are the conditions which the artist has a right to as inalienable. In the realm of intellectual creation, the imagination must be free from all constraint and must under no pretext allow itself to be placed

under bonds. To those who urge us, whether for today or for tomorrow, to consent that art should submit to a discipline which we hold to be radically incompatible with its nature, we give a flat refusal and we repeat our deliberate intention of standing by the formula of complete freedom for art.

We recognise, of course, that the revolutionary state has the right to defend itself against the counter-attack of the bourgeoisie, even when this drapes itself in the flag of science or art. But there is an abyss between these enforced and temporary measures of revolutionary self-defence and the pretension to lay commands on intellectual creation. If, for the better development of the forces of material production, the revolution must build a socialist regime with centralised control, to develop intellectual creation an anarchist regime of individual liberty should from the first be established. No authority, no dictation, not the least trace of orders from above! Only on a base of friendly co-operation, without constraint from outside, will it be possible for scholars and artists to carry out their tasks, which will be more far-reaching than ever before in history.

It should be clear by now that in defending freedom of thought we have no intention of justifying political indifference, and that it is far from our wish to revive a so-called "pure" art which generally serves the extremely impure ends of reaction. No, our conception of the role of art is too high to refuse it an influence on the fate of society. We believe that the supreme task of art in our epoch is to take part actively and consciously in the preparation of the revolution. But the artist cannot serve the struggle for freedom unless he subjectively assimilates its social content, unless he feels in his very nerves its meaning and drama and freely seeks to give his own inner world incarnation in his art.

In the present period of the death agony of capitalism, democratic as well as fascist, the artist sees himself threatened with the loss of his right to live and continue working. He sees all avenues of communication choked with the debris of capitalist collapse. Only naturally, he turns to the possibility of escaping from his isolation. But if he is to avoid complete demoralisation, he cannot remain there, because of the impossibility of delivering his own message and the degrading servility which these organisations exact from him in exchange for certain material advantages. He must understand that his place is elsewhere, not among those who betray the cause of revolution and mankind, but among those who with unshaken fidelity bear witness

to the revolution, among those who, for this reason, are alone able to bring it to fruition, and along with it the ultimate free expression of all forms of human genius.

The aim of this appeal is to find a common ground on which may be reunited all revolutionary writers and artists, the better to serve the revolution by their art and to defend the liberty of that art itself against the usurpers of the revolution. We believe that aesthetic, philosophical and political tendencies of the most varied sort can find here a common ground. Marxists can march here hand in hand with anarchists, provided both parties uncompromisingly reject the reactionary police-patrol spirit represented by Joseph Stalin and by his henchman Garcia Oliver.

We know very well that thousands on thousands of isolated thinkers and artists are today scattered throughout the world, their voices drowned out by the loud choruses of well-disciplined liars. Hundreds of small local magazines are trying to gather youthful forces about them, seeking new paths and not subsidies. Every progressive tendency in art is destroyed by fascism as "degenerate". Every free creation is called "fascist" by the Stalinists. Independent revolutionary art must now gather its forces for the struggle against reactionary persecution. It must proclaim aloud the right to exist. Such a union of forces is the aim of the International Federation of Independent Revolutionary Art which we believe it is now necessary to form.

We by no means insist on every idea put forth in this manifesto, which we ourselves consider only a first step in the new direction. We urge every friend and defender of art, who cannot but realise the necessity for this appeal, to make himself heard at once. We address the same appeal to all those publications of the left wing which are ready to participate in the creation of the International Federation and to consider its task and its methods of action.

When a preliminary international contact has been established through the press and by correspondence, we will proceed to the organisation of local and national congresses on a modest scale. The final step will be the assembly of a world congress which will officially mark the foundation of the International Federation.

Our aims:

The independence of art — for the revolution.
The revolution — for the complete liberation of art!

ANDRE BRETON
DIEGO RIVERA



Diego Rivera: The night of the rich

ON THE PICKET LINE



CPA Makes Important Bid in AMWU Elections

BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

Important voting in Australia's largest union, the 165,000-strong Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, has started for the positions of State and Commonwealth councillors. The vote which will be concluded on September 21 is the first such vote since the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Boilermakers' and Blacksmiths' Society and the Sheetmetal Workers' Union decided to amalgamate two years ago. Officially the amalgamation was recognised in April this year after Labor came to power.

It is estimated that the outcome of the election could have a marked effect on the composition of the leading bodies of the AMWU, in particular since the Communist Party of Australia, which already occupies a powerful position in the union, has launched a drive to obtain a dominant position in the leadership. Whatever the case the election results will be an important gauge as to determining the future policies of the AMWU.

According to Fred Wells, industrial reporter for The Sydney Morning Herald in an article on September 10 entitled 'Reds Moving in on Biggest Union', "The party has launched its attack on the NSW branch, the largest in the union, by seeking to gain control of NSW's three representatives on the union's Commonwealth council and nine representatives on the State council."

"Whoever controls the NSW branch has considerable influence over national policy."

Wells went on to express his fears: "This is the situation which has ALP members of the union worried — if the CPA can impose its will on the union's ACTU delegates it could very well win control of the union."

In the campaign the CPA has thus far issued a leaflet to all AMWU members calling upon them to vote for a CPA — led ticket. The leaflet stated in part: "What is needed is the mass of the workers to start taking their own action as was done in the past on the penal powers, three weeks leave, Vietnam, the 1968 absorptions and over-award campaigns."

However fine, if inadequate, the expressed sentiments may sound there is little reason to believe that we can expect any remarkable change from the CPA union leadership, which has too often acted in opposition to the real interests of metal workers.

For example we can point to the recent Ford strike and the notorious role played by Carmichael in proposing that the workers accept the initial company offer, and return to work with their claims not met. After that the workers at Ford "began taking their own action" — rejecting Carmichael's backtracking proposal and remaining on strike.

Migrant Workers Conference

BY DOUG JORDAN

Plans to hold a migrant workers' conference in Melbourne on October 5 and 7 are already well advanced. At a press conference held at the Melbourne Trades Hall on August 28 George Zangalis and John Halfpenny outlined the work that had been done so far in preparing for the conference.

The conference is to be held in the English, Greek, Italian, Yugoslav and Spanish languages. This is to enable as many migrants as possible to participate fully in the conference.

The holding of the conference is a reflection of the growing realisation of the significance of migrants in Australia's work-force. Migrants face problems that do not confront English-speaking workers.

They are generally to be found in heavy industry drawing low rates of pay. In fact half of all industrial workers are migrants. Their inability to speak English has cut them off from trade unions, and under a Liberal Government they faced political harassment for left-wing views.

The organisers of the conference admit that trade unions have generally failed to act in the interests of migrant workers. For example, out of the 700 delegates at the last ACTU congress in 1971 only 5 were non-British migrants. Few trade unions bother to put out leaflets or papers regularly in languages apart from English.

The holding of the conference represents a step forward for migrant workers. The conference should be supported and be built to be as successful as possible in order to take up such questions as job and political discrimination and the past record of trade unions, and to map out the demands around which migrant workers will need to fight as an especially oppressed section of the work-force.

Bulli Workers Victory

BY SOL SALBY

The protracted strike by brick-yard workers in Bulli on the NSW South Coast is over. Following a 13-week strike the employers agreed to accept just about

cent reduction on the tally rates, \$10 a week extra as of date of resumption of work as well as the reopening of the award negotiations a year in advance of what was previously agreed upon.

The success of the strike was due to the tremendous solidarity shown by the people of Wollongong. Unions and individual workers have given the strikers extra encouragement. The financial support given by other brick-yard workers was enough to give all strikers a regular sustainer of \$45 a week.

At the same time the South Coast Trades and Labour Council arranged for a moratorium on the payments of rents with the housing commission and other landlords, electricity and gas bills and so forth. This resulted in the strikers being able to sustain the strike and bring about its successful conclusion.

Various organisations from the local bowling club, which lent its premises to the strikers to all the other sporting and social clubs gave forms of support. On several occasions townspeople joined the workers in marches of support.

The tremendous solidarity displayed by the militant workers of the South Coast gives a good example to other workers how to make sure that disasters like the Ford strike where workers were starved back to work are not repeated.

Tramways Women Continue to Fight

BY DOUG JORDAN

A few months ago DIRECT ACTION reported in a series of articles the fight for equal job opportunities in the Victorian Tramways Union. The basic issue centres around a ban imposed by the union against training women as tram-drivers thus effectively closing off promotion for women to many higher paid jobs.

A number of rank-and-file union activists came together to fight against the ban but up to the present time they have been unable to reverse it. There are a number of reasons for this. One of the more important has been a very hostile attitude by the union leadership which has attempted to stifle debate. This coupled with the nature of the job with its shift-work and high turnover rate has acted against a successful conclusion to the fight against the ban.

The union leadership's position is perhaps best shown by the attitude they have taken towards interventions made by various women's liberation groups. Almost from the start women's liberation groups, mainly the Working Women's Group and the Women's Electoral Lobby have given support in the fight to remove the ban.

This has led to talk of "outside influences" and "women libbers" interfering in an internal union matter. This kind of argument is little different from the red-baiting that takes place in right wing unions. Its purpose is merely to cloud the issues and avoid any debate.

On Saturday August 25 members of WEL boarded trams in Melbourne to question tramway staff about their attitude towards women tram drivers. They approached a total of 318 drivers, conductors, conductresses and inspectors. Despite a few hostile comments they were able to carry out their survey. A total of 56.4 per cent voted in favor of having women tram drivers, 36.5 per cent voted against and 7.1 per cent were undecided.

The basis of support for women tram drivers shown by the survey is an indication of the impact of the campaign so far. By continuing to keep up this campaign a successful outcome can result.

US Trotskyists Hold National Convention

BY ANDY ROSE

More than 1400 delegates and observers attended the twenty-fifth national convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held on August 5-11 in Ohio.

The week-long gathering attested to the SWP's steady gains in membership and influence, and also its geographical expansion.

The enthusiasm of all the convention proceedings reflected the party's involvement in actions on every front of the class struggle, and the favorable prospects foreseen for further growth of the socialist movement.

The national convention, which is the highest decision-making body of the Socialist Workers Party, was the culmination of a three-month period of intense political discussion. All members of the SWP had the opportunity to contribute articles and resolutions on any topic to the SWP internal discussion bulletin. Thirty-five bulletins, containing 240 articles — totalling more than 1.5 million words! — were printed. Discussions and debates were organized in each SWP branch, often two or three times a week, during the pre-convention period.

Several minority tendencies presented political positions opposing those of the outgoing national committee and political committee. At the convention all the reports presented by the outgoing leadership were adopted overwhelmingly.

National organization secretary Barry Sheppard reported on the political resolution prepared by the outgoing political committee. The resolution examines such developments as Washington's detente with Peking and Moscow, the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam, the new economic situation, and the Watergate revelations. It concludes that radical ideas and moods are spreading to ever-wider sections of the population, although there has been a temporary decline in protest activity.

The political resolution states: "The central contradiction of the radicalisation remains the fact that large sections of the labor movement have yet to take the road of independent political struggles." This contradiction retards the independent movements of blacks, students, women, and other groups, and has in fact contributed to the current downturn in activity in some of these movements.

However, new upsurges, including upsurges of the working class, are inevitably being generated by the same process that first spurred the radicalisation — that is, the clash between the social and economic needs of the masses of people and the profit-based functioning of the capitalist system, which is increasingly incapable of meeting those needs. The depth of public distrust in the capitalist government can be seen in the reaction to the Watergate affair, which itself has further deepened the radicalisation.

Convention Discusses International Issues

BY CAROLINE LUND

The banner behind the speakers podium summarised the theme of the 1973 Socialist Workers Party convention: "Our movement has been educated in a great school — the school of internationalism."



Four days of the six and a half day convention were devoted to debate and discussion of international questions. The deliberations were enriched by the contributions from observers who attended the convention from revolutionary socialist organisations on six continents.

Many of the questions taken up at the convention are also presently under discussion within the Fourth International, the world revolutionary party founded by Leon Trotsky. This international discussion is conducted through an internal bulletin open to all affiliated and sympathizing organisations.

First on the agenda of the convention discussion was the question of revolutionary perspectives and strategy in Latin

The organisation report, presented by Lew Jones, projected the major tasks of the SWP, which fall into two categories: first, continuing to support and build actions around a wide variety of issues, many of them of a local rather than national scope at this time; and second, launching a large-scale campaign to reach people with socialist ideas and win new adherents to the revolutionary movement.

In addition to the regular convention sessions, major panels were held on the SWP's participation in the trade union, black, and women's movements. And 27 smaller panels and workshops mapped out implementation of other aspects of party work.

The organisation report and trade-union panel pointed to some new opportunities for the SWP's participation in the trade

effective fight around these issues. This programme includes calling for mobilising the power of the unions around demands for the cost-of-living escalator clause in all contracts as protection against inflation, an end to wage control, for a shorter work-week with no cut in pay to end unemployment, and for an end to war spending.

The trade-union panel heard reports on the activities of SWP members in the Teachers union, Social Service Union, Steelworkers union, Typographical union, and other unions. It was pointed out that many issues originating outside the unions are of interest to workers and provide new openings for union work. Examples cited were protests against police brutality, struggles for black control of black schools in relation to the Teachers union, and support for the Equal Rights Amendment.



A session of the 25th national convention of the Socialist Workers Party

unions. Helping to organise support for the United Farm Workers Union, under attack from the grape growers and Teamsters union bureaucracy, was singled out as a major task for every branch.

Driven by the need to improve their competitive position in relation to Japanese and Western European capitalism, the US capitalists have sharply attacked the living standards of American workers. While prices are rising at record-breaking rates, wages have been held down by government controls since August 1971. Anger against high prices has resulted in protests developing outside the unions, like the meat boycott last April.

But the present union leadership has utterly failed to defend the workers against inflation, unemployment, and speed-up. The main job of the SWP in the unions is to get out its programme for

Branches have also been involved in strike support activities, for example, supporting the recent oil workers' strike in Houston.

The convention reaffirmed the SWP's positions of support to black nationalism and advocacy of a mass black political party as a break with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. It also reaffirmed the party's view that the coming American revolution will have a combined character as both a working-class revolution for socialism and a revolution by blacks for self-determination.

Derrick Morrison presented an extensive panel report analysing the current stage of the black struggle in the face of the worsening conditions in the black community.

Linda Jenness presented the main report to the panel on women's liberation.

"Although the Supreme Court decision in January was a tremendous victory," she said, "the fight for legal, available abortions is not over." She described the efforts by right-wing "right-to-life" forces to maintain or reimpose restrictions on abortion, and stressed the importance of combatting these attacks.

She also discussed other struggles by women that the SWP has been involved in, such as defence of child-care facilities against cutbacks in funds, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, struggles by women workers for equal pay and job opportunities, and campus struggles against sex discrimination. Jenness said that "although the organised women's liberation movement has been in a relative downturn, the impact of feminism on the American consciousness is greater today than ever before." The spread of women's liberation ideas has



made masses of women more willing to assert their rights and take action around issues they see as important. This is shown by the role of women in the consumer protests and by conferences of trade-union women and black women.

The convention saw an extensive exchange of views on the significance and potential of the gay liberation movement. The SWP's position is one of full support to the struggles of gay people for their civil and human rights.

The final order of business for the convention was the election of the national committee, the highest leadership body of the party between conventions. A number of younger party leaders were newly elected to the national committee by this convention. They included members active in many facets of the party's work, from the black struggles to the trade unions to internal party-building activities.

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America. The debate dealt with such questions as whether the model of the Cuban revolution can be repeated in Latin America, the balance sheet of guerrilla struggles on the continent, and the lessons to be learned from the mass peasant struggles led by Hugo Blanco in Peru in the early 1960s.

The report summarising the thinking of the outgoing political committee was given by Peter Camacho. Equal time on this and other points on the agenda was granted to representatives of several delegates holding a minority view.

Camejo pointed out that the discussion on Latin America was especially important because the perspectives of Trotskyist forces there — particularly in Bolivia and Argentina — have been tested under the fire of pre-revolutionary situations over the past four years.

Mary-Alice Waters presented the report for the political committee dealing with perspectives for the revolutionary socialist movement in the capitalist countries in Europe. This discussion assessed the continued deepening of worker and student upsurges in Western Europe since May 1968.

An important related question is the



Carmichael and Halfpenny arouse the displeasure of some migrant workers during Ford strike

The article, which could only be described as red-baiting, reflects a certain fear held by those who hold a "moderate left" position like Wells expressed by the politics of the Socialist Party of Australia, that the CPA could actually improve its position.

The actions of the AMWU delegation at the ACTU congress reflected the fairly influential position of the CPA through people like Laurie Carmichael, assistant Commonwealth secretary of the union, and John Halfpenny, Victorian State secretary.

A wide variety of organisations have already sponsored the conference. These include various migrant community groups and to date thirteen trade unions. The trade unions include the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, Australian Railways Union, and the Postal Workers Union all of which have a high migrant composition. Other unions are being approached and it is hoped that up to 30 trade unions will sponsor the conference. In addition speakers from trade unions in Italy and Yugoslavia will attend.

all their demands. The strike started on May 31 and lasted till August 27. Involved were 44 members of the Brick, Tile and Pottery Workers' Union.

The demands around which the strike took place included: — Three additional sick days a year, — 17.5 per cent annual leave loading — \$18,00 increase in wages

The successful results saw the workers gaining the 17.5 per cent loading on annual and sick leaves the three sick days leave a 37.5-hour week, 5 per

The World Revolution

The Student Movement in Hong Kong

The following interview is reprinted from Young Socialist, newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States. It was obtained from T. S. Tsang, a leader of the radical youth movement in Hong Kong by YS editor, Rich Flakel when he met with a group of young Chinese students in Paris last May.

YS: Could you explain the radicalisation of young people in Hong Kong?

Tsang: In 1969 we found in Hong Kong the first signs of student unrest when the students at the University of Hong Kong began fighting for participation in the decision-making process at the university. This happened to a very great extent because the students had seen campus protests in the US, in France in May 1968, in Tokyo and elsewhere, and these actions had a significant impact on the students in Hong Kong.

Even though the demands of the students weren't very radical, the consciousness of the university students was raised. One of the first demonstrations at that time was a sit-in by a hundred students at the Chu Hai College to protest the dismissal of 12 students.

During the sit-in we found that the capitalist press was publishing scandalous information about the whole thing, saying that the students were manipulated and so on. At the same time, the left-wing press — that controlled by the Maoists — was not sympathetic either; they had very little space for the news.

Four people who took part in the sit-in came together and felt there was a need for a paper to act as a counter-medium, and in January 1970 the first issue of The Seventies Biweekly came out.

When the paper was founded, the four people had very little idea about socialism or ideology. They just came together feeling that they needed their own voice and that they saw a lot of wrongs in Hong Kong. The members of the paper felt that they not only wanted to spell out their feelings, but they wanted to act, so as time went on they initiated actions, activities and so on.

YS: What were the first activities that the people around the paper carried out?

Tsang: The first thing was a fund-raising campaign for refugees and war victims in the Biafra-Nigeria conflict, and the second thing was the language movement in the summer of 1970 to make Chinese an official language in Hong Kong. At the same time the paper was developing and there were more people coming on to the editorial board because of the open manner in which the four people operated.

This language campaign, one might say caught the imagination of the young people in Hong Kong. Not only was the paper involved, but some other student papers and student unions were involved. The movement grew so much that you could say that almost all of the people of Hong Kong were supporting this campaign.

But the British administration there as usual manoeuvred by using such tactics as setting up committees to study the question and so on, and eventually the kinds of feelings and participation diminished. But with the development of the language campaign more people came into touch with the paper, and as a matter of fact, a separate organisation called the Students-Workers Alliance was formed to campaign for Chinese as an official language.

At that stage nominally there were some several thousand members, but it was a loose type of membership and people just filled out a form to join. As more effort was put into making this a permanent organisation, we failed and weren't able to do this.

YS: Could you explain what it's like to have English as the only official language in Hong Kong?

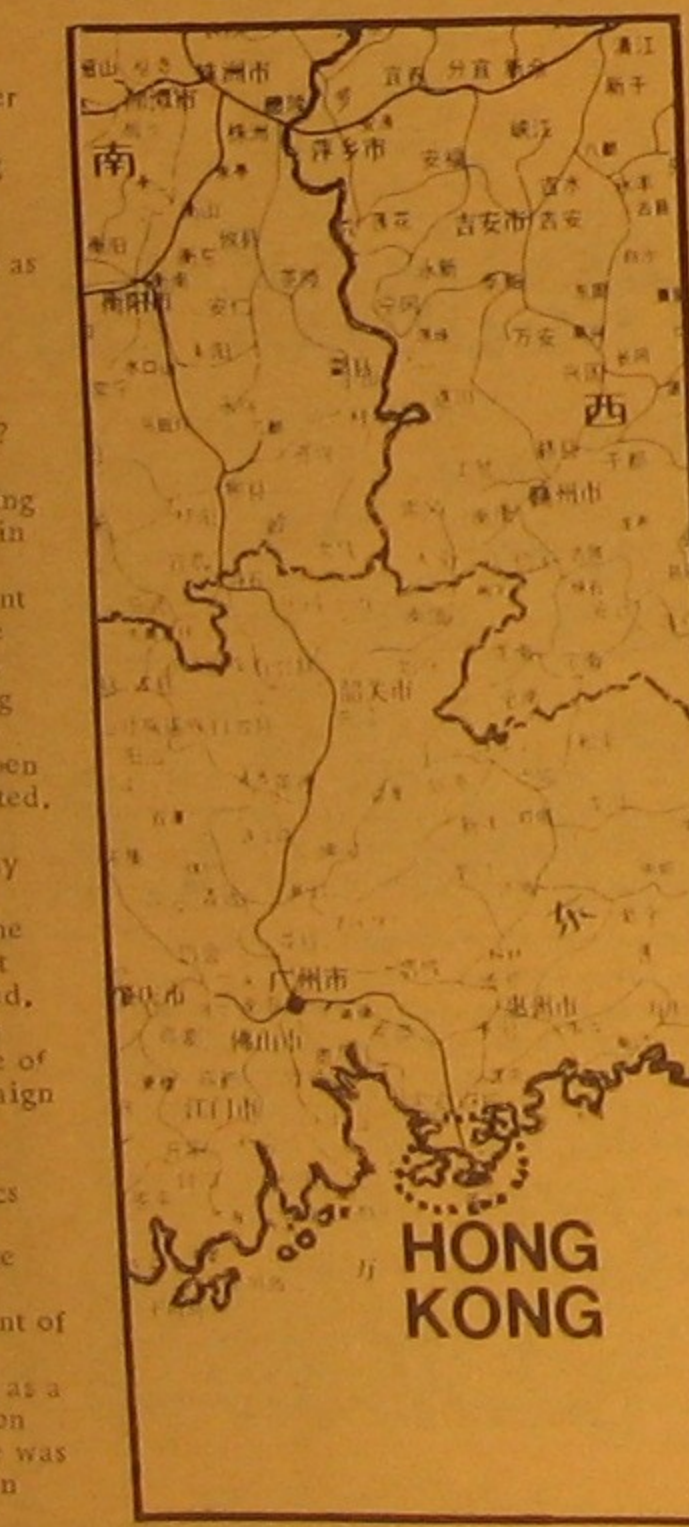
Tsang: All the laws in Hong Kong are written in English and the courts only use English, though there is always a bad interpreter. All official documents, papers, etc. are in English which ordinary people can't understand. Forms to even send off a parcel are in English, and people who don't know English are discriminated against in jobs and employment.

YS: What was the role of the Maoists in the anti-war movement?

Tsang: The Maoists never did anything about the war, despite the fact that Hong Kong had thousands and thousands of American sailors and GIs coming in for Rest and Recreation, and there were warships coming in and out. On a couple of occasions the Chinese Government protested against this, but nothing happened and the Maoists did not initiate any anti-war actions at all.

But there was a tiny group of expatriates — Americans, British and other foreigners — who were concerned about the war, and they organised several demonstrations on various occasions. Sometimes about 50 people would demonstrate, and the biggest one had about 300 people, including some Chinese students.

As the Tiao Yu Tai movement developed, people learned more about American



imperialism, and they started to learn more about the Vietnam war. And this is why when Nixon carpet-bombed North Vietnam last year, the Hong Kong students themselves for the first time organised a mass meeting to discuss the Vietnam war and the escalation by Nixon.

We helped form a united front which planned the first anti-war demonstration organised by a group of Chinese and not by overseas Americans. This was on January 20, 1973, and about 200 people came on the demonstration.

YS: What happened after the language campaign?

Tsang: Actually while the language movement was still going on, some other things took over the attention of the young people in Hong Kong, and that was the issue of the Tiao Yu Tai Islands.

The Tiao Yu Tai Islands are a cluster of islands about 120 miles away from Taiwan, and they should be Chinese territory according to historical documents and international law. These islands are uninhabited and very small, and no one really took notice of them until tremendous oil resources were found underneath them.

At the conclusion of World War II, the US took over administrative authority for these islands and Okinawa. Last year Okinawa was returned to the Japanese by the Americans, and the Tiao Yu Tai Islands were supposed to be given to the Japanese as well. So there was this international dispute: Japan claimed the Tiao Yu Tai Islands, Taiwan claimed them, and China claimed them.

In early 1971, the overseas Chinese students in the US were the first to become aware of the dispute, and they began discussing the issue and organising demonstrations in various US cities in protest of this Japanese encroachment on Chinese territory and the US collaboration with Japan.

People in Hong Kong received their materials, papers and magazines and started to become aware of this issue. In Hong Kong, this movement to defend the Tiao Yu Tai Islands was at first very nationalistic. A lot of people participated just because they loved their country so to speak, and they kept on reminding themselves what the Japanese did to them some 20 or 30 years ago.

The members of the Seventies were also discussing this issue, and they initiated some actions over it in response to their counter-parts in the US. Newspapers reported the demonstrations and the movement began to develop.

The activists in the movement also went deeper into the issue and learned more about Japanese militarism, American imperialism and the collaboration between Japan and the US. Some people rejected purely patriotic sentiments over the islands and had a more internationalist perspective.

The movement also developed into an anti-British, anti-colonial movement. When we went on demonstrations, the police told us that we didn't have permits and they started to arrest people. And then when we started to apply for permits for another demonstration, they refused to give them to us and claimed that the place we chose was too crowded with pedestrians. So we went on the

demonstration and they arrested more people.

Young people who participated in the movement also found the police force in Hong Kong extremely repressive, and this further radicalised a section of the young people. The Tiao Yu Tai Islands movement represented a high degree of militancy, and people who participated in the language campaign joined in the Tiao Yu Tai Islands movement. Owing to the nature of the issue, which involved China, Taiwan, Japan and the US, one had to grasp a whole number of questions. Because of this, the young people developed a strong urge to know more about China as a socialist society and some identified themselves totally with Maoism.

Others found that China wasn't the ideal society or the alternative they wanted to the capitalist society which they lived in. Our organisation represented the anti-colonialist, anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic current.

YS: Could you explain the role of the Maoists in Hong Kong?

Tsang: During these two extremely important youth campaigns in Hong Kong, the Maoists did very little, especially during the language campaign. With the Tiao Yu Tai Islands movement, they grasped the significance of it and the possibility of using it to bring more sympathisers to them. Yet they tried to develop it into the Unified China Movement, which has the single aim of bringing Taiwan back under the rule of the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese Communist Party does not have a branch in Hong Kong, but that doesn't mean it doesn't operate openly. What we see are several daily papers, their magazines, bookshops and banks, and then there are lots of department stores that sell Chinese products. Some of the trade unions in Hong Kong are led by the Maoists, and there are Maoist-run schools whose fees are very low.

The Maoists have a great deal of influence and their presence is everywhere. They don't really have the support of the masses, but if they wanted to mobilise the people, they're able to do so. In 1967 the riots developed into a Maoist-led movement in opposition to the British Government. This arose partly because of the urge of the Maoists to identify themselves with the Cultural Revolution, and when the Cultural Revolution ended, the riots automatically ended.

The Maoists saw the language movement as very reformist. They thought it was disgraceful to even ask the British to let Chinese become an official language, but they were obviously not able to see the consciousness-raising results of the movement.

Right now the Maoists in Hong Kong are extremely docile and passive on the whole. They just toe the line of Peking: If Peking authorises it, they follow. One can easily see that Peking doesn't want to spoil the relationship between China and Great Britain, and both of them benefit by maintaining the status quo in Hong Kong.

The Maoists in Hong Kong take the attitude that Peking knows best. They argue that even though we may suffer under British colonialism, we must see the interests of the 700 million people in China as of greater importance. So they just sit there and wait to be liberated.

Workers' Slate in Argentine Elections

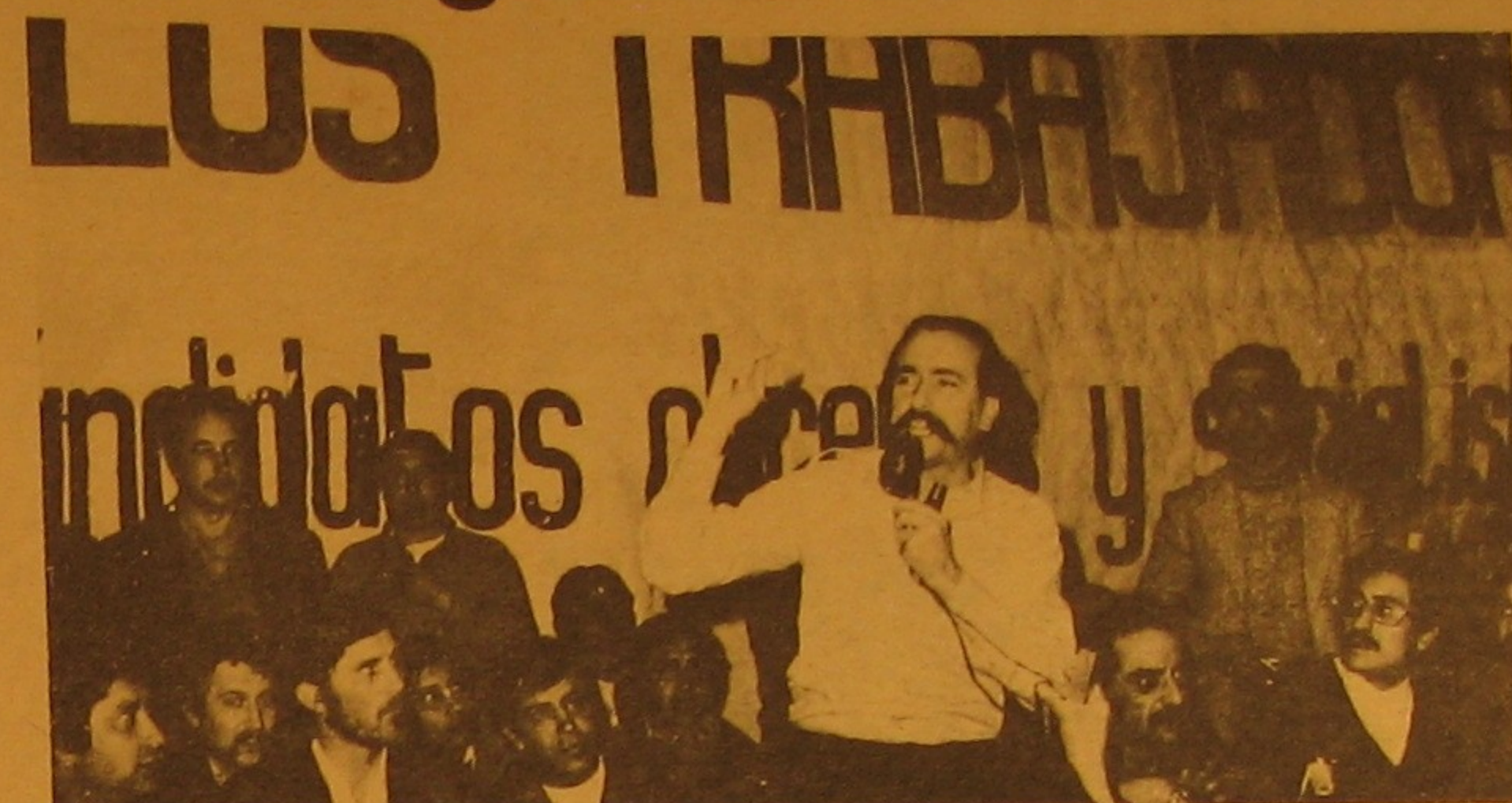
BY MIKE JONES

For the second time this year, Argentina is to have elections for a new President and Vice-President. The first elections in March replaced the military dictatorship of General Alejandro Lanusse with a civilian government led by the Peronist Hector Campora. (For a full account of the elections and the events preceding and following it, see previous issues of DIRECT ACTION.) In June, Campora resigned after an internal right-wing coup in the ranks of the Partido Justicialista (Social Justice Party — Peron's party) and new elections were called for September. The elections will be contested this time by Peron himself with his wife, Isabel Martinez, running for Vice-President.

Also contesting the elections, however, will be a united front of working-class forces known as the Workers' Front. The front was organised to contest the March elections on a programme of anti-bureaucratic, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist class unity. It was constructed under the impetus of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers Party), the Argentine sympathising group of the Fourth International, which threw open 75 per cent of its legal ballot positions to candidates elected by rank-and-file committee in different factories.

At the second plenary of the Workers' Front on August 18, 4000 representatives of different factory committees, unions and political parties agreed to the following platform for the Workers' Front:

- 1) For a political alternative and an independent electoral slate for the working class against the alternative of the bosses.
- 2) For elections with legality for all parties, without the proscriptive clauses of the political parties statute.
- 3) For an emergency (wage) increase of 100,000 pesos (about \$A 70) a month; wage decisions negotiated with the workers and a mobile salary (scale). For a basic wage of 250,000 pesos (about \$A175) a month.
- 4) For the rehiring of all workers laid off for trade-union and political reasons.
- 5) For trade-union democracy; a rank-and-file congress of the CGT (Confederacion General del Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor) to elect a new worker leadership.
- 6) For the nationalisation with workers control of Codex, Siemens, Standard Electric and other exploiting monopolies.
- 7) For the nationalisation of the latifundios (large semi-feudal estates) and



Juan Carlos Coral, presidential candidate for the Workers Front slightly, but does not get rid of dependence nor march towards liberation."

8) For a government of the workers and the people which will carry on the work of building a socialist Argentina.

The Workers' Front had decided that its candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency would be Agustin Tosco and Armando Jaime respectively. Tosco and Jaime are veterans of the anti-bureaucratic struggles in the trade unions. The PST was quite prepared to have these people stand using their legality even though they were not members of the party. This is a continuation of their principled position of allowing the workers to choose their own candidates as the only way of ensuring a real working class alternative. Tosco and Jaime, however, declined the nominations. The Workers' Front accordingly nominated

Juan Carlos Coral and Jose Francisco Paez as their candidates. Coral ran as the PST's presidential candidate in the March elections and Paez ran as the party's candidate for Governor of the province of Cordoba.

In the August 22-29 issue of Avanzada Socialista, the PST's weekly, Tosco explained his reasons for not standing by saying, "In order to avoid frictions with other revolutionary forces, revolutionary-Peronist comrades and other forces in the workers' and people's camp, we considered it fundamental to continue the struggle for the workers' and people's demands independently of the electoral conjuncture, centring on the question of the politics of the Social Pact, of class conciliation and the politics that, under the banner of 'liberation or dependence' does nothing more than reform things

Farmworkers Extend Boycotts in US

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

The United Farm Workers Union (UFW) in the United States, comprised mainly of Chicanos (Mexican Americans) from the south-western States, is continuing its fight for survival against the bureaucrats of the Teamsters Union, Californian growers and the police. The farmworkers of the UFW are opposing attempts by these forces to reintroduce an exploitative labor-contract system, and to do away with the hard-won gains of their union.

The UFW has called for boycotts on all produce (mainly lettuce and grapes), picked by scab labor and all shops selling scab goods. Representatives have been sent all over the country to put the case for the union and to extend the boycott and build the pickets of shops and vineyards. Harassment by police as well as Teamster goons has, however, taken its toll.

On August 17 thousands of farm workers marched in the funeral procession in Delano, California, for a striking member of the UFW who died at the hands of a deputy sheriff. As the rites were conducted, plans were already underway for the funeral of a second striker, who was shot to death on a picket line.

About 10,000 people joined in the funeral march behind the coffin of Nagi Daifullah, a 24-year-old immigrant Arab worker from Yemen who died on August 15 after being clubbed by a deputy sheriff.

The day after Daifullah died, Juan de la Cruz, a founding member of the union, was gunned down as he and other pickets watched scabs ending a day's work at a struck vineyard.

Immediately before the shooting, all the deputy sheriffs on the scene disappeared. The suspicion of police complicity stems from the mounting anti-union violence in the area and the open support that the "law-enforcement" officers have been giving the growers.

Meanwhile, action to boycott scab products is being extended. For example, in New York, the main efforts are aimed at getting all grocery stores and produce outlets such as fruit-stands and schools to carry UFW grapes and lettuce and to boycott scab products from fields that are under Teamster contracts or not under any contracts.

The Teamster bureaucrats have been working hand-in-glove with the powerful Farm Bureau to destroy the UFW and deprive field workers of a union of their

choice. As hard-won contracts with the table-grape growers expired throughout California, the Teamsters have been signing contracts containing only token wage increases and provide for re-establishing the exploitative labor-contractor system. The UFW contracts had replaced this hated employment system with a union hiring hall, which made jobs available on a seniority basis without regard to sex or age.

The UFW struggle has obtained support from the revitalised United Mine Workers Union. President Arnold Miller said: "Every member of our union is 100 per cent behind you."



Teamsters picketing

Canadian Labor Meets

The seventh biennial convention of the Federal New Democratic Party, meeting in Vancouver, Canada, on July 19-22, registered the further hardening of the liberal-reformist leadership's political and organisational control over the party since the exit last year of most of the party's left-wing Waffle caucus in Ontario.

But unexpectedly strong and determined rank-and-file dissent with the leadership's policies broke through at many points, spearheaded by a militant women's caucus which campaigned for the party to commit itself actively to the struggle for women's rights. A new left wing grouping was formed with cross-country connections, continuing the fight for socialist policies within the party.

The highlight of the convention was the development of a powerful women's caucus which met several times and organised a floor fight that triumphed in the adoption of resolutions committing the party to call a cross-country conference of NDP women, name a women's organiser and schedule a half-day debate on women's rights at the next convention. The convention endorsed an appeal by MP Grace MacInnis to support Dr Henry Morgentaler, who is currently facing charges of performing illegal abortions in his Montreal clinic. The caucus also

voted to establish a continuing cross-country structure with correspondents and activists in every major area. When the resolution, calling for a cross-country conference of NDP women to be held within a year came on to the convention floor, women delegates were in line ten deep behind all four floor microphones.

Varda Kidd, a delegate from Toronto-Rosedale, ran for president of the party, winning 164 votes against incumbent Donald Macdonald's 648. Her nomination centred on the need for the party to speak out in defence of workers' rights to organise and strike, and against wage controls. She also called on the party to "rally behind other groups" like women, singling out the struggles for "abortion, day care, and equal pay" as struggles that the NDP "must support and lead."

The determination shown by the women and the strong feelings of sisterhood gained through the struggle — reflected in the women's caucus meetings and the innumerable informal meetings and discussions throughout the convention — made it clear that the organised women's movement within the NDP is going to be a force to be reckoned with for the party's conservative and bureaucratic leadership.

Anti-Zionist Before Israeli Court

In December 1972 the Israeli regime arrested about forty persons, Jews and Arabs, on charges of having been involved in an "espionage and sabotage network" directed by Syrian intelligence. Many of the defendants were tortured by police trying to extract confessions from them. Opposition to the frame-up trials that followed became a major issue uniting the small but growing anti-Zionist left in Israel.

One of the more celebrated of the defendants was Rami Livneh, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (often known as Struggle, the name of its newspaper), a group that had split from the Israeli Socialist Organisation

showed how it arose out of Zionist ideology itself:

"The man I had met (three years ago!) has been described by the prosecutor as a 'foreign agent.' Yet even the prosecution itself recognises that the man was introduced to me as a Palestinian connected with the Palestinian resistance movement. If what the prosecution means to say is that the man was an agent for a foreign country, then I did not know, could not have known, and still do not know it. And it has still to be proven.

"Yet if the argument is that the man is a foreign agent by the fact of his being

severe oppression and intimidation that this is the land of the Jews; that loyalty to the State is loyalty to Zionist racism; that the State's security is the security of the regime of conquest and discrimination — a regime of eviction and oppression."

Livneh told the court that the Zionist movement's approach to the Arab people is best symbolised by the histories of two "almost anonymous persons, Gabriel Dahan and Chaim Rigi. Dahan is one of the people convicted for the murder of forty-three workers — men, women, and children — in Kfar Kassim in October 1956."

He was sentenced to fifteen years in prison, but he only remained in gaol for a little bit more than three years in the very best conditions such as no prisoner... ever gets. Upon leaving gaol, Dahan got a job. He became responsible for Arab affairs at the Ramleh municipality. Chaim Rigi is a Tel-Aviv lawyer. Born in Beirut, he studied social sciences at the American University in Beirut and law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In the winter 1973 issue of Keshet magazine Rigi published an article called 'The Camel and the Arab' in which he proves in an allegedly 'scientific' way that Arabs are cruel by nature and that they lack scruples; that hate is in their blood; that the Arab honor- and hospitality-concepts are actually expressions of superstitiousness and love not know how to love and that the origin of all these characteristics is the influence of the camel upon Arab life. Rigi sums up this brew of academic racism with the sentence: 'Even though these basic characteristics of the Arab and its people have been known to Europe and its people for a long time, Westerners did not know how to reach the proper conclusions.' But this professor of racism had a job. He was the liaison officer for Muslims at the Ministry of Religions during the first years of its activities!

"It is the barbaric murderer and the academic racist that are the Israeli establishment experts on Arab affairs."

Livneh detailed the oppression of the Palestinian Arabs — the emergency laws, the evictions, the denial of the most elementary democratic rights. This, Livneh said, is what gives rise to the Palestinian resistance:

"The firm stand both of the Zionist movement and of the State of Israel upon the principle of denial of the national rights of the Arab-Palestinian people and of denial in practice of its most basic human rights — all this condemns the Arab masses to a hopeless oppression and the Jewish masses to an unjust eternal war against historical reality itself.

"Only racists of the type who look for identity connections between the Arabs and the camel can believe that any people, in this case the Arab people in this country, can resign itself to the reality of 'facts' like the perpetuation of the expulsion of more than a million refugees and the turning of another million into citizens without rights — both in the conquered territories and inside the Green Line (the pre-1967 State boundaries).

"The very quality of the Zionist enterprise has created here a vicious circle of violence and hatred — a circle paved with blood and atrocities."

Livneh described how the vicious circle of violence and hatred had given rise to the Palestinian resistance movement, a movement that began to go beyond the race-baiting of the old Arab leadership. And he told the court why he had gone to see a representative of Al Fatah, then the largest of the Palestinian organisations:

"The Israeli Government had declared a curfew while Arab laborers were in their fields working and thus had no way of knowing that the curfew was in effect. As some workers were returning to their village, Kfar Kassim, they were gunned down by Israeli troops who knew full well that the Arabs were unarmed and did not know that they were violating a curfew. The massacre was so crude that the Government felt compelled to bring some low-ranking military personnel to trial. — DA

"We, the revolutionary communists in Israel, know well from our own experience that only the common fight of the exploited masses of both peoples can be the way toward liberation, and that that liberation cannot be just the political liberation of the Palestinians alone. We know that in order to liberate itself from its ideological association with the Arab bourgeoisie and to strive for the rule of the poor masses of the people of the whole region, we know that in order to free itself from the exile and the degradation, from the hopelessness and distress, the Palestinian people has to agree to a pact with the exploited Jewish masses in Israel itself — those very same masses that today turn their backs on any idea of collaboration between Jews and Arabs. It is toward this that most of our political activities are directed. In this we see part of both our political and human mission. It was for the advancement of this idea that I agreed to talk with that man that was introduced to me as a Palestinian socialist — for we will not disregard any opportunity of convincing our Arab interlocutors of the rightness of our way and the indispensability of a common struggle."

Livneh met once with the Fatah member. They discussed political questions, Livneh explained his group's political differences with the Fatah perspective. He explained that he believed that the Fatah cadres could not "solve the Palestinian problem, for various reasons": because they imagine the possibility of a military victory against the State of Israel without a deep social revolution in the Arab world and without a real separation of the exploited Jewish masses in Israel from Zionist ideology, because they separate the struggle against Zionism from the struggle against Arab reaction, consigning the latter to a later stage; because they use ambiguous formulas that describe the Jews as a religious community, avoiding full recognition of the fact that the Jews of Israel are a national, not a religious, community; because they have too close relations with the Arab regimes in the region. These failings, Livneh argued, were at the bottom of what he believed was a false strategy projected by the Fatah leaders.

These political questions, Livneh explained, were the subject of his discussion with the Fatah representative — and not cloak-and-dagger plots for espionage and sabotage.

But despite his political disagreements with the Fatah positions, Livneh reiterated his aim of establishing a common struggle between the exploited masses — Jewish and Arab — of the region. He described the class oppression of the Israeli-Jewish workers: the low wages, the high prices and rents, the speed-ups, the constant taxes to pay for the "unjust war against historical reality." He talked about how the regime tries to make Israeli-Jews accept all this by resorting to the notion of "national unity":

"They grind into our heads the idea of national unity. But the poor, whose majority comes from oriental communities, must unite with under-housing, under-income, and under-education. The Horowitz committee report states explicitly that 12 per cent of the people born in Asia and Africa that arrived in the country before 1948 live in conditions of under-housing, three or more persons to a room, and that 25 per cent of the people born in Asia and Africa that arrived after 1948 live in such conditions.

"I live in Kiryat Shalom, in the boundary of the Shapira neighborhood, just a stone's throw from the Hatikva neighborhood. I see day by day how people live in these neighborhoods. Yet if someone really needs dry official data: In Yediot Aharanon, April 25, Yitzhak Tishler quotes data from a research investigation of the Hatikva neighborhood. The research work states: '33 per cent of the heads of family in the neighborhood lack any ordered education. Only 9 per cent of them have studied for more than nine years. The average flat in the Hatikva neighborhood has 1.8 rooms; 40 per cent of the families lack any arrangement for hot water. Only 56 per cent are fully employed. The average gross income of the wage-earners in the neighborhood is 560 pounds (about \$490). Thirty per cent do not enjoy any substantial income. Another 30 per cent live on an income of 400 pounds or less.

"Whoever says in these conditions to the workers, the inhabitants of poor neighborhoods, the settlers of the immigrant villages and development towns that the main thing is national unity is using the poverty and sufferings of the poor and the exploited, who are a majority of the population, for the advancement of his own political goals."

Livneh responded to the Government's charge that the anti-Zionist movement was plotting violence against the State:

"The revolutionary communists are being accused of standing for violence. We are accused of preaching armed revolution.

"There is no limit to the hypocrisy of the regime.

"At the 'Chemicals and Phosphates' in Haifa, the lungs of the workers are burned out by poisonous gases day after day. My uncle got his lungs burned out there. My father had eaten dust and gases there for twenty years. I too have tasted the poison. This is violence!

"At the textile factories, workers become deaf from the noise of the machines. At paint factories the workers' blood gets poisoned. In all factories work is organised in such a way as to make it possible to suck from the worker as much profit as possible at the expense of his health and life. This is violence in its highest degree!

"In the poor neighborhoods, poor villages, and development towns the physical health of the settlers is destroyed year after year. This is violence!

"In the Arab villages and in the areas that were conquered in 1967 a regime of violent terror founded on anti-human laws is operated. Clubs and weapons, tortures and arbitrary arrests — this is violence!

"When policemen murder slum youth in the streets of Jerusalem and Rehovot in cold blood, when policemen armed with clubs disperse demonstrations of inhabitants of the neighborhoods and of leftists, when armed policemen break a workers' strike — this is violence!

"When people from the secret police beat murderously any common delinquent — this is violence!

"Gaois. They are institutions whose whole existence is continuous violence.

"This regime is completely based on violence. Oppressing violence is an

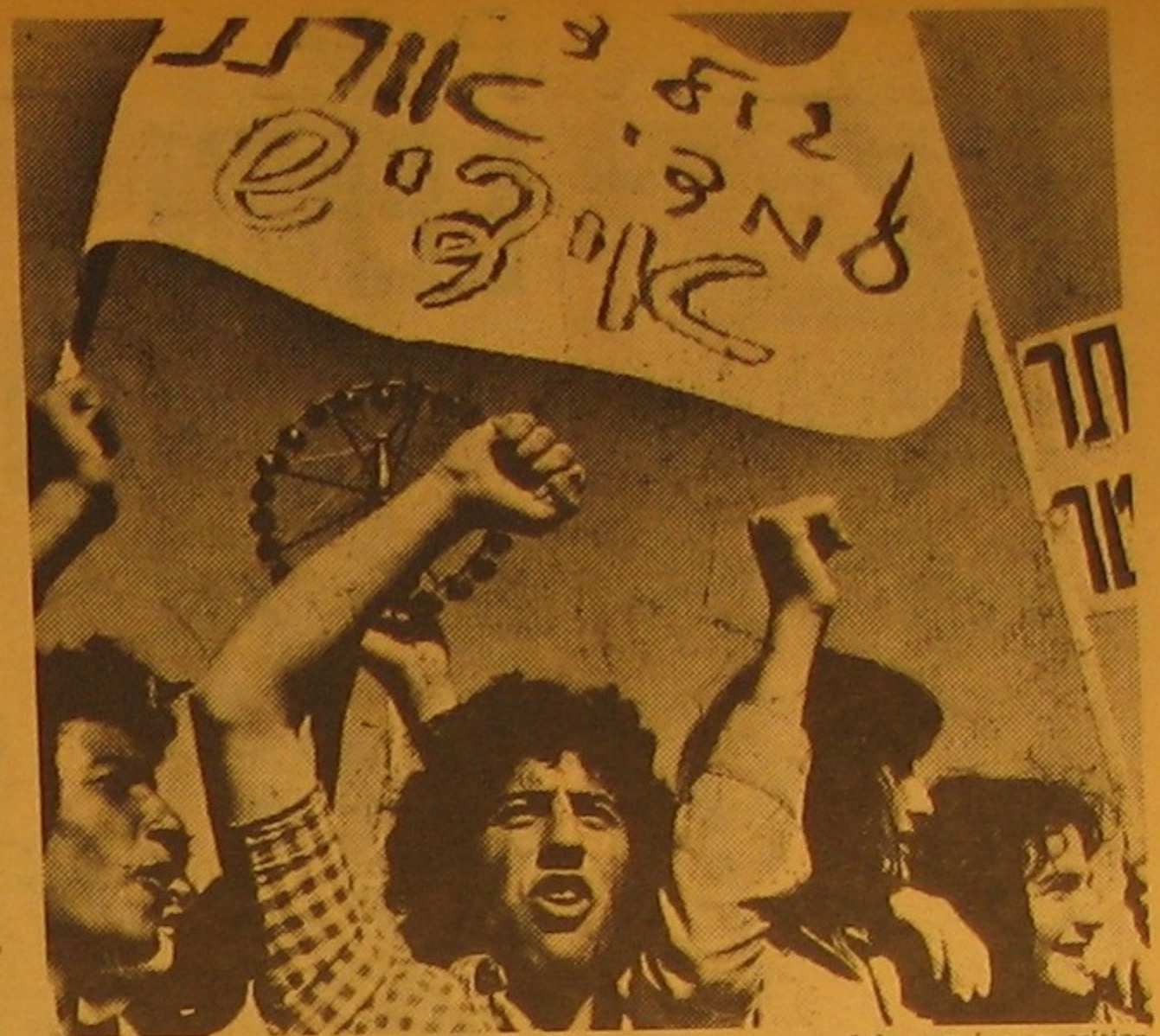
indispensable condition of its existence.

"And when we organise ourselves for a political struggle whose purpose is the elimination of the regime of violence, when we call the Jewish and Arab workers and peasants to a common struggle in order to liberate ourselves from the exploitation and the oppression — the Government accuses us of preaching violence.

"We are not fooling ourselves and we are not fooling anybody else. The regime of violence and oppression will not disappear just because it is opposed to the interests of the majority of the people. It will not disappear when most of the workers, laborers, and poor — both Jews and Arabs — organise themselves in order to replace it in a democratic way with a popular government. It will attack, it will go out in a desperate war against both the Jewish and Arab masses.

"Thus we say to the workers, the peasants, and the poor: You must be prepared for that attack. And we know: Only the organised people, only the force of the oppressed and exploited masses, which make up the majority of the population, united in the understanding of their common interest and knowing the enemy, only this force will succeed in resisting the attack of the State establishment, operated by the exploiting and oppressing class and its associates in the region and the world."

Livneh not only exposed the political basis of the frame-up charges against him, he also refuted the details of the prosecutor's claims. He explained that the alleged Fatah agent he had met with had entered the country in a totally legal manner so far as he knew, that they had made no agreement to pass weapons into Israel, that no arrangements for exchange of money between the two organisations was made. And in fact, no witness was produced at the trial to support any of the prosecution's contentions. The only "evidence" presented was a confession that had been signed by Livneh. He described how that confession was extorted: "After nine days of investigation, which was full of beatings and throughout which I defended my right not to make any declarations but in court, they took the most horrifying course one can imagine: They took my friend who is as close to me as a brother could be (Shauki Khatib, who is an Arab); they tortured him with electricity and cold showers and simply announced to me that they would not stop until I was ready to talk. I talked. I told them I was ready to say whatever they wanted — and I truly 'incriminated' myself, apparently, and signed whatever they wanted me to. But when those experts in tortures and lies put on innocent faces in the witness stand — that is part of their profession — the court believed them."



Black Panthers — a part of the growing opposition

Besides his meeting with a "foreign agent", another charge against Livneh was that police, when searching his home, found two copies (three years old) of the newspaper Al Hurriyah, then the organ of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. In his statement to the court, Livneh took the opportunity to "confess" to some other matters regarding this contraband literature: that the Hebrew University library receives Al Hurriyah and that he and his friends even photographed articles from issues of the paper, "a service rendered to every student for 40 agorot each page" by the library's xerox machine.

He also noted that he had committed the "crime" of buying a copy of the magazine Al Arabi, a literary newspaper published in Kuwait, which is defined as an "enemy" country. This criminal act he committed at a public newsstand in Haifa.

"There is no doubt," Livneh said, "that those newspapers are sold freely and anybody can freely see the organ of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine at the university library. There is no doubt that these facts are known to the prosecution, and certainly there is no doubt they are known to the Security Service.

"The attempt to incriminate me with

the accusation of having such newspapers — an item for which the maximum penalty is ten years — is amazing in its idiocy and daring.

"Idiocy because whoever accuses me of this charge is laughing at himself and at the court. In today's Israel there is no need, yet, to be a man belonging to an 'espionage and sabotage ring' as I was defined by the press with the support of the prosecution and the Security Service. In order to read and have such a newspaper, one simply has to go to a store and buy it.

"Daring because by bringing me to trial on this charge, the State machinery does not hesitate to show two of its true intentions in everything related to this trial. One: that it is possible, and even desirable, to read in Israel political articles and newspapers published by the Arab bourgeoisie or reaction, but that it is totally forbidden to read articles that call for a common Jewish-Arab struggle, as can be found in the organ of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The oppressive regime in Israel does not hesitate to show its fear of the realisation of the idea of the common struggle of the Arab and Jewish workers and its similarity of interests with the oppressive regimes in the Arab countries. So much so that it casts a most selective reading 'freedom': Usbu' Al Arabi, published by the exploiters of workers in Lebanon, the 'hostile' country, this one can be owned and read. But one can get ten years imprisonment for the possession of the manifesto of those who fight against the oppression of the workers and peasants in Lebanon and Jordan.

"The second intention: that we, members of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Struggle), have to be put in gaol at any price and for as long a period as possible. And this in order to deter all leftists from their struggle. The fact that in order to do so I have to be accused of breaking a regulation defined by the justice minister himself as a Nazi regulation, does not mean a thing to the Government."

Livneh ended his statement to the court this way:

"The meeting I held was an organic part of the legal political activities of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Struggle). That meeting was held in pure innocence. I did not break the law and there was no intention on my part to break the law, nor to harm the security of the State. Our position and our way of ensuring the security of the people of Israel is the realisation of massive political struggle.

"I am standing here only because I am an uncompromising fighter against the existing regime. What leads me and my friends in all our activities is the true interests of the Jewish and Arab masses. While I am completely innocent, there is nothing in the world that can stop me from fighting, together with my friends, for the high aims of communism."

On June 24 Rami Livneh was sentenced to ten years in gaol. Meli Lehman got seven years in gaol. The five Arab defendants received sentences ranging from six months to six years.



Palestinians prisoners in an Israeli gaol

(Matspen). The charges against Livneh were that he had had a meeting with a "foreign agent" (actually a member of the Palestinian resistance movement) in 1970, that he was found in possession of illegal literature (actually two copies, three years old, of the Arabic weekly Al Hurriyah), and that he knew of the existence of the "espionage and sabotage network" but failed to report it to the police.

The regime's intent in the trials was quite clear. If Livneh and the other defendants could be sent to prison for holding political discussions with an Arab, an obvious message would go out to all anti-Zionists in Israel: to talk to an Arab is to commit a crime against State security; any Arab involved in politics is a "foreign agent"; and more generally, any Jewish-Arab contact is treasonable.

Rami Livneh came to trial in June. With him in the dock were Meli Lehman, also a Jew, and five Israeli Arabs, whose names we do not yet know. Intercontinental Press, a weekly news-magazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism, has received a copy of the statement Livneh made to the court on June 20. In it, he took the Government's frame-up head on, exposing its lies and its political aims. He started by challenging the prosecution's very concept of a foreign agent — and

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BY DAVE HOLMES

From Lenin to Stalin by Victor Serge. A Mond Press book distributed by Pathfinder Press, New York. 160pp, \$2.45. (Available from Pathfinder Press, PO Box 151, Glebe, NSW, 2037).

"Everything has changed.

"The aims: from international social revolution to socialism in one country.

"The political system: from the workers democracy of the soviets, the goal of the revolution, to the dictatorship of the general secretary, the functionaries, and the GPU.

"The party: from the organisation, free in its life and thought and freely submitting to discipline, of revolutionary Marxists to the hierarchy of bureaus, to the passive obedience of careerists.

"The Third International: from a mighty organisation of propaganda and struggle to the opportunist servility of central committees appointed for the purpose of approving everything, without shame or nausea.

"The defeats: from the heroism of the German and Hungarian defeats... to the heartrending background of the Canton Commune.

"The leaders: the greatest militants of October are in exile or prison. From Lenin to Stalin." (From Lenin to Stalin p 57).

Victor Serge's book, written in 1936, is a participant's account of the heroic first years of the Russian Revolution, the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the betrayal of the ideals of the revolution. Writing with a tremendously forceful and moving style, Serge brings the whole process alive for the reader.

Victor Serge was born in Belgium in 1890 to revolutionary Russian emigre parents. In his youth Serge moved in anarchist and revolutionary circles in France and Barcelona where he took part in the abortive revolution of July 1917. Then interned in France he was exchanged for a French officer held by the Bolsheviks and arrived in Petrograd in early 1919. (These events are described by Serge in his novel Birth of Our Power.) Serge joined the Bolsheviks and served on the executive committee of the Communist International and edited its journal Communist International. Later he was a member of the Left Opposition. Arrested in 1933 he was released in early 1936 through the efforts of his friends in France and allowed to leave the USSR, the last known oppositionist to do so. Abroad, Serge was first a partisan of Trotsky but later he developed political differences with him, especially over Serge's support of the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificacion Marxista - Workers Party of Marxist Unification) in the Spanish Civil War. Serge died in exile in Mexico in 1947.

Serge wrote many works on revolutionary

FROM LENIN TO STALIN

Trotsky, Lenin and Kamenev in 1920



themes, Trotsky described him as a "magnificent historian of the Russian Revolution". Perhaps the best known of his works available in English are: From Lenin to Stalin, Birth of Our Power, Men in Prison, The Case of Comrade Tulayev, and Memoirs of a Revolutionary. Tragically, the manuscripts of several of his works were confiscated by the Stalinist censors and may never reappear.

The February revolution of 1917 in Russia took even the Bolsheviks by surprise. The soviets were all powerful but the reformist socialists who dominated these were anxious at all costs to hand over the awesome responsibilities of power to the liberal bourgeoisie. "Until Lenin's arrival in Russia, the revolution marked time." (p13) Lenin returned to Russia from Switzerland and within three weeks reoriented the party towards the struggle for the seizure of power. "Lenin's merit consisted in being a revolutionist in a time of revolution." (p16) In the eight months between February and October the Bolshevik Party marched to the head of the masses and led them to the taking of power and the establishment of the first workers state in history. It is the beginning of a new age...

party congress in December 1927 Stalin needs a success, if only for an hour, to counter-balance the recent purge of the Left Opposition from the party and to calm the delegates. A putsch is staged by the Comintern in Canton, strategically coincident with the congress. Shortly afterwards it is drowned in blood. In one year, from Shanghai to Canton, some 100,000 poor people's lives are lost but Stalin and the bureaucratic caste rise even higher above the Soviet masses on this wave of defeats.

And: "From Paris, Berlin, London, Guatemala, from everywhere, the central committees of the communist parties, appointed and paid by him (Stalin), their approval of everything... Thaelmann... Doriot, Barbusse, Marcel Cachin, and all the others approve, greet with enthusiasm, approve everything - everything." (p49)

The following years leading to the monstrous Moscow Trials are all portrayed by Serge - the expulsion of the opposition leaders from the party, the exile and imprisonment of oppositionists, capitalizations; the forced collectivisation and the industrialisation; the GPU terror; the assassination of Zinoviev and Kamenev, and the "brilliant and beloved leader" to whom two million White Russian workers sign a message in verse. "O wise master, genius of geniuses! Sun of the workers! Sun of the peasants, sun of the world! Power of rivers, glory and pride of labor!" (p105)

Serge explains the reason behind the Moscow Trials; to destroy any reserve leadership team to which the masses might turn in the coming crisis of the world war. Trotsky alone escapes for a time. "Only the Old Man remains... He remains as he was in 1917, with Lenin at the head of the masses... at the head of an international party with neither masses nor money, but preserving the tradition, preserving and renewing the doctrine - a party overflowing with devotion... and he has everything that the Leader has not: a revolutionary soul, a brilliant pen..." (p108, 109)

From Lenin to Stalin ends with an affirmation of the historical significance and value of the Russian Revolution. Despite Stalinism the planned economy remains and the Soviet workers state has shown the oppressed of the world what can be done. The bureaucratic dictatorship cannot last forever. "For history, the Russian Revolution has only begun. The day will come when the workers of the Soviet Union will look back on the Stalinist nightmare with the curiosity mingled with disgust which certain dismal pages of history inspire in us." (p116) The struggle against Stalinism is a struggle to restore "to socialism and revolution a little of their true grandeur and consequently their ability to conquer." (p 116)

The Pathfinder Press edition of From Lenin to Stalin also contains some other excellent articles by Victor Serge; among them Life and Culture in 1918, The End of Henry Yagoda, and The Condition of Women.

WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

by Leon Trotsky
Introduction by Caroline Lund. Trotsky was one of the Bolshevik leaders most conscious of the oppression of women, and especially the role of the patriarchal family in their subjugation. In these letters, articles, and speeches, he describes the gains Russian women made after the Bolshevik Revolution and explains the causes of later setbacks under the Stalin regime. 80pp., pbk \$1.25

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AUS Takes Radical Steps

BY PETER CONRICK

A thunderous ovation for Jack Munday, a unanimous vote of support for the outlawed French Trotskyists, a decisive rejection of Zionism and the election of a revolutionary socialist to the editorship of National U... It is little wonder that the light-hearted "happy motion" from Melbourne University that "AUS transform itself into the revolutionary party" was taken seriously by delegates to the recent August council of the Australian Union of Students.

The Australian Union of Students (membership now approximately 180,000) holds two conferences each year, usually referred to as February council and August council. For five days (August 22-26) the sleazy George Hotel in St Kilda, Melbourne, was the venue for another hectic, extended session of reports and discussions which have now become the hallmark of AUS councils.

It is a very difficult procedure to qualitatively compare this council to those of recent years, particularly those councils where AUS commenced its leftward movement, but August council 1973 showed some important gains.

In general, AUS has stood its ground and maintained its support for the mass movements and reaffirmed its progressive anti-capitalist character. Yet this has also been accompanied by some confusion.

A topic of discussion by many left delegates was the effect which the lull in the mass movements would have on AUS. The point that should be stressed to begin with is that by its very nature, in the manner in which it reflects the tenor of local campus politics, AUS will be (necessarily) "reactive" to the political mood of the day.

One of the disadvantages involved in working with AUS is the continually changing basis of representation from each campus. At this council, with many new delegates from recently affiliated colleges of advanced education (CAEs), plus a number of relatively inexperienced university delegations, there was no consistent left bloc vote. At best, the left could manage a solid bloc only on individual issues.

Although the mood of the conference was vaguely left, there was no one strong left-wing tendency. In fact, most left groups have continued to ignore or dismiss AUS as being either reformist or bureaucratic.

The only socialist organisation to have been represented at August council was the Socialist Youth Alliance. SYA members present included Frans Timmerman (University of New South Wales), Jeff Hayler (chairman of the Macquarie University Students' Council), Barry Simpson (a member of the Public Affairs Committee from Monash) and Peter Conrick (recently elected to the SRC at Melbourne University).

Other delegates with left-wing representation included La Trobe, the University of New England and Flinders University.

Although the forces of reaction consider the influence of student government extremely important, there was little evidence of their representation at this council. Apart from scattered individuals the right wing was an occasional and mostly ineffectual voice.

Between these poles lay a sizeable stratum of moderate, welfare-seeking and confused delegates. It is these people who have dominated student welfare priorities of AUS. It is also these people who are most at home among the trivia of personal benefits, minor reforms and the jockeying for positions in student bodies. And inevitably, these are the people who are most vocal in their opposition to AUS giving its priorities to anti-capitalist movements and supporting the oppressed people of the colonial world.

The acid test for the so-called "left" at this August council was the attempt by certain representatives of Zionism to rescind a motion passed by annual council last February, excluding the National Union of Israeli Students (NUIS) from the Asian Students Association (ASA). An indication of the

importance which NUIS (and the Israeli Government) attaches to recognition as a legitimate part of the international student movement was the intensive lobbying of delegates long before council met. This resulted in many delegate votes being committed to supporting the Zionists before the other side of the story had been heard. The situation also arose where the mover of the motion to include NUIS in the ASA spoke from the Melbourne platform, which included some of the strongest opponents of the motion.

Despite the lobbying and preliminary organisation by representatives of NUIS, council voted to continue the exclusion of NUIS by a majority of thirteen votes. This margin was not an accurate reflection of the feeling against the Zionists. Both delegations from Melbourne and Monash (representing 17 votes) were split on their attitude to NUIS. The most encouraging aspect of this result was the refusal of delegates to be taken in by the sham argument that NUIS was not a direct agent of Israel. NUIS supporters went to great pains to emphasise their disagreements with this and that aspect of Israeli policy. In the final analysis NUIS had to admit to its commitment to the existence of the Zionist State. By rejecting these tactics AUS reaffirmed its support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and clarified its opposition to Israeli Zionist presence in the Middle East.

Another aspect of the international session was the continuing stress on AUS's opposition to the apartheid Vorster regime in South Africa. This was brought home to delegates in a vivid way by president Neil McLean who was barred from entering South Africa because of the stand taken by AUS on racism. It was no surprise that South Africa received a prominent position in the priorities and budgeting session.

Council unanimously adopted a resolution of protest against the French Government's ban on the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth Inter-

national in Australia to do the same. The motion in defence of the Ligue Communiste was seconded by Melbourne University.

One of the more important topics discussed by the council was race relations. AUS has had a long involvement in the black movement in one form or another. There is no doubt that the most serious and fruitful discussion over the five days occurred under race relations. Many of the current leaders of the black movement such as Gary Foley, Bruce McGuinness and Cheryl Buchanan, were present.

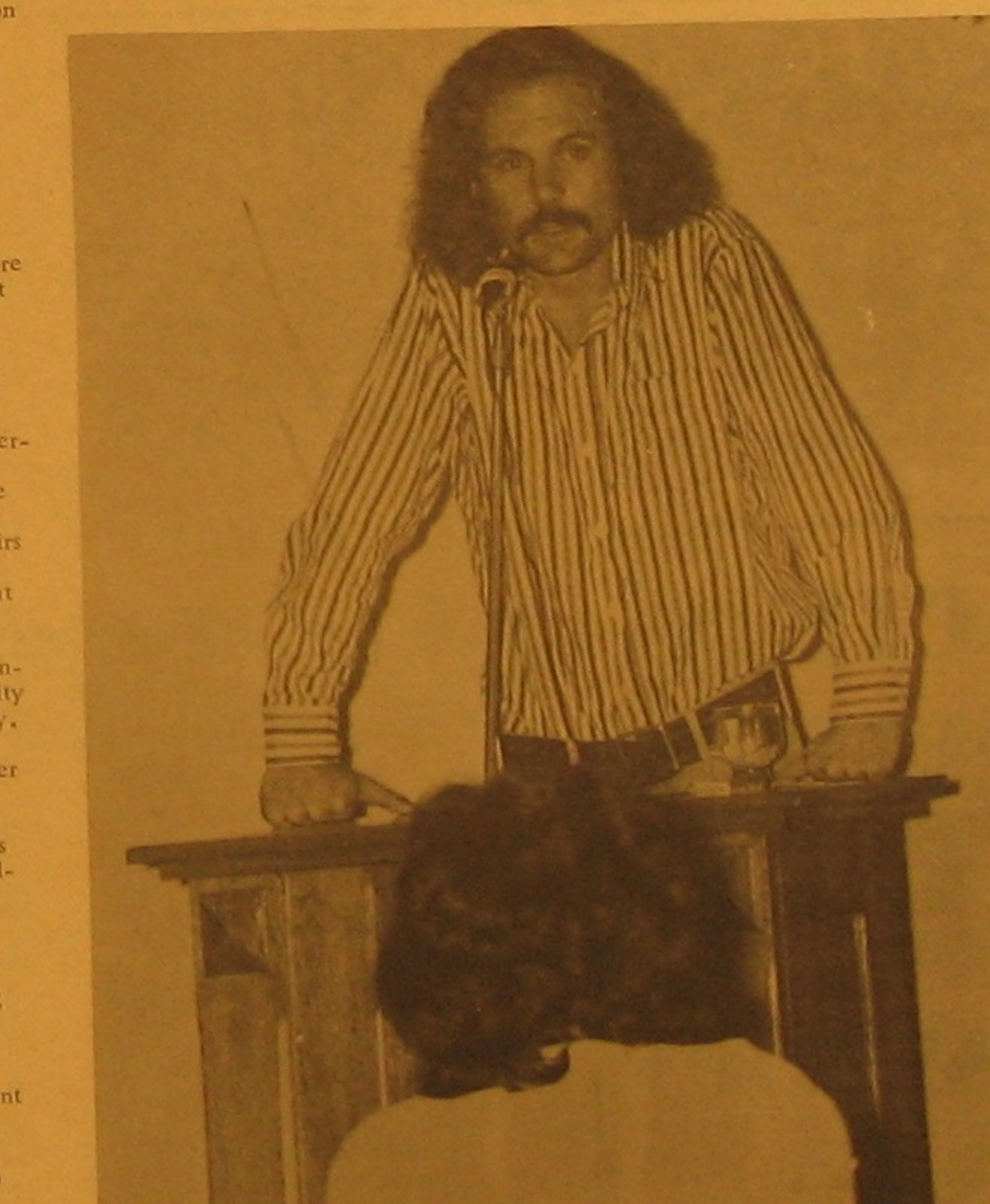
Foley addressed the conference on the desecration of sacred Aboriginal ground at the Nimbin arts festival sponsored by AUS earlier this year. Foley said that the worshipping of the counter-culture and complete disregard for Aboriginal people shown by the festival organisers was an attitude of "white is right!"

Considering that festival organiser Johnny Allen took a lengthy part of his report to council justifying the desecration, it would seem that the black movement's criticisms have touched a few consciences. There were a number of inconsistencies in Allen's report, not the least obvious being the claim that Aquarius knew nothing of the sacred character of the land until three weeks before the festival took place. The blacks claimed Aquarius knew three months in advance.

A motion by Allen that AUS apologise to the Nimbin tribe, even though AUS wasn't exactly sure where the desecrated land had been defeated. Council then adopted a motion of unreserved apology to the tribe.

Cheryl Buchanan, a field worker for race relations highlighted the backward attitude of the union to the black movement. She told council that even though she was employed by AUS she would not hold herself responsible to AUS - the only group she was responsible to was her own people.

The other major area of debate at



Frans Timmerman was elected new editor of National U by the AUS conference national. The resolution also demanded the release of two of the Ligue's leaders, Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset. Speaking in support of the motion, Jeff Hayler (Macquarie) reminded council of its obligation to defend the democratic rights of all workers' and student organisations. Hayler pointed out that Macquarie University SC had voted \$30 to the campaign in defence of the Ligue and urged all other student bodies

trends coming from outsiders." Consequently, argues the document, no cold hard planning for the year ahead is ever done.

Although AUS must take a stand on all progressive issues and back these causes with campaigns and finance, it does not necessarily require a fixed "line" to relate to those struggles.

AUS is reactive - a mass organ of student opinion cannot avoid "reactiveness". But the suggestion offered in the executive report amounts to an arbitrary attempt to transform AUS into a political party, complete with programme and organisational principles. That is the logic of the document. Presumably the programme would be binding upon all members and constituents.

Already one can sense the pitfalls of the document in the suggestion that a campaign be mounted against the activities of multi-national corporations in Australia. Why not a campaign against Australian companies too? Surely AUS will not fall into the trap it has so studiously avoided (of "rejecting the doctrine, sloganistic and simplistic") by aligning itself with a defence of "progressive" Australian interests against international corporations.

There are a number of other weaknesses in the document, even when it is considered in abstract isolation, apart from its intended purpose. Confusion about the nature of the ALP and an orientation to the Federal Labor Government continue to haunt the union from the days of National Union of Australian University Students.

These are only two points of political confusion in the document. There are other statements of a contentious nature. As one delegate demonstrated, all these questions cannot be resolved by two hundred people in a space of a few days. They must be debated out by the constituent bodies, through the press and in special assemblies.

The document is a reflection of one way AUS might respond to the current downturn on the campuses. Equally strong is the desire to create firmer links with the workers' movement. A concrete expression of this solidarity was seen in the emotive response to Builders' Labourers' NSW secretary, Jack Munday who opened the council proceedings.

Probably the most dramatic part of the five days of usually long, chaotic sessions was the election of National U editor for 1974.

As the official organ of AUS National U reaches every tertiary campus in the Commonwealth and can play a vital role as a propaganda weapon for the union. The three main contenders for National U were Paul Foss (the current NU editor) and Paul Paech (the current NU editor); Alan Knight (the current editor of Semper Floreat at University of Queensland) and Frans Timmerman (former editor and current publisher of Tharunka at UNSW, and a member of the editorial board of DIRECT ACTION.)

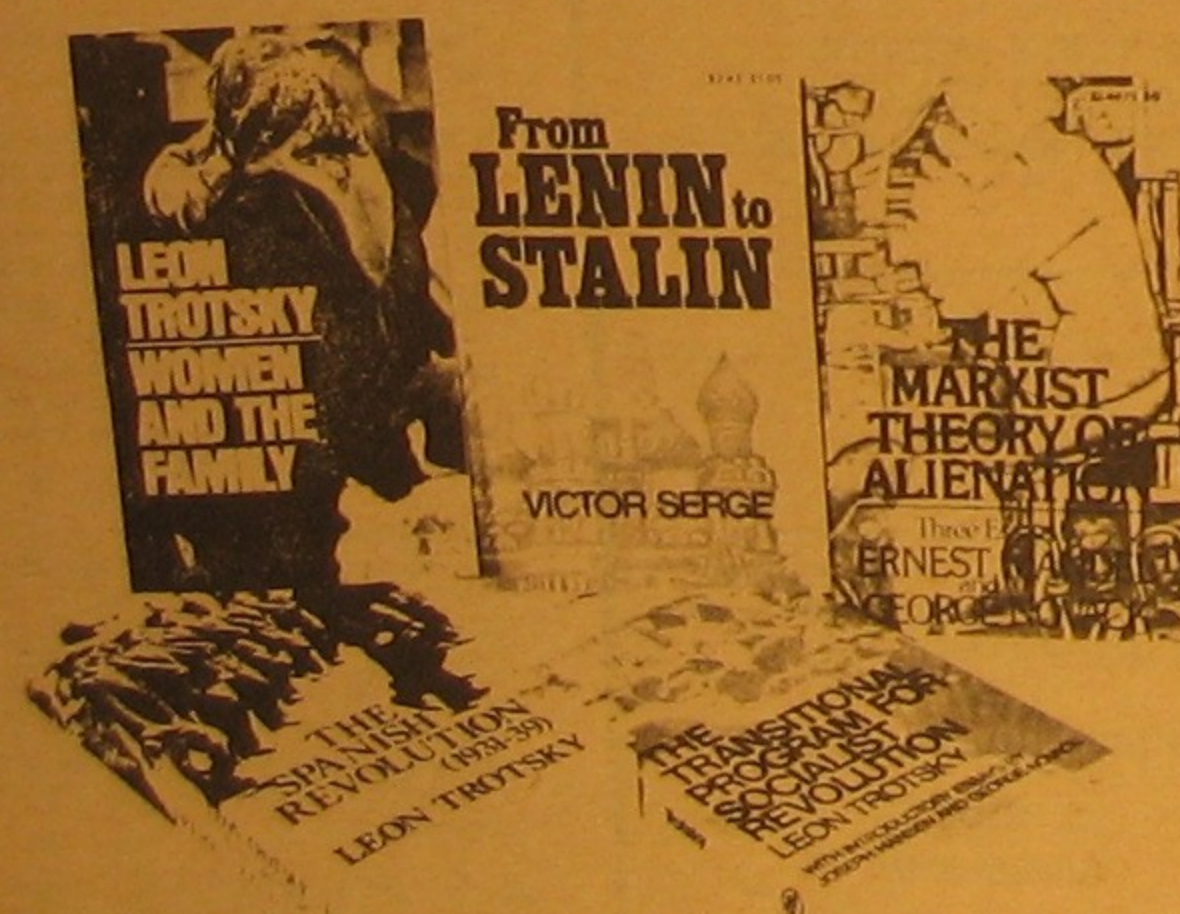
In the secret ballot for editor, Knight tied with Timmerman, leaving the deciding vote with president Neil McLean. On the recommendation of the AUS executive a second ballot was held to direct McLean to vote for either Knight or Timmerman. In accordance with the wishes of council, McLean cast his deciding vote for Frans Timmerman.

With National U decided council ground into its final priority session to finish at 12.00 noon Sunday, after an all-night session and just 12 hours behind scheduled time.

August council showed that AUS is still dominated by reformists and left-liberals of all shades.

But the fact remains that even in this period of ebb in activity on most campuses, AUS has shown that it still can act as a catalyst for mobilising students around a wide variety of issues on a national scale. AUS is an instrument through which students can concretely link up with national and international struggles. In spite of its weaknesses AUS stands alone as the organisation with the finance, links and resources to allow the student sector of society to become a real force in changing society.

Books from Pathfinder Press



Socialists Win Posts at Macquarie Uni

BY KIM REYNOLDS

Recently elections were held for the Macquarie University Students' Council and the Socialist Youth Alliance ran four candidates out of a total of thirty-three.

The SYA-endorsed candidates included Jeff Hayler a gay activist and chairman of the last Students' Council; Peter Jamieson, a well known radical activist on campus; Chris Kingsbury and Kim Reynolds, active feminists on campus. All of these candidates ran on a programme which centred on such issues as university students' participation in struggles for oppressed groups such as blacks, gays and women; staff-student control of the university; autonomy of the Australian Union of Students, students' council and all other student institutions; free child care, free safe contraceptives and repeal of all abortion laws.

During the election campaign the SYA new-sheet on campus, Young Socialist, presented the issues to students in the following way:

"We support the campaigns for the rights of oppressed sectors such as women, blacks and homosexuals. In regard to the unions and the Australian Labor Party we fight for the rights of workers against their bosses.

"We don't ask you to vote for us unless you are prepared to provide us with a mandate to work on this campus for the above-mentioned aims and the specific local demands of staff-student control, the elimination of sexism, and the autonomy of AUS. If you are prepared for this, then vote for the socialist alternative represented by our candidates."

One of the factors influencing the student feeling before and during the elections was the "Menzies College Affair," where Jeremy Fisher, a gay activist on campus, was expelled from the college on account of his being a homosexual which conflicted with the "religious principles" of the college director. This incident had the effect of raising student con-



Jeff Hayler, re-elected chairman of Macquarie University Students' Council



Rod Webb, editor elect of Arena newspaper of MUSC

sciousness on the question of gay rights. This issue became important in the election campaign, with three gay activists running and receiving a good proportion of votes.

We also witnessed for the first time an active intervention by the women's liberation group on campus. A questionnaire was circulated to the candidates soliciting their response to a whole range of women's demands. This had an effect, if not on the voting (as it was published too late for the initial voting), on the candidates themselves. Reactions ranged from a favorable and concerned attitude to a leaflet produced by a right-wing candidate which accused the women's liberation group of being "female imperialists". This intervention marked a step forward for the women's movement on campus and reflects its growing.

The results of the elections were that Jeff Hayler was elected to council and has since been re-elected chairman. Other SYA candidates narrowly missed election. There was a noticeable polarisation of votes and a strengthening of support from the student body for radical policies.

Another important aspect of the campaign was that the election for editor of the student newspaper, Arena, was held in conjunction with the Students' Council elections. During the year the question of the editorship of Arena and its content was one of the most important political issues on campus with anti-gay articles being published, directed in particular against Jeff Hayler.

Because of the backlash created by this the then editor, Mark Aarons, was forced to resign.

The election resulted in Rod Webb, a well-known socialist on campus obtaining the editorship by an overwhelming margin. Webb stood on a programme of abolition of any sexist material from Arena and using the paper for mobilising support for issues which posed the question of radical change within the university and in society.

Workers Co-operative Fails in SA

BY DOUG LORIMER

On August 20 the members of Australia's first trade-union/workers' co-operative at Whyalla accepted a takeover bid. According to a report in the August 20 News "the takeover bid was made by a local family with interstate ties in the clothing industry."

The co-operative was formed after a work-in was staged in November 1972 to prevent the closing of James North,

an industrial glove factory, due to bankruptcy. The workers occupied the factory for thirty-three hours with the support of the Federated Miscellaneous Workers' Union, of which they were members. The union leadership negotiated with the owners, leased the machinery and formed a co-operative in which all the workers had an equal say in the management and in the distribution of the profits. The success of the co-operative depended on its viability as an enterprise in the capital-

ist system.

The South Australian Labor Government subsidised the venture for its first two months, and the formation of the co-operative was lauded by some sections of the Adelaide left, most notably the Communist Party of Australia. This is consistent with the CPA's attitude to "workers' control". Jim Moss, former CPA State secretary in his pamphlet "Industrial Relations or Workers' Control" described the co-operative as an example of a "workers' control action (which) has developed into self-management."

It is interesting to note that the reactionary Government of Georges Pompidou in France proposed the creation of a workers' co-operative to the Lip strikers (see DIRECT ACTION No. 46). The 1320 workers at the Lip watch factory in Besancon were faced with the same situation as the James North workers. Threatened with lay-offs after the company's announcement of bankruptcy the Lip workers took over the enterprise on June 19 and voted in general assembly for an unlimited occupation of the factory and to continue production and sales of watches to the public at 40 per cent discount to assure a living wage.

Their central demand was a guaranteed job but they saw that this issue concerned all French workers and they organised a popularisation commission to spread word about the Lip struggle and to appeal for solidarity from other workers. Popular support for the Lip workers spread throughout France and the Pompidou Government put forward, as a way of defusing the explosive situation, a proposal that the workers take over the factory as shareholders in a co-operative.

The workers rejected this and a statement by one of the participating unions explained "We are not going to fall into that trap... We would soon be stuck in the contradictions of the capitalist system and could easily be strangled in the economic arena." Another statement by the unions stated: "We

are struggling against capitalism, we don't want to become capitalists."

Can it be that Pompidou supports "workers' self management"? Obviously not. What Pompidou sought was to defuse the strike by making the workers accept a "solution" which integrates them into the capitalist system by transforming them into petty capitalists.

The "solution" to the James North strike did not challenge capitalism in any way at all. The takeover of the factory by the workers as shareholders in a co-operative tied them to the capitalist system instead of leading them to struggle against it. It is precisely the nature of this system which generated the struggle at James North - guaranteed employment for all workers and a sliding scale of wages are issues touching all workers.

The CPA failed to criticise the wrong direction given to the James North strikers by their union "leaders" and to call for the nationalisation of the factory under workers' control. Workers' control of any factory must be based on both a guaranteed job for all workers in the factory and a decent living wage with automatic cost-of-living increases every month, the index to be kept by the ACTU. Contracts can be written to guarantee these demands but there can be no good employer or good manager that will not raise the question of profits. As long as the question of nationalisation is not raised, the workers will have to bear the costs of profitability, of the deficit. By divorcing nationalisation and workers' control the CPA negates the revolutionary dynamic of workers' control, and turns it into a demand which seeks to reform capitalism, not overturn it.

The James North events illustrate the reformist character of the CPA's conception of "workers' control". The co-operative was not an example of "workers' self-management" but an example of workers' participation in the management of capitalism.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

HEALTH SERVICES

Dear Editor,

I am a pensioner who lives in the Melbourne suburb of Footscray. I've been a militant in the working class movement for over forty years now and it is good to see young people taking up the fight. Talking to DIRECT ACTION sellers in the city and when they tell in Footscray is a real pleasure.

In the recent issues I have been pleased to see your coverage of the debate on medical health. Personally, having to visit the doctor fairly often, I have come into contact with some of the rotten propaganda the General Practitioners Society has dished out to many patients which the article by Gordon Adler spoke of. The sooner we have full nationalised health the better.

Also there is one criticism I would make of your paper, that is that it doesn't have enough coverage of the question of social services and the plight of pensioners. Hope you can step up this in future.

Keep up the good work.

Jack Mills

WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

Dear Comrade,

On October 2-7 the World Peace Congress have arranged a congress of all peace forces to be held in Moscow.

Australia and the Australian peace movement will be represented by Dr Cairns.

As a member of the Australian peace movement I oppose holding the congress in Moscow - 5 years after the Soviet invaded Czechoslovakia.

According to SPA the congress is being held to win support for the Soviet, so called, detente policies.

For me, the detente with the US imperialists was the final straw in sell selling out Marxism.

I therefore oppose the prostitution of the Australian peace movement to such policies.

What is the view of the Socialist Workers League?

(Unsigned)

LA TROBE MAOISTS

To the editor,

I am writing this letter in a spirit of honesty, and hope that you are sufficiently possessed of the same spirit to publish it.

In your last issue, there was an article by Dave Deutschman, entitled La Trobe Uni SRC Under Attack, in which he said: "The Maoists, who this year disbanded the La Trobe branch of WSA to form a "broader" political organisation, the radical student movement, formed themselves into a "Social Responsibility" ticket for the election. The most radical of the demands they projected during the campaign was for the establishment of a radio station on a campus."

I would like to point out that, whether through plan or error, Dave has not told the truth. The Social Responsibility ticket made its stand on issues such as aid to the re-building of North Vietnam; support for liberation struggle in Africa; action against the US Omega base, and autonomy of student funds.

Regardless of political differences, I feel that criticism is one thing, and falsification another - whether it be of Maoists or Trotskyites.

I trust that you will print this letter in the interest of truth.

Yours sincerely,

Jerry. La Trobe student.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

Dear Editor,

I have long been a reader of DA and think that its coverage of Australian events is the best available.

What I like most of all is the coverage of international events which is hard to come by in Australia. Recently I took out a subscription to the magazine you advertise, Intercontinental Press. Apart from giving me general information which you just can't get anywhere else, it has helped me in my studies as a matriculation student. Also I would like to join SYA.

Sincerely

C.B. Melbourne

DA GETS AROUND

Over 100 copies of DIRECT ACTION were sold to delegates at the ACTU congress held in Sydney on Sept 3-7. This was on top of the many people who had already bought a copy elsewhere or said that they subscribed. Quite a few of the delegates reacted very favorably to the paper, and the reception was an indication of the increasing influence of DIRECT ACTION in the labor movement.

Apart from having the widest coverage of all the important political issues of the day, DIRECT ACTION is the only paper presenting a clear analysis of the ALP and the labor movement, and as such is earning the respect of the left of the labor movement. Even those on the right often look to DIRECT ACTION to find out what is going on!

Sales of the last DIRECT ACTION received another boost through the excellent efforts of a supporter in Sydney. A member of the Socialist Youth Alliance who recently moved to Sydney from Port Macquarie sold over 200 copies of that issue. Apart from encouraging our regular sellers in their efforts to circulate the socialist press, perhaps it will inspire

those of our supporters who would like to help but have been hesitant.

If you would like to help sell DIRECT ACTION, fill in the form below and we will send you a bundle at one third discount. You could start with a small bundle of 10 or so, and build up your circulation from there. Suggested places to sell are at factories, stations, schools, universities, shopping centres, hotels, outside cinemas, at meetings or concerts and so on. If you agree with our ideas, and think that the job we are doing is important, put those ideas into practice and help us distribute DIRECT ACTION.

() I would like to subscribe to DIRECT ACTION at 10 issues for \$1

() I would like to receive a regular bundle of DIRECT ACTIONS at 1/3 discount.

NAME.....

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Send to DIRECT ACTION, 139 St Johns Road, Glebe, 2037.

DIRECT ACTION FORUMS

Sydney

at 139 ST JOHNS ROAD, GLEBE.

Friday, September 28, 8.00 pm
"THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND MAOISM TODAY"
John Percy, editor of DIRECT ACTION, looks at the development of the Chinese revolution with particular emphasis on Mao's foreign policy.

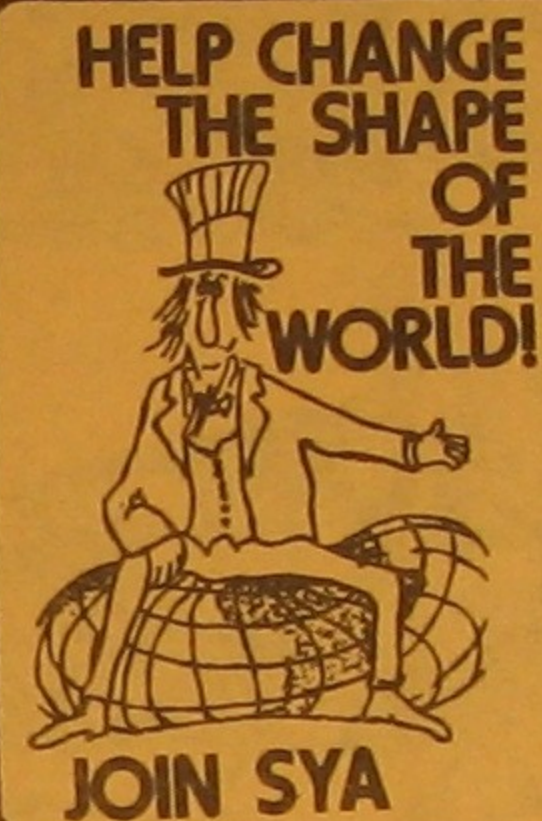
Friday, October 12, 8.00 pm
"RECENT TRENDS IN THE AUSTRALIAN UNION MOVEMENT" Allen Westwood, member of DIRECT ACTION editorial board, follows up the latest developments in Australian unionism, with particular reference to the ACTU congress

Melb

at 140 QUEENSBERRY STREET, CARLTON.

Thursday, September 27, 8.00 pm
"WHY LABOR SHOULD REJECT AN INCOMES POLICY" Andrew Jamieson speaks on the imminence of some form of wage restraints being brought down by the Labor Government

Thursday, October 11, 8.00 pm
"THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN AFRICA"
Kevin Wertheim describes the present liberation movements and analyzes future perspectives of the struggle.



If you oppose the Vietnam war and conscription, if you want a socialist Australia, if you support the struggle for women's liberation, the struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, the struggle for national liberation throughout the world - join the SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE.

I would like to join SYA

I would like more information.

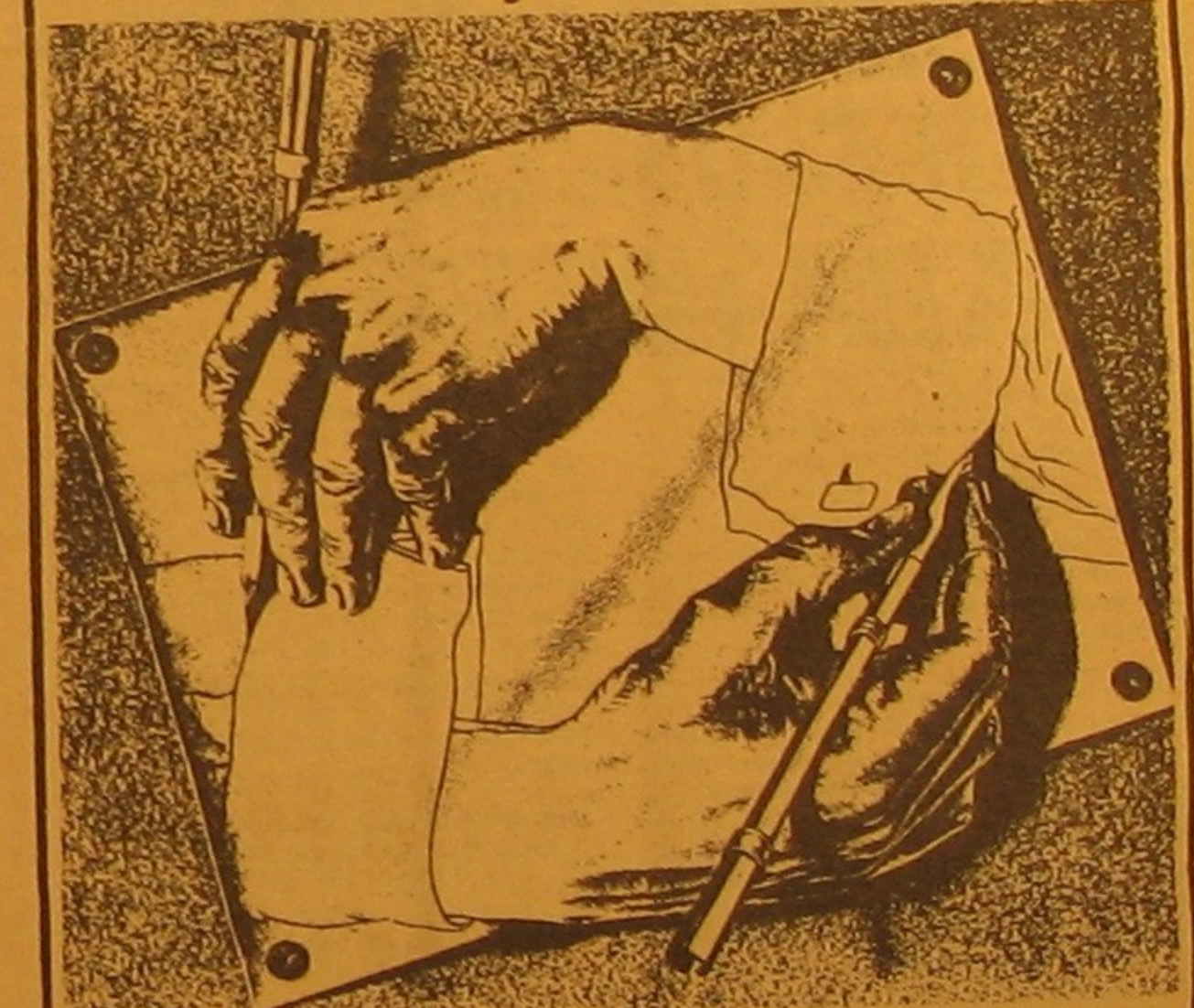
NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

POSTCODE..... PHONE.....

Post to SYA, P.O. Box 160, Glebe, 2037.

It's all very well on paper.



But in reality things don't come from nowhere. Money is no exception.

Our DIRECT ACTION fund drive for \$5000 continues. In order to acquire some much-needed equipment, namely a headliner and a new typesetting machine we have to raise money from somewhere.

A friend offered to donate a dollar for every dollar we raise up to \$2500. We

I donate \$50.....\$20.....\$15.....\$10.....\$5.....\$2.....\$1.....

Please send me a receipt.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

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Send to DIRECT ACTION Fund Drive, 139 St Johns Road, Glebe, 2037.

DIRECT ACTION

3rd Anniversary BANQUETS

52 -- GOOD FOOD AND SPEAKERS

Sydney

SEPTEMBER 29, 7pm
139 ST JOHNS RD,
GLEBE,
PH. 6606672

Melbourne

OCTOBER 13, 7pm
140 QUEENSBERRY ST,
CARLTON,
PH. 3473507

DIRECT ACTION Black September. What Black September?

BY SOL SALBY

The latest wave of anti-Arab hysteria in Australia has far surpassed anything seen so far. A sustained campaign for at least a fortnight has been carried in the media and by various government officials. The hysteria was accompanied on this occasion by an immensely successful scare campaign involving everyone from the Prime Minister down.

A mysterious news release appeared on the front pages of the Australian press on Friday, August 31. Using some source or another they have decided that the Black September group was planning to attack some targets in Australia.

As well as the predictable alleged targets, the Constitutional convention and the ACTU congress provided an ideal background for stories regarding security arrangements. The Sydney Daily Telegraph reported this on September 4: "The Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, was accompanied by extra bodyguards when he appeared at the opening of the convention at the Town Hall yesterday.



Eleven-year-old terrorist suspect in centre

Why has the campaign been initiated in the first place? Who benefits from the whole affair?

The answer to these questions can't be definitive at this stage. But what is clear already is that the source of the information is the Australian embassy in Tel Aviv. More information has been supplied by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (Asio).

Asio could possibly be the instigator of the whole affair as it provides the best rationale for its existence at a time when so many of its activities and even its very existence have been questioned.

The Israelis on the other hand are not short of motivation either. Australia's foreign policy shift to the left, which despite all its limitations is an advance on the Liberals' unconditional pro-Zionist policy, has disturbed the Zionists somewhat. The scare campaign is serving as a useful means of putting the maximum pressure on the Australian

Government to make sure it does not drift any further left. To the extent that the Liberals condemned Australia's "anti-Israeli" stand at the UN, the scare campaign will enhance the Liberals' electoral prospects, particularly in the Parramatta by-election.

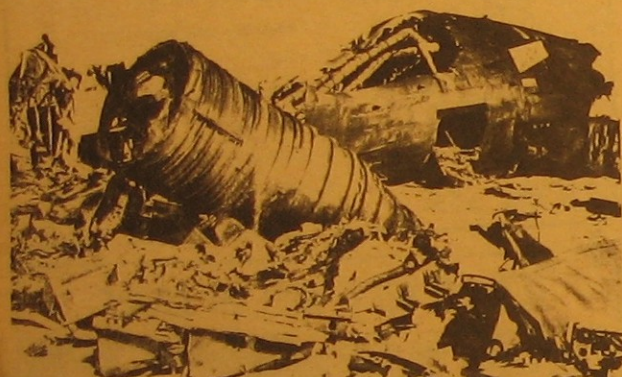
The increasing strength of the anti-Zionist movement and the failure of the Zionist propaganda campaign on two occasions this year with the shooting down of the Libyan airliner and the hijacking of another plane, has led to a new need for propaganda gimmicks. It has led to the need for a new bogey to hide the real aggressors in the Middle East. A successful scare campaign about "Arab terrorists" will help to reduce the support of the solidarity movement with the Palestinian people in Australia.

It is also worth noting that similar scare campaigns have taken place in Europe in the past just before major Zionist attacks. In France, Norway, Denmark and Italy such campaigns preceded Zionist attacks on various Palestinian leaders including several assassinations. Despite the direct advantage of the whole affair to the Liberals and their Asio agents the Labor leadership has believed the Zionist lies. The Attorney-General, Senator Murphy, has stated clearly that he expects terrorist activities to take place in Australia. The time limit of September 1-10 is now over and it is clear that Murphy has been gulled by the Zionists.

The ridiculous nature of the whole campaign was seen when the Palestinians were alleged to be responsible for a raid on an army base last April.

The latest affair reached its ridiculous height in Sydney on September 4 when a large police force was rushed to Sydney airport to observe 3 young Iranians, one aged 11, being taken off a plane. This was justified on the grounds that their names sounded like aliases used previously by Black September terrorists.

The tactic of creating an atmosphere of hysteria in order to justify harassment of Arabs in Australia has already been



Wreckage of the Libyan airliner

Police patrolled the entrance to State Parliament as the convention got under way in the afternoon.

"Meanwhile, security has been increased at synagogues and Israeli consular offices. Large crowds are expected at synagogues when the Jewish New Year is celebrated at the end of the month. During the celebration everybody entering synagogues will be stopped and checked and nobody will be permitted to carry parcels in. (This must be a real news item. Jews have been forbidden to carry parcels on holy days for the last 2000 years.)

"In Canberra the Israeli embassy has been put under the tightest security guard ever assigned to an embassy there. The normal 24-hour guard on the embassy was strengthened at the weekend. All the points of the Israeli embassy, a two-storey structure, are under surveillance 24 hours a day. At night the grounds are lit by specially erected arc lights. "Hidden in the trees near the embassy is a powerful police car. Its three drivers are specially trained high-speed drivers. In the car is a high-powered rifle of the type used by marksmen at the Olympic Games in Munich. "Security checks have been intensified at all airports in Australia and in Papua."

The Telegraph's stablemate, The Australian, went even further. In an article entitled Hawke Switches Hotels over Terrorism Fears they wrote:

"Police fear that the president of the ACTU, Mr R. J. Hawke, may be attacked by Arab Black September extremists. "Mr Hawke has moved from the Sydney hotel he was booked into for the ACTU congress to a secret location because of reports that terrorists are already in Australia.

"He was escorted under close police scrutiny to Melbourne airport at the weekend and the plane which flew him to Sydney was carefully checked before take-off."

It will obviously take a whole issue of DIRECT ACTION to disprove all the lies,

misrepresentations, and journalistic invention. So we will concentrate on only a few points.

Bob Hawke explained that he switched hotels over a week beforehand. He seemed so perturbed by the threat to his life that he was seen strolling in Oxford Street without any kind of protection for the duration of the ACTU congress. The Prime Minister's security arrangements for his address to the ACTU congress were similarly lax. No-one for example bothered to search the gallery before his visit although several people in the gallery had suit-cases with them. People who have talked to members of Whitlam's staff told DIRECT ACTION that no particular security precautions were taken.

The common link of all these "facts" is their lack of relationship to reality. The conclusion to be drawn out of all this is simple. The hysteria, created deliberately was merely a propaganda method. The questions then arise:



Graduation review for new Israeli armor commanders

partially successful. The Commonwealth Police acting under instructions from Murphy and with the co-operation of the States police have already victimised several Arabs. A well-known Palestinian has had his work place observed constantly. Police also interviewed the editor of Palestine Forum, Anthony Maron. Victimisation has not been limited to the police. The Australian newspaper continued its vendetta against Nasif Hadj and the Palestine-Australia Solidarity Committee attacking them as terrorists.

The current attack on the Australian supporters of the Palestinian revolution is not likely to be the last. Supporters must be prepared for similar attacks in the future. The media and the labor bureaucracy are going to remain on the Zionist side for some time.

A counter-offensive to this new brand of anti-Semitism must be launched. The demand for the immediate abolition of Asio must be coupled with a call for support for the real victims in the Middle East - the Palestinian people.



Arab refugees flee from Israeli-occupied Palestine