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(67)

A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

SMASH CAPITAL!



a

revolutionary
party?

ON WHAT
BASIS SHOULD
A REVOLUTIONARY
SOCIALIST ORGANISATION
BE BUILT IN AUSTRALIA ?

40

NIXON
WINS

SOCK IT TO
'EM IN '69.

teacher-student power!

FACING UP TO
LANCE SHARKEY...

on c.p.a. history

CUBA • ALGERIA • CHINA •
GREECE • YUGOSLAVIA •

10c

1.
NIXON WINS
BUT PROBLEMS
REMAIN

Nixon has narrowly defeated Humphrey for the Presidency of the United States. Tweedledum has defeated tweedledee. Two non-descript candidates have fought a phoney war in which each concentrated on saying as little as possible and being all things to all men.

Never has the phoneyess of the American "democracy" been so clear and stripped of its glitter. Never for many decades have so many Americans been cynical and aware of the true nature of US "democracy".

Was it by design that the ruling circles of US Imperialism chose to have a contest between two non-descript figures, rather than some attractive figure who would rally the nation and give capitalism some breathing space?

Perhaps it is that the ruling circles of the USA, which are essentially conservative, preferred an easily manipulated figure to one who might seek certain bonapartist powers outside the given power structure.

After all, Johnson dropped out, among other reasons, because 'the stockholders were unhappy'(1)

Nixon then cannot hope for any breathing space for his Administration in any field, whereas a Kennedy may have...

VIETNAM PEACE TALKS

Precisely because Nixon represents with slight variation the same ruling circles as Johnson, there will be no great variation in the line on Vietnam. Nixon will certainly seek to wind up the war as soon as possible, because he can see as well as Johnson that it is already a "lost war".

The bombing halt signifies the

the first step along the road to a withdrawal.

If the Saigon regime proves too difficult, the CIA will stage a coup d'etat which will provide a regime willing to accept the inevitable.

The final US withdrawal will not occur in a few months -- an elaborate ritual of face-saving must occur before that is done. The situation is however fundamentally different from Korea. In Korea the war had ended in a stalemate, a "draw". In Vietnam, it is virtually a defeat for the USA.

The growing militancy of the antiwar movement in the US is a further stimulus to withdrawal. The Chicago battle showed formerly moderate "liberals" how futile attempts at reform are. In addition, there is the impressive movement of dissent developing among GI's, around such groups as the American Servicemen's Union and THE BOND, and RITA in West Europe.

The bombing halt obviously helped Humphrey at the last minute and accounted for the closeness of the elections.

BLACK REVOLT UNSOLVED

The relative silence of the ghettos this Summer does not signify the end of the Black Revolt. Rather, it shows that the Revolt must take new and more organized forms than previously. The Summer has been marked with a rise in consciousness and thought. The lull should not be taken as the end of revolt. Perhaps it begins the transition from revolt to revolution. That will be Nixon's biggest worry after Vietnam.

8 November 68
(1) Newsweek Nov. 4, 1968

TOWARDS A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

There has been a growing awareness in the Australian Left of the need for a revolutionary socialist party, able to contain within a democratic framework, the different revolutionary tendencies existing in Australia today.

This need is in fact one of the main questions being discussed in widely different circles for protest as such has reached a certain level where it now needs the political clarification that can only be achieved in a party organisational framework.

In a sense, this is a sign of the growing maturity of the Australian protest movement.

Many factors have contributed to the need for a revolutionary party being placed urgently on the agenda. There is the realisation first of all that none of the existing working-class parties -- ALP or CPA -- offer any real alternative to the system, or provide a framework in which revolutionary politics can be discussed and action determined.

In addition, Australia is being effected by the growing revolutionary upsurge in Europe, North America and for that matter the world. The French revolt provided an example of the revolutionary potential in the advanced capitalist countries, but also showed the dire need for a mass, revolutionary socialist party able to lead the masses to victory despite stalinist and reformist betrayal.

The French and Czech crises both in their own way highlighted the crisis of Stalinism. Nowhere is that crisis more evident than in the CPA. As the Soviet churn out their falsified propaganda, the pro-Soviet forces step up their campaign and hope to topple the leadership. Much depends on the decision that the Moscow bureaucrats take on whether to split the CP's. The resignation of Thorez's widow points to their possible determination to

do precisely that.

A further factor is the feeling in the student movement that it is lacking in a real perspective and that a more general political framework is needed to allow proper discussion and analysis.

Similarly, in the antiwar movement, following the two militant demonstration (in Melbourne on July 4, in Sydney on September 20) and the general growth in militancy both here and abroad there is also a need for a revolutionary political framework in which these problems can be solved.

In the trade union movement there is also a crisis of perspective. Traditional trade unionism is still immersed in defining routine of arbitration and spending much of its time doing the donkey-work for the State machine. Even at the level of the fight for wages, they appear to do little. As a result, the workers retire unhappily, resenting union dues as a waste of money. With very few exceptions are the concepts of workers self-management advanced, that being considered outside the scope of unionism. Only in some of the white-collar unions (teachers, air pilots) are questions of workers control and management raised, but without their full potential being developed or recognised.

Finally, there are many ex-communists and independent socialists, unattracted either the CPA or ALP, who now, in the present upsurge, feel the need for political organisation and action. They are joined by the youth who have just emerged in political life and feel that need also.

From these different layers has arisen the demand for a new, democratically-

organised revolutionary socialist organisation, which can, in turn, be transitional to a revolutionary socialist party.

ON THE NATURE OF THE PARTY

If the revolt today is against powerlessness and alienation of the masses from decision-making, then it follows that any political organisation which seeks to lead and organise that revolt must itself give real power and decision-making to its members.

It is for that reason that the revolutionary socialist organisation must itself in real terms become a microcosm of the SELF MANAGED society sought for.

For it is only in such a democratically-organised party that the real problems facing the militants can be solved, in an atmosphere of free debate where theoretical study and analysis and research pervade the whole party.

But in a real sense, the degree of real democracy will depend on the real level of ideological consciousness and education among the membership as a whole, as well as their activism and militancy. No matter how democratic the constitution of a revolutionary organisation there is always the danger of bureaucratization when there is a wide gap between the leadership and the membership, in a general atmosphere of low ideological understanding. It is in such an atmosphere too, that factionalism (as against tendency organisation) (1) develops into a destructive force.

If a really effective revolutionary force is to be built in Australia, it must be extremely democratic in its organisation and of a high ideological level. Both conditions are interdependent; one cannot exist in real terms without the other.

Let us examine what we mean by "high ideological level."

(1) We distinguish between "factionalism" and the right of persons inside a revolutionary organisation to organise and propagate a particular view they may hold in common. Factionalism means rather the attempt to take over a political apparatus by machine politics (stacking meetings, etc.) rather than by political persuasion.

MARXISM IS ABOVE ALL CRITICAL AND SCEPTICAL

If Marxism is anything, it is materialist; it is critical; it is sceptical; it is dialectical and historical in its method.

Marxist method implies that the individual must, by the use of his critical facilities, himself, in his own consciousness, come to the truth of all questions, as best he is able.

A scrupulous internal intellectual honesty is the hallmark of the real marxist. Certainly on some questions, he may accept the opinions and analyses of those whom he trusts, through experience (and not position). But whenever there is debate, the individual must carry out his own independent enquiry.

Stalinism and reformism have combined to crush this independence of the militant, to glorify the "Leader", to vaunt the superiority of the collective will and intellect of the Party over that of the individual. In reality, of course, the collective will of the "Party" has meant that of one man, or of a few men.

Any new revolutionary organisation must then reverse this false pattern of thought imposed under stalinism and reformism and liberate the individual party member with a positive demand for self-expression, self-education and independence of thought. Such independence can only emerge from an abundance of information on the historical background, on the factual material behind the different problems and a complete application of the marxist method to such problems.

In a sense, the duty of a revolutionary organisation is to provide to all its members intellectual training which in capitalist society as a whole is provided (in a distorted way) to only a small percentage. In a sense, it is not only a question of turning intellectuals into proletarians in outlook, but also of turning proletarians into intellectuals.

Indeed, it is part of the revolutionary workers struggle to liberate himself from

his proletarian condition to become an intellectual in training. The stalinist bureaucrats' glorification of the "proletarian" was in fact a glorification of his proletarian condition which arises from his status as a wage-slave.

THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP

Nevertheless, precisely because we do live in a capitalist society in which human development is stunted, all the facilities that the party may make available to its members will still mean that certain of its members will play more of a leading role than others.

But such a leading role must arise purely from the critical confidence that the membership has in the leadership, which must be accountable at all times and be subject to the right of recall. Discipline will above all be due to the conscious understanding and conviction of the membership rather than to any artificially-imposed rules and regulations.

But given the fact that we still live in a capitalist society, the temptations of bureaucratisation will be ever-present as a short cut, as an easy solution to problems, as a "natural" development from the function of leadership. Hence, a great deal of responsibility rests on those in leading positions to consciously watch their bureaucratic tendencies and maintain a suitable modesty and a scrupulous intellectual doubt on all their own beliefs and proposals. They should almost welcome defeat or correction on questions as a healthy correction to their own ego and growing sense of infallibility.

Yet of course, it is insufficient to rely simply on self-control by leadership or the high level of awareness among the membership.

The constitution of the party must be so conceived so that democratic control over the leadership can be speedily and effectively maintained, and the freest and fullest discussion occur.

The revolutionary socialist party of

today must be conceived of as a free, voluntary and conscious union of proletarian intellectuals and intellectual-proletarians around a common programme of struggle for socialist democracy, based on the principle of self-management.

The union of these independently-thinking workers and intellectuals must be of a type as to allow them to develop to the highest degree possible their autonomous functioning as militants in their own sphere of activity, and their control in the basic unit of the party of their own militant-work.

The essential function of leadership is to encourage the creative militant work of the self-governing basic party unit (2), to provide a forum for an exchange of experiences and the cross-fertilization of ideas and conception of new forms and avenues of militancy, as well as to absorb newly-coming members in existing areas of work.

Such a concept does not mean a denial of leadership or organisation (as it does to classical anarchism), nor does it mean an abdication of leadership (as occurs some times in CP's when the function of leadership is more as a police-force to crack down on opposition). The basic party unit is the essence of party activity: all else serves it. The basic party units themselves control and determine their own work; elected leadership can only propose, suggest and convince. It cannot oblige the basic party units to follow any particular pattern.

Similarly, the basic party units should be able to organise fields of activity at higher levels, to hold joint meetings, joint activity and even organise permanent levels of organisation and coordination which can then make decisions at that level.

Besides the normal structures determined by territorial grouping, etc., the constitution must be flexible enough to accept basic unit decisions to organise at other levels as well. Given, too, the federative nature of Australian society, we believe that the revolutionary socialist party must also be

(2) "Basic party units" is used here rather than branches, because the last term has bureaucratic-centralist connotations.

federative (though probably not on formal State boundaries but on more realistic urban and rural functional units.)

Besides this degree of independence of the basic party units and the federative nature of the organisation as a whole, other principles of democratic control should be included in the constitution. At all levels, for example, the principle of rotating chairmen should apply -- in other words, the bureaucratic and largely decorative function of "president" be abolished. Secretarial functions should be divided among a number of individuals and not concentrated in one person. The right of recall should apply at all levels. Referenda should be held when balloted for (although this may be questioned as valid and the aggregate meeting found better suited)... All should be done to throw responsibility on the individual and avoid bureaucratisation as much as possible.

Yet that said, the party must also function with certain centralist forms. The functional regional bodies (major city units, rural regions) elect their own regional committee, which divides the secretarial functions among its members. On a national level, a national conference will meet based upon election directly from the basic party units. It then elects in turn a national committee which will in turn divide up the secretarial functions among its members. The exact division of authority between national and regional conference must be rather flexible although a rather obvious division of interest will exist. Basically, however, the national conference must take fundamental decisions on national and international questions.

Such a constitutional "model" for a revolutionary socialist organisation, must be matched by the possible organisation within the party not only of functional or territorial units and levels, but also the right to organise according to commonly-held beliefs on one or more issues. This is the right of tendency, granted to those who find they hold a common view on one or

more subjects and wish to organise support inside the organisation for their viewpoint, either through discussion organs provided, or, if they judge them insufficient, through their own tendency publications which in turn may in extreme cases be published publicly. But the right of tendency also fundamentally includes the right of organisation around ideas and a platform.

SOME POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS...

Perhaps the first type of objection to such an organisation would be that it would be wide open to police spies and lack security.

First, the only real guarantee that police spies will be quickly spotted or be ineffective is the highest possible ideological level. The best atmosphere in which police spies flourish is one of ignorance, elitism and cultism around an individual, and in which and elaborate inner-party police system is set up... itself open to take-over by the police themselves.

The decentralisation of power inside the party will mean that the police will find it near-impossible to find out total party membership and other details by simply working themselves into higher party positions. Because the basic party units is the one where most questions are resolved, the police will not find the convenience of highly centralised party organisation waiting for them.

As for political disruption, they will have to first convince a highly-educated and independently-minded membership...

But what of the danger of factionalism developing in such a democratic organisation?

Let us note first of all that in the stalinist or reformist-type party, the major "faction" is always the leadership.

In the revolutionary socialist party as outlined above, the full freedom to organise on the basis of ideas, plus a high ideological level we are assuming, will be together the best possible preventives for factionalism if by that we mean manipulative efforts to take over the party machine by "getting

6. the numbers", "stacking meetings", etc. without any political persuasion being involved. If only because the "machine" as such will be of such limited power as to be rejected if such a situation should arise, by the basic party units. While means of democratic control make such methods pointless and doomed to failure.

Let us note, too, that factionalism in the above sense arises when disagreement is driven underground, when there is a low ideological level dominated by an omnipotent bureaucracy, and hence opposition even on a minor point is driven to such means.

The best defence against a destructive factionalism is the fullest democracy and the highest possible ideological level.

But what of discipline and unity in action, some will object...

The collapse of stalinism shows that the old-time monolithism of the CP's has passed forever. No more is it conceivable for a party to build on the basis of unquestioning acceptance of the "Leader" and "leadership". Misgivings about the apparent disarray of the Left, about the myriad of groupings and ideas, cannot be overcome by a return to stalinist monolithism. But neither can a situation be accepted as desirable (except as a transition from monolithism). The answer is in a new and higher form of unity, based on a high ideological understanding and analysis, where unity is built on disunity on a whole number of points, but unity around basic questions and around a given number of other points. Essentially too, the minority, if they hold a position deeply, must be allowed to opt out of that decision as an extreme measure (although minority acceptance of majority decisions should be accepted as a general rule, but only as a conscious voluntary act.)

Unity, in the new party, will only come from consciousness and voluntary acceptance.

To those who make a facile analogy

with a trade union, we can reply that the revolutionary party is the voluntary alliance of the most conscious and vanguard independent minded individuals. A trade union is a union of the most diverse elements of the working class, from the most backward to members of the revolutionary party. In direct confrontation with the boss, unity is essential and if necessary has to be imposed on backward workers after a democratically arrived at decision. Similar forms cannot however apply among conscious, independent-minded revolutionaries, united in a party.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PARTY AND WORKERS AND STUDENTS

The revolutionary socialist party, gathering the most conscious revolutionary workers and students in its ranks, seeks to give leadership to the mass of workers and students.

But this leadership must be conceived of in another way than that proffered by reformist or stalinist parties.

For them, leadership is essentially bureaucratic in function. It is given to the workers and students in form of instructions, orders or at best, lessons.

For revolutionary socialists, however, such elitist concepts, profoundly rooted in trade union and other mass organisations, must be rejected.

Leadership for us is conceived as seeking to encourage among the masses their own creative faculties and initiatives and their own revolutionary militancy. That arises from the concept we have of the nature of social change, based upon the demand for self-management and control of all aspects of social life. Thus, the vital thing to develop is the worker and student alliance and their confidence in their own ability to manage society, and their militancy in fighting for such demands and, finally, a taking of power, at each time such a possibility arises, into their own hands, no matter for how long or in what sphere (even minor).

7. It is high time that marxists forgot the facile analogy of the working class with an army... with generals on top giving the orders and the cannon-fodder below carrying them-out. This concept was never correct -- it is disastrous today.

HOW TO BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY TODAY ?

The need for such a party is increasingly felt among different layers. Concretely, there exist a number of revolutionary groups and journals, as well as many individuals, who feel this need. To overcome disparate origins, lack of organisational experience, etc., it is vital that such groups link up first in an alliance which would be transitional to a revolutionary party.

Such a party could possibly be achieved through the construction of a militant, youthful, democratically-organised revolutionary socialist alliance, which through its attractiveness and rapid growth would quickly pose to the members of the Communist Party the need and desirability of unity in a single, revolutionary party.

The unity of a left opposition group inside the CPA with the revolutionary socialist organisation would mean that the CPA would be superceded as the major marxist party in Australia and a new, viable grouping take its place.

It is of interest then that the CPA through Laurie Aarons has circulated a number of left journals and individuals with an invitation to initiate a conference of left groups to thrash out differences and get maximum unity in action.

INTERNATIONAL, while welcoming the initiative has urged that a whole series of other groups be invited. (See letter of reply printed in this issue.)

Nevertheless, the calling of such a conference shows just how widely felt is the need for some new unified grouping and the inadequacy of existing parties...

Yet we believe also that there is little point in an alliance or new party being formed unless it is both revolutionary and militant. Such a party would still be a distinct minority in the working class, and its main task would be to combat the reformism which exists at all levels in the working class organisations. Any concept of a "front" or party which is not both revolutionary and militant seems to us to be of little point or purpose.

The role of the CPA as such depends on its reformation on two planes: destalinisation and rejection of stalinist neo-reformism in all fields.

It would, of course, be simpler and more efficient if the new revolutionary party could be formed by a reconstituted and reoriented CPA. However, being realistic, and without denying the valuable cadres who exist in the ranks of the CPA, such a possibility is not in the offing at the moment. A long educative process of the membership is needed: the construction of a revolutionary socialist wing of importance will be a reasonably long term task.

In the meantime, the revolutionary socialists existing inside the CPA must be invited to join the new revolutionary socialist alliance to fight together for common objectives and to help build a revolutionary socialist wing inside the CPA.

Moves are already progressing in a number of States to form in the near future the cadre-force of such a new organisation and to launch it in the coming months in a public way. It will be a feature of the Left political scene in 1969 which will colour all future developments.

DENIS FRANCIS
25 October 1968.

OUT SOON!

THE NEW WORLD REVOLUTIONARY
SITUATION by Michel P. BLO
5 cents from INTERNATIONAL.

8.
CRISIS IN THE

SCHOOLS

There can be little doubt that the public school education system in Australia is in deep crisis. It is a crisis which has many facets: a financial crisis, a crisis in school accommodation and teacher supply, a crisis in curriculum content, a crisis in student-teacher-school relationships, and finally a crisis in administration. It is above all a crisis over who shall control the education system and determine rules and priorities: the teachers, students and parents, or the all-powerful Departmental bureaucracies.

Such a crisis is of course not unique to Australia -- it is part of a worldwide phenomenon linked with the crisis in tertiary education which is more visible and more widely publicised. In some countries, the crisis in secondary education may appear as a subsidiary phenomenon dependent on the crisis in the universities. The secondary education crisis, however, has its own specific features which give it an autonomous function separate from the university crisis.

France, in May 1968, showed how far the crisis in the schools could develop. Schools were occupied by their teachers and students, and often run by joint teacher-student committees. Teachers and students marched side by side in demonstrations, and often fought side by side in the streets and on the barricades.

THE DEPTH OF THE CRISIS

The roots of the crisis in education must be sought in the very roots of our capitalist society. Education, in a capitalist society, must churn out finished products able to fit quietly into their allotted place in industry and life. They must be suitably disciplined for industry, and unquestioningly accept the mores and regulations of the society.

But equally, education must prepare the future worker for the needs of industry

in conditions of a rapidly-expanding scientific and technological revolution. With the sum total of human knowledge doubling every seven years, and with the world in the midst of a social and political revolution of unprecedented scale, the school curriculum itself is daily questioned and in need of annual review. Indeed the whole concept of a formalised curriculum, the arbitrary division into "subjects", and evaluation by means of examinations is in continual question and review.

Certainly, the needs of modern industrial society for highly-skilled and intellectually-trained workers, conflicts with an educational system whose main objectives in the past were to teach the three R's and to turn out a well "disciplined end-product". The present educational hierarchy, reflected in all spheres of the educational system is the antithesis of democratic self-government of the school community, and therefore the antithesis of the development of the critical spirit necessary if the worker is to be flexibly educated enough to continue to adapt to the changes in science and technology and the social sciences.

Students of course have themselves been in revolt against the straightjacket of the present educational system for many decades within the confines of the classroom. Hence the continued tension and explosive atmosphere in many schools today. Now however the student revolt is taking more conscious form, a revolt

9.
not only in the classroom (of the Blackboard Jungle style), but against the whole "system", against the War, against the hypocrisy of capitalist morality, etc.. The flourishing of the student underground and of the many underground newsheets in Melbourne and Sydney within a period of a few months shows just how important is this revolt.

The teachers, too, in honest efforts to apply an antiquated and irrelevant curriculum have shared the tensions and frustrations of modern-day "education". The frustrations and revolt have found outlet in many ways: joining the "rat-race" for promotion, an attempt to make the system work through "discipline", or, on the other hand, a revolt against the whole system, expressed in individualistic forms of revolt, or through the teachers' federation or union. Another form of revolt is to "opt out" of education as a serious career and to look at it only as a nine-to-three job (as in fact it is in present circumstances) and seek creative outlet elsewhere. Yet others "opt out" into other jobs, or go to Canada in search of something better.

The discontent arising from the very nature of the educational system in Australia is worsened by the fact that conditions under which the students are taught are worsening continually.

AUSTRALIA SPENDS HALF
ON EDUCATION COMPARED
WITH CANADA OR USSR

The fact that Australia spends only half the percentage of its GNP on education in relation to Canada or the USSR (1) highlights the degree of backwardness on this question in our ruling circles.

The extremely low percentage spent on education is due largely to the benignity of the Australian bourgeoisie which rules the lives of young teachers (and all with shibboleths of "free enterprise" (2) and nineteenth-century fear of government expenditure, are even more backward than

those of Scandinavian countries or Canada who realise the vital importance of education even for future capitalist development, in the present scientific and technological revolution.

When efforts are made to adapt the curriculum to the modern demands of a world in the midst of a scientific and technological revolution, as well as a profound social revolution, such as the Wyndham Scheme in NSW, not only are the "schemes" but refurbished editions of the old, with some reforms and adaptations, but the whole burden of the extra year of education (as in NSW), the complexity of the courses, and new materials and classrooms needed, is thrown on the backs of the teachers, students and parents. Minimal increases in educational funds are allocated.

In Australia, the archaic division of responsibility and finance between State and Commonwealth governments allows a magnificent system of buck-passing to be built up, and helps both dodge responsibility. Hence the still strong "laissez-faire" ideology in ruling circles rules as much by default as anything else.

PROLIFERATING BUREAUCRACY

But in addition to the current system of governmental irresponsibility there exists the proliferating bureaucracy of the Department of Education, which itself is part only of the Public Service Board empire (in NSW).

It is difficult to conceive of a structure as outdated, archaic and so obedient of Parkinson's Law as the NSW Department of Education. No small sector of the frustration of teachers is the huge amount of paper work demanded by the ever-widening maw of this bureaucracy.

This bureaucracy, moreover, subjects teachers to the pettiest of indignities and humiliates the lives of young teachers (and all teachers to a lesser degree) with an arbitrariness that amazes. Security of employment in any one school is subject

to arbitrary removal decided without consultation, scarcely to be found anywhere today, except perhaps the armed forces!

The schools themselves are often ruled in an autocratic fashion that imitates the pyramidal bureaucracy of the Department as a whole. "The last surviving autocracy" well describes the system.

The inspectorial system remains one of the ever-present burdens of the school. Conceived at a time when the teachers themselves were barely able to read or write, the system is now hopelessly antiquated and arbitrary. Themselves almost Dickensian figures (with rare exceptions) inspectors are one of the most conservative forces in education, in curriculum and in all practice in the classroom. These all-powerful figures dominate, and, if allowed, terrorise the school.

The teacher, often highly-qualified finds himself saddled within the school with a similar autocracy headed by the headmaster (who often acts in incredibly dictatorial ways towards staff and students alike), and even by their subject-masters!

The above complex of factors have together resulted in a mood of revolt among teachers in NSW and elsewhere in Australia which is reaching explosion point.

THE TEACHER REVOLT HAS ALREADY BEGUN...

The recent NSW teachers' strike, with its massive display of unity and strength (3) is only the high point of a series of incidents in NSW schools which are worthy of note.

First, it should be stressed that in many high schools, the revolt got off the ground and the teachers themselves have taken wide fields of decision-making into their own hands. Schools exist where large areas of headmaster's power is now with

the staff.

This rising militancy "on the job" result ed and was fed by the campaign to obtain relief staff for teacher away more than four days. (4) The success of this campaign in the high schools, when the Department in all cases when the threatened boycott arose supplied relief staff, gave a startling proof of the power of teacher action and certainly gave that boost to militancy and confidence which resulted in the one-day strike.

The struggle over "extras" however, had another, less spectacular result. Teachers were now themselves deciding on what conditions they would work under. They had established a new sphere of teacher responsibility inside the school. The struggle around "extras" was often fought against conservative headmasters and headmistresses who did not hesitate to use all forms of intimidation possible.

Another direct result of the victory of extras (it still has to be fought really in the primary schools) was the decision by many schools, and particularly by the militant "rebel" areas of Illawarra and Bankstown, to refuse to teach classes in 1969 over the limits set out in the NSWTF 1967 Conference resolution (5). This struggle will in fact bring the struggle in the schools to a peak.

It is not difficult to envisage the result of such actions in militant schools. The Department may seek to pass the burden onto staffs which are "weak", but that also clearly has its limitations. The only other solution, except for capitulation, is to take severe action against militant staffs, which in any case would only precipitate the crisis.

But it is insufficient to simply fight on such grounds alone. The struggle must be extended to one in which teachers, students and parents begin to directly take control of the schools...

Let us note, however, that the NSW teachers are not alone in their rebellion. In Victoria, the Secondary Teachers Association has decided to inform inspectors entering schools in 1969 that they are not prepared to accept inspections from

1970. This, again, is an example of teacher power.

Similarly, the struggle of the Queensland Teachers' Union under its newly-elected militant leadership shows that teachers in perhaps-Australia's most educationally under-privileged State are also on the move.

If the teacher revolt has then already begun, the problems of its future development are still quite significant. Not least of these is the fact that teachers' unions and federations in Australia are still -- at best -- confined within trade union lines of thought, and have not got a policy to match up to the full scale of the teacher revolt.

TEACHER CONTROL AT ALL LEVELS

The NSWTF has, for many years, had a policy for an Education Commission composed of equal governmental and teacher representation, with an independent chairman. In 1965 Askin put an Education Commission in his policy statement for the elections. So far, however, after three years, nothing has been done to implement that promise.

Yet such an Education Commission would only operate at the top of the pyramid (replacing the Public Service Board) while the bureaucratic machine would remain intact. It is for that reason that teacher participation at the summit is insufficient. (The sad experience of the Teachers Tribunal in Victoria shows that.) What is needed is a policy of teacher participation and control at all levels from the school up. It is also necessary to destroy the bureaucracy and give more autonomy to the schools, which should be run by teacher-student-parent committees, elected democratically from the different groups.

Only such democratically self-governing school communities can really cope with the needs of an educational system which must needs meet the demands of the current social and scientific revol-

ution which is shaking our world. Such democratically self-governing school communities would have to be matched with similarly democratically-functioning bodies throughout education, including the administrative level. In addition, the schools would have to be freed from the tyranny of examinations, inspectors and perhaps even headmasters, who could be replaced by the teacher-student-parent committee...

Democratically self-governing school communities then alone can end the alienation student and teacher feel in the present educational system. They also provide the sole means of adaptation to an era of rapid social change.

Indeed, within these communities, discussion would arise as to the educational validity of the school at all, as a separate institution and "place" cut off from life outside. The marxist concept of the school being linked with the factory and workplace would in modern terms mean a close link of school with not only the factory, but research establishments, university, college etc., and an end to it being a separate place. Teacher-student-parent management of the school must be conceived however in militant terms, otherwise it degenerates into utopianism. Capitalist society will never allow such democratically self-governing school communities to be generalised, because, in effect, they question the whole basis of capitalist social relations. If the school or university can be self-managed then why not the factory? The logic of the question is such that capitalism can at the most allow only minimal participation of teachers in decision-making. (6)

TEACHERS AND STUDENTS MUST TAKE POWER INTO THEIR OWN HANDS

Precisely because the system will not allow power to be taken from its hands the ultimate goal of the teacher-student revolt must be to take control of the schools into their own hands, regardless of the will of the authorities; when the situation presents itself and teachers and students

are sufficiently aware and militant to take such a step.

THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN TEACHER AND STUDENT

The system of education which has developed under capitalism has turned the school into a microcosm of its own society. The teacher-student relationship has been, in fact, a master-servant relationship. That relationship has not of course only been something developed from the teachers' side; it is something reflected in the mores of the school pupil as well. Yet it is something which is completely out of touch with the mood of the rapidly changing social scene, as well as the needs of the modern learning process.

This has been changing as young teachers begin to reconsider this whole relationship and as the students, older now with the sixth form, and maturing more rapidly than before, begin to take interest in the antiwar movement, in educational reform and in the socialist movement. (7) The anachronism is highlighted by the proposed lowering of the voting age to 18, . .

The youth have of course also been infected by the youth revolt overseas. But this revolt has only struck a chord because of their own deeply-felt needs one of which is the pointlessness and inadequacy of much that they have to regurgitate in examinations.

In addition, their very powerlessness in the school environment and the pointless restrictions they suffer reflect something they feel in society as a whole.

In any case, the recent student demonstrations in support of the teachers' strike, the almost complete unanimity in senior forms in support of their teachers, show that students, particularly fifth and sixth formers, take an active interest in all social questions. This interest is now visible down to even

third form. . .

In such conditions of growing student and teacher revolt, a common "dialogue" must be developed between students and teachers whenever possible and the whole question of educational reform tackled in a serious, militant way. That means first of all that both teachers and students must be liberated from the master-servant relationship which is so strong still on both sides.

SELF-MANAGEMENT IN EDUCATION TO SERVE AS AN EXAMPLE IN ALL SPHERES

The crisis in education and the struggle of teachers and students around questions which pose the need for student-teacher control of education are both excellent examples of how alive and full of potential is the slogan of democratic self-management today. (8)

Self-management has such popular appeal today because it corresponds as never before with the deeply-felt needs of the mass of youth, the intellectually-trained workers and for that matter the whole of the working population. As the scientific and technological revolution rushes forward it questions all the past institutions, all the past traditional morals and "ideals", and highlights in a new, but in many ways, more profound way, the incompatibility between capitalist social relations and the new level of productive forces.

It is also essential that militants among teachers fully understand the explosive nature of the present crisis and be prepared for audacious action which will keep up with the tenor of the teachers' and students' feelings. They must also realise the full implications of democratic self-government in the schools for all spheres of social life.

" A TEACHER "

26 October 1968
Sydney.

CRISIS IN THE SCHOOLS

Notes:

(1) Australia spends just 4.3% of her gross national income on education compared with 8.5% for Canada, 7.3% for Russia and the Scandinavian countries, 6.5% for Italy and the USA and 6.4% for Great Britain. Only one in five pupils completed the six-year course in secondary studies (HSC) in NSW last year, while in Japan 4 out of 5 children completed a course of similar difficulty.

(2) Read Bruce McFarlane's ECONOMIC POLICY IN AUSTRALIA - the case for Reform (Investigator Books, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1968) for an interesting analysis on this question.

(3) The story of the strike cannot be told here. The first in 50 years it surprised all by its militancy and élan. It is estimated that over 80% of teachers went out on strike. The mass demonstration of some 5,000 teachers outside Parliament House was reported the largest postwar demonstration by workers there. Yet there was considerable resistance from the official leadership (including the "left") of the Federation until teacher pressure became overwhelming. Militant teacher associations threatened to go ahead with their own strike if the official stoppage was called off.

(4) The militant Illawarra Association had been attempting for sometime to have the Teachers Federation adopt a policy of boycott of any extra periods after a teacher has been absent more than four days. After several attempts to have Federation officials give a lead, they went ahead themselves in their own area and implemented such a policy -- with immediate success. The Illawarra victory then inspired other areas to go ahead, until the Federation leadership eventually adopted such a policy as official. The caution the officials of the NSWTF have inherited from the past continues to place them well behind the membership in militancy. Fortunately, the NSWTF operates with quite a democratic constitution and this allows pressure to be fully felt.

(5) This resolution adopts as immediate Federation policy limits on class sizes. They were 37 per class for primary and 1st., 2nd., and 3rd. forms in secondary, and 26 per class for senior secondary classes (4th. to 6th.) The 1967 resolution however had no implementing clause (except the usual approaches through usual channels, publicity etc..) Special classes are graded similarly. This is only an immediate demand -- in countries such as Sweden class sizes are limited by law to 30. This is also full Federation policy.

(6) The extremely interesting article in the AUSTRALIAN (21.10.1968) "Schooling -- What Schooling?" by John McLaren, while pointing out exactly the powerlessness of teacher and student in the modern school system: "Far more highly educated articulate and critical than their predecessors, new teachers find themselves thrust into the bottom of an hierarchical system which restricts all real power to those who have done the long crawl (!) upwards for 20 years and have learnt in the process to mouth all the correct platitudes which prevent them understanding the

reality of what is happening in the classrooms for which they are nominally responsible..."

Most classroom teachers would quarrel, however, with McLaren's claim that the members of the hierarchy themselves are changing. Nevertheless, his report of the proposals of the Victorian Department to decentralise administration and control of education in Melbourne into 21 districts, each under a council representing teachers, parents, possibly students, and the department, shows that even the hierarchy feels the need for some more flexible system. The expulsion of a student from Melbourne High School for circulation of an underground newspaper (which has roused a campaign of solidarity among teachers and students) does not however allow more confidence in the democratic aspirations of the Victorian departmental bureaucracy than elsewhere.

(7) The growth of the High School Students Against the War in Vietnam has been phenomenal. Student Underground is now out in its fourth issue. The first issue was distributed in 20,000 copies in some 50 high schools in Sydney. The second went out in an edition of 13,000, a figure which has been more or less maintained. High school students rallied by HSSAWV formed about a third of the 1200 who demonstrated in a militant fashion on September 20 up William Street to the Chevron. Although it was possible to make some criticisms of the first two issues, the recent issues have been excellent in content and almost completely written by high school students themselves. Copies of Student Underground are available from HSSAWV, 35 Goulburn St., Sydney for a small donation.

(8) Even TRIBUNE (9.10.68) in an editorial entitled "Control by the People", could write about the proposed boycott of classes over 37 that "this involves a direct intervention by teachers in 'management', in the control and administration of a critical aspect of education policy." After next explaining to the trade union officials that this is what they had been doing in their own spheres all along without knowing it, the editorial concludes: "The very existence and growth of trade unionism is an expression of the democratic striving of the working people. Its extension into militant demands for democratic control in issues of public concern contains the seed of a revolutionary challenge to the capitalist system itself." This is an important statement, which, it is to be hoped, will be expressed as a central point of CP policy in trade unions -- it certainly is not now.

Reference should also be made to the excellent article by Ken McLeod in TARGET, September-October 1968....

INTERNATIONAL is a revolutionary socialist magazine published once every two months by A. McLean, PO Box 13, Balmain, NSW 2041, for the Australian Section of the Fourth International. The articles in this issue on Greece, Cuba, Algeria, Yugoslavia and China have been translated from the No. 46 issue of SOUS LE DRAPEAU DU SOCIALISME, organ of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the Fourth International and published in Paris, by Gilbert Marquis, 10 cite Lesnart, Clamart -92, FRANCE. Copies may soon be obtained of the full issue of No 46 from A. McLean.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Many members of the Communist Party of Australia, caught up in the general atmosphere of questioning which has followed the French Revolt and the Czech crisis, are now beginning to examine as best they can the history of their Party. As best they can, because there is little material available. Except for EW Campbell's HISTORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT (1945) and LL Sharkey's OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (1944) there is nothing readily available, except the abortive attempt by Ted Bacon to write a postwar history of the CPA.

Alastair Davidson's history of the CPA will certainly fill a gap and, at the very least, provide the factual material to allow discussion of basic questions. It should be published in America shortly, we understand.

It is surely significant that the CPA has been unable to write an authoritative history of its own past, or even to educate its members in some basic outline of political movement. That is a sure sign of a movement in crisis, and searching for some new role.

Yet if the CPA is really to shed its Stalinist past, then the analysis of that past in concrete terms is an obvious essential.

At least we have been spared the insult of having "revised" editions of Sharkey's "Outline" churned out every couple years, as has been done with Stalin's OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) IN THE SOVIET.

Yet the CPA not only ignores its rather shady past; it also keeps a mini-cult of Sharkey still alive -- the Sharkey Memorial Library exists, while in some party office his portrait looks down benignly...

Yet Sharkey, like the whole of its past, hangs over the CPA, inhibiting any genuine "deStalinisation".

Here, in these few pages, we shall try to give a "potted" history of the CPA, in the hope that the assertions we make here will open up discussion on

the problems it deals with, and serve as a preliminary discussion preparing the way to a more thorough one after Davidson's history is published.

THE RISE OF SHARKEY TO POWER

Sharkey came to power at the ninth annual conference of the CPA in January 1930. He did so in the struggle to have the Stalinist Comintern's "Third Period" (1) line applied in Australia. This line, adopted at the time that Stalin was embarking on forced collectivisation in the Soviet Union and suppressing all oppositional tendencies, was an ultra-left swing in Stalinist policy. It involved the equation of social-democracy (labelled social-fascism) with fascism. Campbell sums up (in 1945!) the position held then: "The Long Labor Government in particular became notorious for the savagery of its attacks upon the workers... there were more workers sent to prison for political offences under the Long Labor Government than at any other time in the past history of NSW... Their actions fully justified the Party's characterisation of them as 'social fascist' governments. The Party was not wrong in labelling them thus, as is sometimes maintained today (1945). Sectarian mistakes were made on occasions by not differentiating between leaders and rank and file of the Labor Party. The term social fascist was often loosely applied to all membership or supporters (sic!)"

of the Labor Party. This prevented the full application of united front tactics. Other sectarian mistakes of the period were declaring the dole "black" and in their attitude to the police. . . "

These were not simply, then, minor sectarian mistakes: the whole line was ultra-left. The mass mobilisation that occurred around Lang in the Thirties was denied by the CPA which denounced Lang with the same violence it reserved for the New Guard. Thus it formed a separate "Workers Defence Corps", opposed to the mass Langite Labor Army which was able to mobilise thousands of workers.

Sharkey's ultra-leftism thus only played into the hands of Lang's demagoguery and eased the way for his inevitable sell-out. As for Sharkey's claim that his ultra-left policy of the period led to an increase in membership, it is obvious that the Depression would have meant a relative rise in the CP's numbers no matter what policy had been followed. Indeed, what is remarkable is that the increase was relatively small given the mass militancy and desperation of the times.

Never was Australia so close to a revolutionary situation as in those years. The Sharkey line let an historical possibility lapse.

In Europe, the stalinist "Third Period" line had even graver results. In Germany, the refusal to form a united front with the "social fascists" directly aided Hitler's rise to power. Trotsky warned many times of the need for a united front. The stalinists poured scorn on this "counter-revolutionary" proposal (2).

THE OPPORTUNISM OF THE POPULAR FRONT

The German debacle, which was to cost the world working-class such a terrible price, provided Stalin with

16. food for thought. It also coincided with the need for diplomatic alliances with the "democratic" imperialist powers against Hitler and Mussolini. The new policy of "Popular Front" was instituted officially in 1935 at the Seventh Comintern Congress by Dimitrov, hero of the Leipzig Trial. Opportunism replaced ultra-leftism with a wink of an eye. Here in Australia too, Sharkey faithfully switched the line. The main pressure was, in Campbell's words, "for an alliance with the Soviet Union". The united front around concrete, anti-capitalist demands was replaced with the generalised "anti-fascist, popular front", which only served to cover the betrayals of the socialist reformists. In Australia it was carried out in a typically bureaucratic fashion. Deals were made with different union groups and work begun in the ALP in a similar fashion. Thus the eventual emergence of the Hughes-Evans leadership in the NSW ALP was not around a principled socialist programme, but was based on "deals" (first with Chifley and the AWU) and with minimal common demands, linked with the needs of Soviet diplomacy. . . (3)

However, the disastrous defeat in Spain led to a further change in Soviet alliances. The Hitler-Stalin pact was signed and the word sent out to the CP's to toe the line. Hence, Sharkey initiated the next, ultra-left swing in the CP. The ALP was scorned as it had been in the Thirties and the Hughes group was expelled from the ALP in 1940. The war was characterised as an imperialist war.

RIGHTIST LINE DURING WAR

No sooner, however, was the Soviet attacked and its alliance with Britain forgotten than the ultra-left line of 1939-1941 was exchanged for an ultra-rightist line. The workers were expected to sacrifice all their class interests to the needs of the war. This was especially blatant in the colonial countries, where the stalinists

demanding a halt to the national liberation movement and full support for the war effort of the "mother country". Bourgeois nationalists such as Nehru and Ghandi were able thus to capture leadership of the nationalist movement when they led opposition to colonial domination in 1942 and after. The Fourth International, which considered the war between Germany and the "democratic" imperialists as an imperialist war, while standing for unconditional defence of the Soviet Union, urged the colonial peoples to continue the struggle for national and social liberation. The Ceylonese trotskysts set a magnificent example of how this could be done.

The sacrifice by the stalinists of the colonial revolution on the altar of Stalin's foreign policy, was matched in countries such as Australia by an extremely chauvinistic line to the "Nips" (a polite term) and "Huns", and a demand that workers forego strikes or struggle to maintain standards against the boss. One of the main functions of the stalinists was to herd strikebreakers together wherever workers defended their rights. Campbell fulminates against "militant strike leaders", "reformists", "anarchistic crude militants", "anarchists" and "trotskyite counter-revolutionaries", who "fomented" strikes during the war and whom the "communists" fought "srenuously" against. . . .

The CPA certainly swelled its ranks with "patriots" suitably impressed with stalinism's fervour in fighting against strikes and mobilising for the war. Those elements quickly dropped away after the war.

THE COLD WAR

1943-1947 marked a transitional period in world politics. Fascism was clearly being defeated, while revolutionary liberation struggles were proceeding in Yugoslavia, China and elsewhere

in Asia. The liberated countries of Europe also experienced revolutionary upsurges as the nazis were driven out. The period marked a new, revolutionary flow of the revolution on a world-wide scale.

But Stalin at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences had agreed with US and British imperialism on a carve-up of the world into spheres of influence. The CP's throughout the world were mobilised to have these agreements applied. Wherever stalinists found themselves emerging from the Resistance at the head of armed workers and partisans, in countries outside the Soviet sphere of influence, they were told to persuade the workers to surrender their arms and trust the "Popular Front" governments established. These governments, with enthusiastic stalinist participation, sought to establish "normalcy." Thus in Setif in Algeria in 1945, an uprising was crushed by French troops and planes. . . the Air Minister was Tillon, a CP leader. . . Similarly in Madagascar, and Indochina.

However some stalinist leaders defied Stalin's edict. In Yugoslavia, Tito established a Workers State. In China, Mao Tse-Tung continued with the Revolution. In Australia however, no independence was to be expected -- Sharkey continued support for the Curtin government.

The victorious march of the Chinese Revolution, the continued revolutionary upsurge in the world as a whole, decided imperialism on a "Cold War" policy, bolstered by their atomic monopoly.

1948 marked a turning point also for stalinist parties. Then a new, ultra-left policy was installed, which lasted until 1954 soon after Stalin's death.

Space does not allow comment on the more recent swings of CPA policy.

We shall take this up in a later article.

The potted history of the CPA we have tried to give in the past few pages only poses some of the vital problems. It is clear, however, that CPA history, in

its swings between ultra-leftism and opportunism, have until very recent times followed the lines laid down by Stalin, independent of any real consideration of world or national realities. The CPA, then, will not be able to

completely break with the past and develop revolutionary policies for present situations, unless it really attempts to examine its own history, which can only have reality within the bounds of a more general analysis of Stalin and stalinism.

Denis FRANCIS, 5 November, 1968.

Notes: (1) It was called the "Third Period" because marxists recognised the period 1917-1922 as the "first period" of revolutionary upswing, the second period 1923-1927 as one of "downswing" or ebb, while Stalin arbitrarily labelled the period 1927-1934 as another 'upswing' justifying the ultra leftism of that period.

(2) It is absorbing to read Trotsky's writings well before Hitler became Chancellor, GERMANY- The Key to the International Situation (1931), is a brilliant examination of how the united front should be applied. Here he criticises the "criminal adventurism of the "Red Referendum" in Prussia in 1931. (The German CP supported Hitler's plebiscite in Prussia in 1931 to get rid of the "social fascist" government... If Hitler had succeeded, he would have taken power a year or so earlier...) See also Thaelmann's attack on Trotsky: "In his pamphlet on the question, How Will National Socialism be Defeated? Trotsky gives always but one reply: 'The German CP must make a bloc with the social democracy ...' In framing this bloc Trotsky sees the only way for completely saving the German working class against fascism. Either the CP will make a bloc with the social democracy or the German working class is lost for 10-20 years.

"This is the theory of a completely ruined fascist and counter-revolutionary. This theory is the worst theory, the most dangerous theory and the most criminal that Trotsky has constructed in the last years of his counter-revolutionary propaganda. (Closing speech at the 13th. Plenum, September 1932, Communist International, No. 17/18, p. 1329.) Thaelmann paid for his mistake with his life, as did millions of others. The German working class was lost for "10 to 20 years."

(3) For an analysis of the "popular Front" ideology of the time, read Trotsky's THE LESSONS OF SPAIN (from A. McLean, Box 13, Balmain PO, NSW 2041, 10 cents)

MICHEL PABLO
THE WORLD REVOLUTION TODAY.

a brilliant theoretical analysis of the World Revolution after France and Czechoslovakia. OUT SOON. 5 cents

LEON TROTSKY
THE LESSONS OF SPAIN
... a brilliant summary of the Spanish civil war and stalinist, anarchist and reformist roles in it. Available for 10 cents
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AN INVITATION FROM LAURIE AARONS AND OUR REPLY...

INTERNATIONAL last month received a letter from Laurie Aarons, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia, in which he sought our opinion on 'the possibility and value of a conference or 'workshop' early in 1969 to consider all viewpoints on the left -- those of militant workers, radical students, intellectuals and others on the chief defects and inadequacies of our society.

At such a conference, the various programs and ideas on how to build the movement of social action to achieve radical solutions could be discussed. Most of us have general ideas and solutions -- workers' control, student power, worker-student alliance, coalition of the left are some concepts advanced as steps towards basic social change. Such a conference would be a challenge to everyone to go beyond generalities, to demonstrate their concrete meaning to in the present Australian context and to articulate the steps forward... Space does not allow us to quote in full comrade Aarons' letter, which he will no doubt publish in full at a later date. At the end of the letter was a list of journals circulated by Laurie Aarons with the same invitation. They include Arena, Australian Left Review, Catholic Worker, Fabian Newsletter, International, Our Women, Outlook, Overland, Socialist and Industrial Labor, Target and Tribune, as well as some 18 union newspapers. We understand a selected list of individuals have also received a similar invitation. The letter we sent in reply is published below in full.

P. O. Box 13,
Balmain,
N. S. W. -2041
27 October 1968

Dear comrade Aarons,

Thank you for your letter of 2nd. October.

We are willing at all times to engage in a dialogue with other leftwing groups and individuals on ways and means for more effective united action against capitalism and imperialism in all its facets. Any action which helps develop this struggle for social and economic liberation is assured of our support.

Yet in the present circumstances in Australia and the world, with the rebirth of the Revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, marked particularly by the French May 1968 revolt; and the struggles of the workers, students and peasants for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia and other Workers States, we believe we must give priority to demands which raise the question of power

demands which question the dictatorship of the boss in the factory, and of the bureaucrat in public departments and enterprises.

It is for this reason that we have proposed in our May Conference to call for the formation of a revolutionary socialist organisation which would group the different revolutionary tendencies in Australia and would have as one of its major aims the raising of transitional demands for power in all spheres of social life, around the principle of self-management.

Such an organisation would naturally express full revolutionary solidarity with workers and students fighting for similar goals in the other advanced capitalist countries and the Workers States, against the dictatorship of the boss which hides behind parliamentary democracy, or the dictatorship of the bureaucrat which hides behind the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

This organisation is now being actively discussed and prepared and already promises to attract many of the best militants to its ranks.

We hope, too, that many Communist Party members who have broken with stalinism in all fields will also join such an organisation.

When such an organisation is formed in the coming months, we hope that it will also itself initiate discussions with the CPA to discuss ways in which cooperation can occur and also the way in which the perspective of a united, revolutionary, democracy, socialist party, including all revolutionary tendencies can be formed.

In any case, we, as one of those tendencies, accept your invitation.

We would, however, like to make some observations.

You state: "I have sent this letter to all the journals which, to my knowledge, concern themselves with these questions. The list is appended." (emphasis added).

I can only comment that your knowledge must therefore be limited. We consider that the following journals, organisations and individuals should be invited without delay. If they are not invited, then many will suspect that, despite the intentions expressed in your letter, your initiative is conceived in an exclusivist and sectarian fashion:

SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE; VIETNAM ACTION CAMPAIGN; SDA, Brisbane University (BRISBANE LINE); SDA, Adelaide University; ANALYSIS and PRINT (Monash University Labor Club --surely a vital group).

I would also suspect that the following individuals are essential for any worthwhile discussion: Mitch Thompson (and Brian Laver who is returning shortly), Dr. A. Roberts (Monash University), Bruce MacFarlane (ANU), Humphery McQueen. No doubt the list could be expanded greatly.

In addition, no matter the likely response, we believe that VANGUARD and the CPA (M-L) should be invited on principle, as well as individuals such as Ted Bull.

In general, then, we believe that there should be no limitation on those who may wish to participate in such a conference, given the general acceptance that they stand on the Left.

We propose also that a preliminary discussion be held of those whom you have already invited, plus those listed above, to make a joint statement on the initiation of such a conference, rather than such an announcement being made by any one individual or organisation.

Yours fraternally,

Denis FRANCIS
for editorial board,
INTERNATIONAL,
organ of the Australian Section
of the Fourth International.

THE C.P.A. AFTER
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In the three months that have passed since the Czech crisis blew up, the crisis in the Communist Party of Australia has not ceased deepening.

The pro-Soviet wing around individuals such as Alf Watt and others in Sydney, and with wide support among trade union bureaucrats, seems to be biding its time. At the Sydney District Conference held recently, the official line was adopted by almost three to one while. The pro-Russians were conciliatory. The resignation of Bill Brown from the Sydney District Committee and his appointment to a trade union post is certainly connected with the Czech crisis (where he tried to justify the Soviet action, without actually supporting it), despite his denial at the Conference.

Significant resolutions on the agenda paper were not put. A resolution from the Arrow Branch calling for rehabilitation of "all those comrades

who were unjustly expelled for exercising their communist right and duty in expressing their opinions, particularly in the period from 1956" was shelved on technicalities and not put. Similarly, a resolution supporting the National Executive stand on the Czech crisis and calling for withdrawal of invading troops and an end to interference in Czech affairs was defeated in favour of a simple endorsement of the Executive stand.

Worthy of note also is the resolution adopted with one vote against by the West Australian State Committee which condemns national committee silence on the latest Czech-Soviet agreement. (1)

In fact, it seems that a temporary understanding has been reached between the different fractions to stay silent on

any further advance in condemning the Soviet occupation, and particularly the "treaty" legalising Soviet occupation forced by the Kremlin on Dubcek and Co. This is even morose as some union leaders such as Clancy are now having second thoughts and are unlikely to endorse any new initiatives.

Yet this very inaction by the Aarons leadership on the "treaty" only heightens the discontent among the most destalinised elements who now begin to drift out of the Party. The West Australian "rebellion" remains unsolved, while among the CP members "under thirty" discontent is widespread.

The failure of the recent YSL conference in Melbourne to broaden its base, the feeling among most of its activists that it should be disbanded (only the diehards who do nothing most of the year voted for the continuance of the YSL); the severe difficulties of the YSL in Sydney despite big efforts to get it off the ground; the widening split between the SDA and the YSL in Brisbane, all add up to a worsening of the CP's relations with their own youth. The Youth of today are not prepared to accept the compromises judged necessary for "unity".

Although Joe Palmada could report to the Sydney District Conference that the district had only lost 40 odd members last year compared with 140 the year before, the count was undoubtedly taken before the Czech crisis.

CRISIS IN THE TRADE UNIONS ...

The Maoist victories on the Sydney waterfront and the rejection of the miserable agreement reached by the WWF on the permanency scheme has faced the CP suddenly with a revolt from the Left which they are unable to cope with. At the same time, the water-side branch, split on the Czech crisis, is also split on the vital question of

the permanency scheme.

Meanwhile, on the Right, in the union where militancy remains at a low ebb, union officials continue to drift out. The most recent casualty reported is Jack Brown of the ARU.

In such a situation the worst stance possible is of "compromise" and intrigue, trying to be all things to all men. True, there has been an effort in some quarters to raise the question of self-management and workers control as real transitional slogans in the unions. The TRIBUNE editorial on the Teachers Strike, the publication of Lenin's writings on worker control are all steps in the right direction. But nothing will be solved really until the issues are confronted squarely, and a spade called a spade.

A CLEAN BREAK WITH STALINISM ONLY WAY OUT OF CRISIS

If anything has emerged in the month since the invasion of Czechoslovakia, it is that nothing can be solved fully until there is a clean break with stalinism, no matter the cost in membership. A Party with half the book membership of the CPA, but really formed on anti-stalinist, militant, democratic and revolutionary lines would be ten times more effective than the present amalgam trading under the name of the Communist Party of Australia....

D. Francis
6 November 1968

Notes: (1) The resolution of the WA State committee reads: "The WA State Committee expresses its criticism of the national committee's failure to condemn publicly the latest agreement forced on the Czechoslovak government, party and people by which Soviet troops will remain in Czechoslovakia for an indefinite period."
"Comments in Tribune in early

September, and decisions of the August national committee meeting do not adequately cover the issue of an agreement signed in October 1968.

"It is our international duty to take such action as we can to bring about the earliest possible withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia

unlike the communists of that country we are in a position to have our voice heard loud and clear on this issue.

"To neglect this duty can only strengthen the hand of those who seek to prolong the occupation."

Adopted at West Australian state committee meeting November 1968.

A NOTE TO READERS

This is the fourth issue of INTERNATIONAL produced in its new format. In addition, in the past six months numerous booklets have been produced which have been widely distributed in the Australian Left. We believe from the excellent response we have received to all these publications, almost of which have been sold out, or been reproduced in a second edition, that there is a widespread need for publications such as those produced by INTERNATIONAL.

The burden of producing INTERNATIONAL has fallen on a few shoulders, and although, financially, the response of readers and subscribers has been adequate, we need to expand our circulation if we are to reach the goal of a printed magazine and booklets.

While sales over 1,000 are an appreciable increase over our past circulation, we need to double that if we are to go into print.

YOU can help by taking out a subscription to INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS if you haven't already or by handing copies around to friends and persuading them to subscribe.

We will send you any number of copies of INTERNATIONAL publications that you may be able to sell.

Your donation will be especially welcome. Although we have not made a practice of acknowledging donations, we would especially like to thank GP

of Baulkham Hills, Sydney for the donation of ten dollars. To those comrades who regularly send a few dollars thanks also, and similarly to those subscribers who have added dollars and cents to their sub. as a donation.

We appeal, however, to all readers to send INTERNATIONAL a Christmas box when you make out your end-of-the-year present list. We need it if we are to make a printed INTERNATIONAL a reality in 1969.

Any ideas for increasing circulation especially welcome. Are you prepared to sell INTERNATIONAL on your campus job or school?

Lastly, a word of apology to those readers who sent in subs. for the Czech Crisis, containing the "2,000 Words". We sold out of the first edition, and technical difficulties delayed the second edition...

THE EDITORIAL BOARD.

GREECE AFTER THE PLEBISCITE

The fascist Greek colonels have just completed their cynically-planned plebiscite on the "Constitution" with more than 80% of the votes in favour. Using terror, martial law, daily arrests, torture, jailings, deportation, death sentences, and with the gagged press and with political and trade union organisations dissolved, the Greek masses were obliged to vote ...

The results announced of this masquerade have nothing to do with even the real voting that took place (ie. the real number voting "yes", and those who despite everything, voted "no" or abstained). Greece has a long tradition of electoral fraud, which is part of the shameful methods of the reactionary oligarchy, which is the handmaiden of imperialism.

Thus the dictatorship announced the "results" that suited it without the Greeks themselves being in the least astonished. A sector of the world press, however, is cynically trying to give credence, even in part, to the electoral "results", and to seriously discuss their lessons.

The situation in Greece, however, is crystal clear.

The military dictatorship, set up with the active aid of the Pentagon and the CIA, is now trying to become more respectable so that a certain democratic public opinion, in Europe in particular, may be satisfied.

Before the Czech events, the Americans were seriously considering a solution involving the return of Karamanlis and the King.

But that threatened to provoke a reaction from the "hardest" wing of the Junta, of soldiers led by colonel LADAS leader of the junior officers who ideologically oscillate between pure fascism and a taint of confused "nasserism".

The Czech events, however, showed the "dangers" in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, and strengthened US military, police and political groups

who feared any change in Greece and preferred to keep the dictatorship united in its devotion to US imperialism.

DIVISION IN THE JUNTA

There is however a real division in the Junta between Papadopoulos, who is seeking a "political" solution and the return of the King, and Ladas who remains opposed to the Parties and the King.

What occurs between these two wings largely depends on the support the new US Administration gives to the views of the classical Greek Right of Karamanlis, Kanelopoulos, Vlachou and the King's entourage, etc., who evoke the danger of civil war sooner or later, in Greece, throwing the country "into the arms of communism".

Two Greek-Americans are at the moment playing an important role in Nixon's electoral campaign: the financier Papas, and Nixon's running mate for Vice President, Agnew.

Both support the colonels' clique and may weigh in a final victory of Papadopoulos' "political" solution, or Ladas' "hard-line". No real end to the dictatorship will occur from interplay of inter-capitalist contradictions and those resulting from its dependence on imperialism.

All the political trends of the Greek bourgeoisie, including the most liberal, only aim at some more "democratic" framework for the American Protectorate than that which now exists.

Greece has supplanted Lebanon as the main financial centre in that part of the

Mediterranean. Thanks to the fiscal benefits and other exorbitant advantages granted to foreign firms by the patriotic junta, a large number of US firms are now setting up headquarters in Greece.

This small country is gradually becoming the most important American base in Europe.

The Kremlin, greatly preoccupied with Eastern Europe, has always since Yalta agreed that Greece is part of the Anglo-Saxon zone of influence, and has always used Greece as a bargaining-point with Washington.

The liberation of Greece from the dictatorship can only be the work, essentially, of the Greek people, who shall have to battle almost alone over a long period.

YUGOSLAVIA APPROACHES A TURNING POINT

This year has been a particularly difficult one for Yugoslavia. First of all opposition to bureaucratic layers in the country exploded. These layers have developed largely due to their power and advantages through the role of the State in the economy and the whole of social life.

These Party "politicians" in important posts in the State administration and controlling, despite self-management, important sectors of the economy, public services and/the whole of society, profit enormously from their position and oppose very obstinately accelerated democratisation which would make their positions superfluous and result in the long run in them disappearing.

The most egalitarian forces in Yugoslavia, those which are most enthusiastic about a genuinely democratic self-management, showed their strong discontent during the Trade Union Congress and the mass student agitation.

But, to the contrary of what is happening in the other Workers States, the liberal tendency of the leadership, includ-

Unless that is really understood and unless there is determination to organise a new revolutionary leadership and to better carry on the struggle, the odious American Protectorate in Greece may well last a long time.

Revolutionary forces in Europe must link with those regrouping in Greece for a struggle -- including an armed one -- against the dictatorship and give those forces all possible material, moral and political aid.

For there can be no revolutionary strategy for Europe which neglects or underestimates the consolidation of a dictatorship in Greece completely enslaved to American Imperialism.

2 October 1968.

ing Tito himself, quickly took up the demands of these layers and openly made its own self-criticism.

The Yugoslav press widely published the extremely interesting debates of the Trade Union Congress and the student demands. It continues to publish many critical and discussion articles on all aspects of Yugoslav life. The level of these discussions is fundamentally different from the pretence of "ideological" discussion and "self-criticism" found in the press of the other Workers States.

The next YLC Congress is now being actively prepared around three main documents: the first, on the development of the economic reform and the new stage of economic self-management due to the formation of large integrated enterprises;

the next, on the new role of the YLC and its organisational functioning, allowing its open self-criticism and more rapid democratisation; a third, on the international situation.

A certain number of the key ideas in these documents can be found in a number of articles which have already appeared in the Yugoslav press, in the resolutions of the Trade Union Congress, in Tito's speeches and also in the important recent resolution of the 20th. CC meeting of the YLC on "Aggression against Czechoslovakia," (August 1968.)

The particularly courageous stand of the Yugoslav leadership from the beginning of the Czech crisis has drawn the anger of the Kremlin and the gravest threats since the break with Stalin. The Yugoslavs who have without hesitation ordered the moral and practical mobilisation of their country with the voluntary and unanimous adhesion of the population, against a possible Soviet invasion, have also tried to investigate more deeply the reasons for the conflicts in the Workers States.

According to the August 1968 resolution, the progress of socialism is "opposed by forces of bureaucratic statism" which "identifies socialism with State direction and the monopolist role of economic and political power centres detached from the working class and society".

PRO-SOVIET AND CONSERVATIVE WING IN Y. L. C.

For the first time, in an official document, there is reference to "the long years of resistance to stalinism in the USSR". That is an indication, confirmed by other facts, that the liberal wing of the Yugoslav leadership, having always to fight against a strong conservative and pro-Soviet opposition inside the League itself, is being forced to deepen its analysis of the origin of stalinism and as a result revise the whole history of the USSR and of the Third International.

The resolution then summarises a

26. self-criticism of the Yugoslav experience and the attitude of the League: "In our socialist path we have had both successes and failures. The League of Communists and our society continuously reexamine in a critical spirit their own socialist practice. Our experience has persuaded the working class and our peoples that there is no other road but the development of self-management and direct socialist democracy which can assure them material prosperity, cultural progress and development of social relations in which the worker becomes the master of his work and his lot. All other roads result in stagnation and political and economic subordination."

Questions concerning the continued development of self-management and its total functioning are at the centre of concern for the Yugoslav leadership and the abundant critical literature published in the country press.

We shall return in detail later on this very important question, as the "Yugoslav road is far from being an exclusively "national" road.

Let us note that on the purely economic plane production has resumed on higher quantitative and above all qualitative levels with an abundance of goods and services that is fundamentally different, in a striking way from all that can be seen in other Workers States; that the democratic climate, since the dismantling of Rankovitch's police system, is remarkably relaxed and that the threats of the Kremlin have strengthened national unity as never before.

Yugoslavia continues on the difficult task of building the foundations for a socialist development which take into consideration a whole series of essential economic, political and cultural factors necessary for the success of such efforts. The inevitable crises involved fall into a generally ascending curve on this road.

There are certainly still a large number of things to criticise in both home and foreign policy, and all genuinely marxist tendencies must make such criticisms openly, but in a way that makes allowance

for the value of the Yugoslav experience as a whole.

27. Yugoslavia now finds itself in tormented and threatened externally, from the East and the West, and internally by conservative forces which have not been completely disarmed revolutionary forces in

the world must now be called upon to defend Yugoslavia against all aggression, all pressure, and all interference, placing confidence in the forces inside the country and their vanguard to guarantee Yugoslavia's free development on the road to socialism.

5 October 1968.

IN CHINA THEY REDISCOVER THE PARTY

The most recent phase of the "Cultural Revolution" in China appears to be characterised by the following factors:

- in almost all the country, "Revolutionary Committees" of the "Triple Alliance" rule;
- these committees are dominated by the Army and former Party cadres;
- preparations are being made to reconstruct the Party following the purge of those who followed or still follow the former "revisionist" leadership of Liu Shao Chi.

That confirms what we said from the beginning: the essential aim of the "Cultural Revolution" was the taking over of the Party once more by Mao, as the main instrument of power in China as elsewhere.

The use of the "Red Guards" as well as the Army was only conjunctural, subordinate to this goal.

But inasmuch as these two forces threatened to act against the central power of Mao, the "Triple Alliance" was formed, weighed with leading elements, and the "working class" and the "party" were ideologically rehabilitated, with the stress being placed on their essential role...

Certainly, a return to the "Party" implies not only a return to an organisational power instrument, but also to a policy.

Mao's policy on building socialism in China is essentially based on a voluntarist and moralist schema which equals the productive efforts of the masses in a

nationalised economy, centrally directed by the Party-State, ignoring "material stimulants" and developing in anarchy.

The "Cultural Revolution" sought to create a climate suited to such a policy. But in the turmoil which followed the attempt to block any economic flexibility of a "NEP" type, including on the world-market, broad layers of the masses, particularly among the mass of youth, developed tendencies which rebelled from the strict control of the central power of Mao. And that without considering the major difficulty of reconstructing a centralised national apparatus able to apply the economic policy of Mao.

In reality, such a policy is only possible through the establishment of a repressive dictatorship based on a vast bureaucratic layer.

That this dictatorship is erected on the ruins of the "revisionist" bureaucracy and talks of "egalitarianism" in poverty, in no way alters its internal logic and dynamic.

It will inevitably degenerate into a "stalinist" dictatorship, that is a regime of terror, arbitrariness and privilege, with a vast bureaucratic apparatus.

The healthy development of the Chinese Revolution does not rest in its political, economic and cultural isolation, but in closely planned cooperation with the other Workers States and the extension of the revolution in the world.

If the Chinese Revolution is isolated for a long period, then very grave deformations are inevitable. They will take on specific forms, unexpected, of which the "Cultural Revolution" is already an extraordinary example. There is no way of taking a short-cut through the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The only way to proceed is through an economy which socialises not arbitrarily through bureaucratic violence on men and objective realities (including the cultural level); but in an atmosphere of genuine socialist democracy, voluntarily integrating the masses in the productive process and the management of the whole of society.

Mao is now clearly orientated against such a policy.

CUBA : THE REVOLUTION BESIEGED

This year is certainly the hardest Cuba has passed through since the victory of the Revolution.

Food rationing is being severely felt, particularly in the towns, while the country's productive effort is strangled to an extreme to reach certain goals.

The target of ten million tons of sugar a year demands, besides a great mobilisation of labour to increase cultivated land and gather the harvest, very important investment in raw sugar refineries.

The general economic orientation of the country may now be considered healthy, after the change in priorities from rapid industrialisation to (for a whole period) agriculture and "rich" crops able to get foreign exchange (sugar, tobacco, coffee,

28.

Mao is, objectively, trying to use a whole series of unfavourable circumstances -- the imperialist blockade, the break with the USSR and the other Workers States, the economic and cultural backwardness of the country -- to build a culturally and economically autarchic society. He hopes thus to carry out on its own criteria and position on the material and cultural plane, in a sort of closed society, a "great leap forward" from Asiatic societies to an advanced Twentieth century society able then only to confront the external world.

That policy of course implies that very grave crises are inevitable. The "Cultural Revolution" has, unfortunately, only been one of these crises.

5 October 1968

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN SPAIN... by

Felix Morrow. A detailed analysis of the Spanish Revolution 1936-1939. 222 pages, with maps. A Trotskyist account. ONLY \$ 2, 00 from H. McLean
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29.

rum, fish and fruit canning, etc.)
Even more so as there is no question of neglecting the necessary industrialisation, but of basing it first of all on transformation industries of animal and agricultural products.

Diversification of agricultural production, aimed at developing sectors needed to give the population the richest and most balanced diet and to avoid costly imports, is also quite correctly part of the general economic plan.

But it may be well asked if the effort to produce ten million tons of sugar at all costs in 1970 is really so indispensable.

The masses' enthusiasm for the Revolution certainly continues and contributes to the widespread and enormous voluntary work that is seen everywhere.

It would be sufficient to counter-balance the inconveniences from food rationing and the more general lack of foodstuffs, in the long run, with an adequate system of distribution of these products.

The almost total nationalisation of small trade and handicrafts due to possibly valid political motives worsens for the moment the spartan atmosphere in which the Revolutionary Island lives.

A DIFFICULT ROAD TO SOCIALISM

The only real explanation of the present economic and political situation in Cuba is that it is a Revolution besieged, isolated by the very severe imperialist blockade and benefiting from only a very limited aid from the other Workers States.

In these conditions the construction of socialism is proving particularly difficult, subject to grave deformations both politically and theoretically. For there is a strong tendency to idealise features of an egalitarian war economy of poverty, and to present them as being

already almost "communist" gains, to avoid unfortunate comparisons with world levels of productivity in cost of production, quality, standard of living. There is also a tendency to develop the theme of voluntary and moral incentives, of the creative "will" of the masses, producing wealth, without stressing sufficiently the inevitable interaction between the raising of awareness and "revolutionary enthusiasm" on the one side and the continued substantial raising of the standard of living on the other.

The quarrel between partisans of "moral" and "material" stimulants is in fact a false quarrel; for marxists the raising of the material standard of living is absolutely indispensable to maintain the long-term productive efforts of the masses.

Politically, also, the conditions arising in a Revolution besieged by imperialism do not favour the flowering of a genuinely socialist democracy, institutionalised in precise organs which allow the class as a whole to increasingly play its role. The power of the working-class is formed in Cuba through the interaction of three component forces in the political regime: the personal role of Fidel, the Party and the Army.

DEFORMATION INEVITABLE IF REVOLUTION REMAINS ISOLATED

It would be wrong then to make, economically or politically, any abusive generalisations from the specific example of Cuba, which would necessarily be theoretically incorrect.

The Cuban Revolution, which has been isolated over a long period, lives and develops under terrible pressure.

Very great achievements on the material and cultural planes, have profoundly changed the life of the layers which before were the most disinherited: the peasants, and the majority of the population who are coloured.

But the deformation of the Revolution is inevitable if isolation is prolonged.

The historic mission of the Cuban Revolution is certainly not to serve as a model for the construction of socialism in a single island under extreme imperialist blockade, but to stimulate by its example and to aid the struggle for the extension of the Revolution, first of all in Latin America.

Its own safety and healthy development depend, in the long run, on such a policy.

Hence all revolutionaries must strongly defend the Cuban Revolution at

all cost, by fighting above all for the extension of the world and Latin American Revolution.

In Europe itself, it is necessary to coordinate the efforts of all revolutionary forces for the intensification of political propaganda and many-sided concrete aid to the Cuban and Latin American Revolution.

We shall return in detail to the problems facing the Cuban Revolution at the present stage and its urgent defence.

1 October 1968.

A LETTER FROM ALGERIA

FOR THE REGROUPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

In December 1967, all the conditions were present for the overthrow of the military and police dictatorship of Boumedienne.

All conditions except one: that of a revolutionary leadership based upon a revolutionary mass organisation.

The majority of Army cadres, including the majority of the members of the "Council of the Revolution" pressed Boumedienne to disassociate himself from other members of the "Oujda group"

to liberate Ben Bella and remove Boumedienne who was stubbornly resisting any change in policy or leading personnel.

But the game was won on the level of surprise and ruse. Boumedienne is still the most experienced in trickery and won, killing Said Abid and provoking the false coup d'etat of Zbiri and his friends.

This repression still continues among the different clans of a politico-military nature opposed to the regime, as well as among trade union and student militants.

The attempt at assassination of Boumedienne has redoubled this terror.

There has been a new wave of arrests since July which have filled the prisons with several hundred of all political shades including Ben Bella's nephew and a large number of officers from the former Willaya (ex-guerrillas).

They have been accused of belonging to opposition (included the armed opposition) led by Zbiri and Zerdani, with the formation of active maquis in several spots in the country.

Under pressure of the combined effect of this opposition, the continued economic difficulties and the international isolation of Algeria (1), the contradictions of the Boumedienne dictatorship are again sharpened.

The Oujda clan itself is beginning to decompose, the Medeghri - Bouteflika tandem in reality playing a double game, both with and against Boumedienne.

The withdrawn resignation of Medeghri

expresses his opposition to "nationalisations" and the projected Agrarian Reform, once more adjourned, as well as the rising power of the police chief Draia.

In effect, since the dismantling of the Army apparatus which went over in its majority to the opposition, the regime has essentially rested on repression by Draia's police.

Outside this police, the Boumedienne dictatorship rests only on certain military clans remaining faithful to it and the attitude of the "bureaucratic" bourgeoisie managing the "nationalised" enterprises.

In these enterprises and in the State economic bodies led by the technocrat Abdesselam, is born and develops and prospers this new "bureaucratic bourgeoisie."

This uses the present regime to extend its privileges and economic power before carrying out a bid for political power. The prolonged worsening of the situation could serve its ends, and unmask the men who already, in the shadows, prepare for its triumph tomorrow.

DANGER OF BOURGEOIS POWER BID

This is something that seriously threatens to occur, if Algeria continues to descend into the abyss with struggles among opposed clans, with the masses immobilised by the terror, misery

Notes:

(1) The Boumedienne regime appeared to have broken its isolation in the Arab world during the Middle East crisis, when it demagogically adopted extreme "anti-imperialist" positions.

But the Israeli airplane incident has shown the gap between words and deeds. The Palestinian Revolutionary Organisation strongly criticised Boumedienne's capitulation (although his government is formally still in a state of war with Israel). It will not be the last. It is rumoured in Algiers that Tschombe will soon be freed and... among his defenders is Jacques Verges...

and mistrust towards any traditional leadership, except Ben Bella himself.

For the hopes they had in the ORP (Organisation of Popular Resistance) have proved fallacious, since this organisation has passed under the control of former barely "destalinised" cadres of the Algerian Communist Party, which follows in practice a policy of "critical support" to Boumedienne, following the policy of the Kremlin in his regard.

Besides the essentially military opposition of Zbiri-Zerdani and the former Willaya Four cadres, there exists only the militants grouped around "Courrier d'Algerie" with a remarkable political clarity of a principled nature.

It is this current which now must rally and unite the largest possible number of revolutionary forces to "prepare to take the head of the final and radical combat against reaction, otherwise leaving to the bourgeoisie (and perhaps adventurers) the possibilities open, as was the case in 1954.

"The Left in calling for and placing itself with Ben Bella, can propose in action solutions inspired by the Charter of Algiers and conforming to the traditions of struggle of the Algerian people." (Extract from the editorial of the August 1968 issue of Courrier d'Algerie.)

Algiers, October 1968

ABDELKRIM

LEFT, RIGHT AND CENTRE

CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL

Readers will note a number of changes in INTERNATIONAL. First, this issue covers three months -- October, November and December, instead of the usual two. This allows us to even the last issue with the end of the year and also avoid publishing an issue covering only the holiday period. In compensation this issue of INTERNATIONAL has 31 pages. We have also cut the price to 10 cents to help increase circulation, particularly on the campuses, and to make INTERNATIONAL more readily available to young readers. We hope to cover the cost through increased donations. SUBSCRIBERS will have their subscription extended to cover the new, lower price.

CHE READ TROTSKY IN BOLIVIA...

Reading Che's historic and moving BOLIVIAN DIARY we were interested to read in the entry for 31 July 1967: "... 11 knapsacks were lost with medication binoculars, some confliction equipment like the taperecorder where messages from Manila are copied, Debray's book with my own notes, and a book of Trotsky, not to mention the political fortune which the capture means for the government and the confidence it instills in the soldiers..." (available from A. McLean, for \$1 plus postage.)

THE FLAG IS BURNT...

The Australians and New Zealanders Against the War in Vietnam made up of exiles in Britain has become an important part of the antiwar movement in the UK. Meeting in upstairs room in the Marquis of Granby in Cambridge Circus, it took a leading role in the huge October mobilisation. The petition handed into the besieged Australia House ended: "... We demand the immediate withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam. We express our solidarity with those groups in Australia whom we make the same demand, and who recognize the S. Vietnamese National Liberation Front as the representative of the bulk of the Vietnamese people." The burning of the flag was enough to start the RSL, etc., frothing at the mouth... but it is something they're going to see more of.

R. S. L. RACISM IN LIGHT OF DAY

Yeo's senile babblings of course upset the more "statesmanlike" Lee, not because he didn't feel the same way basically, but because Yeo had put it too frankly. It is true of course that racism is very deep rooted among all layers of Australian society. Take Cifer for example who could not see anything "offensive" in feeding infant children with a colour strip film called "Black Sambo". He noted that it is "considerably in demand in schools because of its popularity with children". More surprising, perhaps, was the fact that THIS DAY TONIGHT thought Mr. George Petersen MLA was making a storm in a teacup when he raised it in the State House... Shows you just how deeply rooted this racism (liberal or Wallaceite) really is here...

Laurie Aarons Replies

Just before going to press, INTERNATIONAL received a reply to its letter reprinted in this issue, to Laurie Aarons. Full details later. authorised and printed by A. McLean, PO Box 13, Balmain, NSW 2041, Australia.

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