

DIRECT ACTION

NO. 21

JUNE 9 1972

10 CENTS

A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER



WORKERS' CONTROL!

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School Demo**

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Nixon's Moscow Trip
Strike Wave in Quebec
Czechoslovak Socialist
Opposition**



DIRECT ACTION

No. 21, 9 June 1972

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

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

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Contact socialists in your area

NATIONAL OFFICE:

SYDNEY: PO Box 160
Glebe 2037
SWL, PO Box 151
Glebe 2037.

SYDNEY:

S.W.L., S.Y.A., 139 St. John's
Rd. Glebe, 2037 Ph 6606672.

MELBOURNE:

S.W.L., 136 Queensberry St.,
Carlton, 3053. Ph. 3473507.
S.Y.A., 140 Queensberry St.,
Carlton, 3053. Ph. 3473507.

ADELAIDE:

S.W.L., S.Y.A., 287 Rundle St.,
Adelaide. 5000. Ph. 234539.

BRISBANE:

S.W.L., S.Y.A., 97 Musgrave St.,
Red Hill, 4059. Ph. 363426

CANBERRA:

S.Y.A., P.O. Box 26, O'Connor,
Ph. 862760 (Jon)

HOBART:

S.Y.A., P.O. Box 1255N G.P.O.,
Hobart, 7000 Ph. 252563 (Alban).

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EDITORIAL

IN PLAIN DAYLIGHT

In 1967 — five years ago! — Che Guevara wrote, in his message to the Tricontinental, of the situation facing revolutionaries at that time:

"Twenty-one years have elapsed since the end of the last world conflagration, numerous publications, in every possible language, celebrate this event, symbolised by the defeat of Japan. There is a climate of apparent optimism in many areas of the different camps into which the world is divided.

"Twenty-one years without a world war, in these times of maximum confrontations, of violent clashes and sudden changes, appears to be a very high figure. However, without analysing the practical results of this peace (poverty, degradation, increasingly larger exploitation of enormous sectors of humanity) for which all of us have stated that we are willing to fight, we would do well to inquire if this peace is real.

"It is not the purpose of these notes to detail the different conflicts of a local character that have been occurring since the surrender of Japan, neither do we intend to recount the numerous and increasing instances of civilian strife which have taken place during these years of apparent peace. It will be enough just to name, as an example against undue optimism, the wars of Korea and Vietnam....

"There is a sad reality: Vietnam — a nation representing the aspirations, the hopes of a whole world of forgotten peoples — is tragically alone. This nation must endure the furious attacks of US technology, with practically no possibility of reprisals in the south and only some of defence in the north — but always alone.

"The solidarity of all progressive forces of the world towards the people of Vietnam today is similar to the bitter irony of the plebeians coaxing on the gladiators in the Roman arena. It is not a matter of wishing success to the victim of aggression, but of sharing his fate; one must accompany him to his death or victory.

"When we analyse the lonely situation of the Vietnamese people, we are overcome by anguish at this illogical moment of humanity.

"US imperialism is guilty of aggression—its crimes are enormous and cover the whole world. We already know all that, gentlemen! But this guilt also applies to those who, when the time came for a definition, hesitated to make Vietnam an inalienable part of the socialist world; running, of course, the risks of a war on a global scale — but also forcing a decision upon imperialism. And the guilt also applies to those who maintain a war of abuse and snares — started quite some time ago by the representatives of the two greatest powers of the socialist camp.

"We must ask ourselves, seeking an honest answer: Is Vietnam isolated, or is it not? Is it not maintaining a dangerous equilibrium between the two quarrelling powers?

"And what great people these are! What stoicism and courage! And what a lesson for the world is contained in this struggle!

"The largest of imperialist powers feels in its own guts the bleeding inflicted by a poor and underdeveloped country; its fabulous economy feels the strain of the war effort. Murder is ceasing to be the most convenient business for its monopolies. Defensive weapons, and never in number, is all these extraordinary soldiers have — besides love for their homeland, their society, and unsurpassed courage. But imperialism is bogging down in Vietnam, is unable to find a way out and desperately seeks one that will overcome with dignity this dangerous situation in which it now finds itself. Furthermore, the Four

Points put forward by the north and the Five Points of the south now corner imperialism, making the confrontation even more decisive.

"Everything indicates that peace, this unstable peace which bears that name for the sole reason that no worldwide conflagration has taken place, is again in danger of being destroyed by some irrevocable and unacceptable step taken by the United States.

"What role shall we, the exploited people of the world, play? The peoples of the three continents focus their attention on Vietnam and learn their lesson. Since imperialists blackmail humanity by threatening it with war, the wise reaction is not to fear war....

"But this brief outline of victories carries within itself the immense sacrifice of the people, sacrifices that should be demanded at the beginning today, in plain daylight, and which perhaps may be less painful than those we would have to endure if we constantly avoided battle in an attempt to have others pull our chestnuts out of the fire.

"It is probable, of course, that the last liberated country shall accomplish this without an armed struggle and the sufferings of a long and cruel war against the imperialists — this they might avoid. But perhaps it will be impossible to avoid this struggle or its effects in a global conflagration; the suffering would be the same, or perhaps even greater. We cannot foresee the future, but we should never give in to the defeatist temptation of being the vanguard of a nation which yearns for freedom, but abhors the struggle it entails and awaits its freedom as a crumb of victory....

"The time has come to settle our discrepancies and place everything at the service of our struggle.

"We all know great controversies rend the world now fighting for freedom; no one can hide it. We also know that they have reached such intensity and such bitterness that the possibility of dialogue and reconciliation seems extremely difficult, if not impossible. It is a useless task to search for means and ways to propitiate a dialogue which the hostile parties avoid. However, the enemy is there; it strikes every day, and threatens us with new blows and these blows will unite us, today, tomorrow, or the day after. Whoever understands this first, and prepares for this necessary union, shall have the people's gratitude."

We should draw a balance sheet, with reference to the goals outlined by Che, of the efforts of the forces involved in the Indochina struggle since the time of writing the above message to his comrades.

From the Vietnamese we have witnessed, apart from two great offensives of almost unbelievable courage and determination, a further five long years of relentless struggle unmatched in recent world history.

From Che and his comrades we saw, within months after the above letter was written, a vain attempt to widen the military pressure on imperialism.

From within the imperialist countries themselves we have seen five years of demonstrative action that has altered the course of public opinion within these countries and placed severe limitations upon the military and political ambitions of Presidents Johnson and Nixon.

And from the "socialist" countries we have witnessed five years of miserable diplomacy, a diplomacy more often than not directed against the Vietnamese revolution and in favour of that phantom "peaceful coexistence", which



means in effect a situation wherein the bureaucrats of Moscow and Peking maintain and perpetuate their non-revolutionary world standing and consolidate their privileged positions in the workers' states and amongst the stalinist parties of the world, and whilst so doing, allow the criminals in Washington and Saigon to further deny the success of the Vietnamese revolution.

We have seen countless attempts to drag the Vietnamese fighters to the conference table to accept a sell-out in favour of "world peace". In answer to Che's call to Moscow and Peking to settle their discrepancies we have seen an acceleration of the squabbles between the two bureaucracies, even reaching the lunacy of military engagement. In answer to Che's reproach about "defensive weapons, and never adequate in number", we have observed continual criticisms of the Soviet Union and People's China for its niggardly attitude towards the supply of sophisticated military material to the fighters of the north and south.

And if that were not enough, in 1972 we have witnessed a significant acceleration of this trend, the pilgrimage of Richard Nixon to Peking and Moscow.

All this betrayal, we are told, is perpetrated in the interest of "peaceful coexistence". But we ask with Che, how, by any stretch of the imagination, can one claim that peace exists when the revolution in Indochina is being so brutally suppressed? The peace that does exist is the freedom of imperialism to smash revolution in the third world and to exploit the toiling masses of the whole western world.

We do not believe Richard Nixon when he says that "he has been unable to arrive at any agreement with the Soviet Union on the issue of ending the Vietnam war". Nor do we believe Moscow's similar protestations. It is not possible to believe the word of a regime that has contributed to so many betrayals over the last fifty years, and which, in a gesture of superb irony, allows the titular head of world imperialism to deliver an unrestricted speech to Russian television while it gloats its own pro-socialist and pro-Soviet critics, whose crimes are merely that of holding up the mirror of the bolshevik past that these monarchs have defiled.

Our disbelief of the protestations of Moscow and Washington did not take us to be confirmed. As we go to press, we hear of Moscow's broadcasts to Indochina of the "necessity for negotiations of the Vietnamese conflict".

In the face of all this betrayal, it is not enough for us to repeat our demand upon the Soviet Union and China to form a united front against imperialism, for although it needs to be stated and stated again, we can see no likelihood of its occurring. Nor is it enough to repeat our call for a political revolution in the workers' states to replace the bureaucracies with workers' democracy. For without us playing our part as well, we are merely "coaxing on the gladiators".

Our part is to place further pressure on imperialism from within, to bring out, as Che said, "in plain daylight", the issues involved to the masses of Australia and the world, and to repeat our demand for the withdrawal of imperialist forces from Indochina now.

What Nixon wants from Brezhnev in Vietnam

by Allen Myers

On May 16, four days before Richard Nixon departed on his trip to Moscow the Soviet bureaucrats produced their official explanation of why the war criminal is to be wined and dined in the Kremlin while his bombs are falling on Vietnam.

The explanation was made in a television commentary by Viktor Shragin, who is believed close to Soviet policy-makers," according to Theodore Shabad, who reported the commentary in a May 16 dispatch from Moscow to the New York Times.

Shragin said that the Soviet leadership is "steadfastly keeping to its principle of peaceful coexistence despite the stormy course of international events and despite the twists and turns in the world situation."

Without directly mentioning Nixon's blockade of the Vietnamese workers state, Shragin implied that such "stormy" events are not really an obstacle to "peaceful coexistence." The real culprit is not U.S. imperialism, but those who argue that the Kremlin's treacherous refusal to oppose U.S. aggression only encourages Nixon to escalate the war further.

"There are, of course," Shragin said, "forces in the world that would like to stop the positive trend in international relations. These forces are not beyond urging upon our country a course of action dictated by the situation of the moment. But such attempts can not be successful."

Brezhnev and his cohorts take the "peaceful coexistence" view of history, which makes it easy to overlook such "situations of the moment" as the genocidal air war against North Vietnam and the bombing of Soviet ships in Haiphong harbor.

In the May 21 New York Times, Hedrick Smith reported that the bureaucrats were using Lenin's name to justify their betrayal. The May 19 issue of the Communist party paper Pravda, he wrote, "quoted Lenin as having approved of 'normalization of relationships with the major capitalist power' and having specifically advocated Soviet-American trade."

It is quite true that Lenin never pretended that the Soviet Union exists in a vacuum — unlike the bureaucrats who subscribe to the theory of "socialism in one country." He consequently recognized the necessity of trade with capitalist states. But — again, unlike the present rulers of the Soviet Union — he never regarded revolutions as a commodity to be bartered away in international commerce. The Kremlin bureaucrats have made it quite clear that that is precisely the sort of "Soviet-American trade" that makes Nixon's trip welcome.

What the blockade means

Since the bureaucrats signaled their willingness to roll over and play dead in the face of U.S. imperialism's military provocation, the Nixon administration has been hard put to conceal its joy at this contribution to his re-election campaign and the encouragement it gives to still further escalations of the war in Indochina.

Defending the blockade before a Senate subcommittee May 15, Secretary of State William Rogers boasted that the administration had been proved right against the sectors of the U.S. ruling class who feared that the Soviet leaders would be forced to respond to the aggression, if only from a sense of self-respect.

"All the predictions that were made about how catastrophic this would be haven't come to pass," Rogers said, adding that the blockade "could well bring about the failure of the North Vietnamese invasion and so advance the course of a negotiated settlement."

"I don't think it was a dangerous tactic," he continued.

"... It probably is going to be a turning point (in the war)."

Presumably already thinking of the future, Rogers said that in comparison with other "options" the blockade was "the least offensive manoeuvre that could have been taken."

The Soviet failure to assert the right to supply Hanoi and challenge the blockade necessarily implies the escalation of the air war well beyond its worst under Lyndon Johnson, for the simple reason that the blockade by sea is meaningless without a massive bombing campaign to prevent supplies being brought from China by road and rail.

The scale of the bombing planned by Nixon was indicated in an article by I.F. Stone in the June 1 New York Review of Books. Stone published portions of "National Security Study Memorandum Number 1," a secret study of the war conducted for Nixon shortly after he took office. The memorandum consists of a series of questions by Nixon and answers from various government departments.

The relevant question here concerned the amount of supplies that could be brought into North Vietnam "even if all imports by sea were denied and a strong effort even made to interdict ground transport." The answer of the Defense Department noted that Johnson's bombing had been unable to stop such transport:

"Past attempts to cut rail, road and water networks in NVN (North Vietnam) have met with considerable difficulties. It has been estimated that a minimum of 6,000 attack sorties per month would be required against the two rail lines from China. Even at this level of effort, the North Vietnamese could continue to use the rail lines to shuttle supplies if they were willing to devote sufficient manpower to repair and transhipment operations. Interdiction of the road system would be still more difficult....

"We currently fly approximately 7,000 sorties per month against two primary roads in Laos preventing through-pipe truck traffic; the road network from China has 7-10 principal arteries and numerous by-passes."

The State Department offered similar advice:

"The North Vietnamese surprised many observers, and confounded many predictions, by holding the North together and simultaneously sending ever-increasing amounts of supplies and personnel into the South during 3 1/2 years of bombing. It is clear that the bombing campaign, as conducted, did not live up to the expectations of many of its proponents. With this experience in mind, there is little reason to believe that new bombing will accomplish what previous bombings failed to do, unless it is conducted with much greater intensity and readiness to defy criticism and risk of escalation."

Thus, more than three years ago, Richard Nixon's advisers informed him that even 13,000 bombing sorties a month might be insufficient to starve the North Vietnamese into submission.

There are, of course, no moral scruples that restrain Nixon from launching such an assault. The U.S. command in Saigon has announced that 1,800 sorties against North Vietnam were flown in the week ending May 15 — and this at a time when the bulk of U.S. air power was being used in the South.

However, there are political considerations that make it difficult for Nixon to continue the air war at the level necessary to accomplish his purposes. One is the worldwide outrage aroused by such genocidal warfare. Another is the loss of U.S. plane crews and the consequent increased opposition to the war

Suppressing the news

The Nixon administration appears already to have begun trying to overcome these obstacles — by escalating its suppression of news about the war.

In the May 15 issue of its weekly newsletter Monday, the Republican National Committee attacked United Press International and the NBC television network in language reminiscent of the McCarthy era. UPI, it seems, had committed the sin of distributing a photograph of a North Vietnamese man and two children wounded by U.S. bombs. NBC was guilty of televising portions of a film that showed bodies of North Vietnamese civilians killed in an air raid. Both photograph and film were obtained from the North Vietnamese government.

"Incredible as it may seem," Monday's editors stormed, "a top network news executive and a top wire service news executive told Monday that when it comes to deciding if their facilities

should be used to disseminate Communist propaganda, the question of whether the national interest of the United States is or is not served is not a consideration."

The newsletter went on to quote questions it said had been put to the two executives. These included such gems as "In showing Communist propaganda film is the question of what gives aid and comfort to the enemy ever discussed, is it a consideration?" and "Do you consider the question of whether or not the Communist film shown grinds the enemy axe as a relevant one?"

The attack on NBC in particular takes on added force in view of the fact that Nixon's Justice Department recently announced the intention to sue all three major television networks for allegedly violating antitrust legislation by monopolizing programming.

Three days after Monday's tirade, the New York Times — the voice of Nixon's most powerful bourgeois critics — came under similar attack from a White House aide who made no secret of the fact that he was speaking for Nixon. Kenneth W. Clawson, Nixon's deputy director of communications, attacked the paper



ONLY TWO WEEKS LEFT IN DRIVE FOR 500 NEW SUBS

With only two weeks to go in our drive for 500 new subscribers, we have fallen slightly behind schedule. This has happened despite a large jump in the sales in Melbourne: 41 in the last two weeks. Subscriptions recorded in each area are as follows:

AREA	SHOULD BE	NEW SUBS	QUOTA
Sydney	117	176	150
Melbourne	117	103	150
Adelaide	47	32	60
Brisbane	47	15	60
Hobart	23	18	30
Canberra	15	7	20
General	23	29	30
	389	380	500

that we exceed our national target. From all indications this is entirely within our means — but time is short!

Time is short also for those of our readers who have been meaning to take advantage of our special offer of 15 issues for only one dollar. This drive will officially close with the publication of DIRECT ACTION No. 22 on Friday 23 June. So if you've been meaning to subscribe but haven't got round to it yet, or if you have just learnt about our offer for the first time now — you have to hurry.

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FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER



Washington May 21, 1972

NIXON & BREZHNEV

(continued from p.3)
for two stories. One was a dispatch from Hanoi quoting North Vietnamese officials as saying that US mines were being removed from Haiphong Harbour. The second was an article from Washington, which quoted unnamed American officials to the effect that the mines were set to deactivate themselves while Nixon was in Moscow.

Making use of logical processes that remain obscure, Clawson charged that in printing both articles the "Times" had been "a conduit of enemy propaganda." What particularly annoyed Clawson's boss was that the "enemy propaganda" had been printed even though the stories were denied by the Nixon administration - whose veracity, of course, is absolutely unquestionable.

Nixon's message for Moscow

For Nixon the ideal situation would be a single reporter in North Vietnam - and that reporter committed to sending his dispatches to the Kremlin. For in the last analysis, the blockade and the massive air raids are directed at Moscow as much as at Hanoi.

I. F. Stone, in the article mentioned above, provides confirmation of this view from the memoirs of Richard J. Whalen, who was one of Nixon's speech writers during the 1968 campaign. According to Whalen, Nixon had planned to give a

major speech on the war on March 31, 1968. By coincidence, Lyndon Johnson thought that date to announce his abdication and Nixon cancelled his own speech.

During preparation of the speech, Whalen reports, Nixon told his writers: "I've come to the conclusion that there's no way to win the war. . . . We can't send another three hundred thousand men. We can't invade North Vietnam. The only thing left is Haiphong and that involves risks with the Soviet."

But, according to Whalen, Nixon went on to make it clear that the war might still be won politically even if it could not be won militarily. This would involve enlisting the aid of the Soviet bureaucrats by means of the carrot-and-stick routine! "Now, there could be a new era in our relations with the Soviets, a new round of summit meetings and other negotiations. We have to make that plain to them. We have to say, 'Look, if you go on supporting North Vietnam, we will have to act dramatically.' We won't add - 'If we have the power, of course. On the other hand, we have to say, 'If you are willing to give ground and help us out of this morass, it could mean lots of good things. Otherwise, we're going to confrontation.'"

As the speech was finally written, it bore a remarkable resemblance to the public statements of Nixon and his spokesmen immediately prior to May 9:

"Today the Soviet Union and the Communist States of Eastern Europe are providing fully 85 percent of the sophisticated weapons for North Vietnam and 100 percent of the oil. It is Soviet SAMS (surface-to-air missiles) and Soviet anti-aircraft guns that are shooting down American planes. It is Soviet artillery that is pounding the Marine fortress of Khe Sanh. Without Soviet military assistance, the North Vietnamese war machine would grind to a halt. . . . Not the small primitive state of

North Vietnam but its great Soviet ally and protector inhibits the full exercise of America's military power. Not even the proximity of Red China's massive armies is as powerful a deterrent to US actions as the presence of Soviet freighters in the port of Haiphong."

Since 1968, Nixon has determined through step-by-step escalation of the air war and diplomatic approaches to both Moscow and Peking that neither China's massive armies nor Soviet freighters are the deterrent they once seemed. This change can only confirm for Nixon the "correctness" of his strategy for the carrot and the club in inducing the Soviet bureaucrats to help him get his way in Indochina. At the same time, the danger is greatly increased of miscalculation touching off an all-out conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.

"The plan then and the strategy now," Stone wrote, "is to offer the Soviet Union a kind of junior partnership in the Pax Americana in return for US trade concessions. The alternative is an escalated war, threatening the destruction of a Soviet satellite and daring Moscow, if it doesn't like it, to come on out and fight. This, in the thermonuclear age, is a pretty juvenile scenario. If the bluff is called is Nixon seriously prepared to go this far to have his way in a distant Asian Lilliput?"

Stone's article was written prior to Nixon's May 9 announcement of the blockade. Moscow's acquiescence to the blockade and its decision not to cancel Nixon's invitation were the clearest possible signal that the bureaucrats prefer the "junior partnership" to calling Nixon's bluff.

A warning from Hanoi

With the Maoist regime in China neck-

deep in "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, there are only two options to the consummation of the intended betrayal. One is the international war movement, which is now more or less obligated to build the most mass demonstrations possible against the U.S. aggression.

The other is the continuation of the decades-long resistance of the Vietnam people. Their determination to fight victory has already frustrated the plans of three U.S. presidents and forced the and Chinese bureaucrats to either provide material aid to a revolution for which they have no sympathy, or stand exposed in their pretensions to leadership of the working-class movement. The fighting will of the Vietnamese people serves as a powerful deterrent to Brezhnev's fulfillment of the role assigned to him by Nixon.

On May 20, the same day that Nixon left for Moscow, the Hanoi daily "Nhan Dan" printed a strong condemnation of Nixon's escalation. The article contains a brief but unmistakable description of Brezhnev's guest: "an extremely belligerent, an international pirate, a danger plotter and the successor of Hitler and Churchill in carrying our imperialism. It concluded with some sound advice - unfortunately, must sound absurd to Kremlin bureaucrats:

"To the acts of escalation, the effective answer is to smash these adventurous."

"To the intrigues, the effective answer is to lay bare their objectives."

"To Nixon's threats, the best answer is to show a firm attitude and expose his weak and losing posture."

"A few signs of weakness will encourage the truculence of the pirates."

as can be seen from the conditions apprentices can be forced to work under these organizations can clearly be seen employers' organizations. These bodies are so alienated from apprentices they do little to help the apprentice in his fight for better conditions. Apprentices should have the right to organize themselves and should raise the following demands:

1. Full rate of pay during entire period of apprenticeship.
2. Full union rights and the right to organize themselves.
3. All tools of trade supplied by the industry they work for.
4. All training done during working hours.
5. As students raise the demand for staff control apprentices should raise the demand for apprentice control over their own training.

The Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance believe apprentices should raise these demands and put forward the following means of achieving them.

1. Apprentices should form their own committees to fight for these demands.
2. Involvement in the mass movements to raise understanding and gain experience in mass struggle.
3. Link up with University and High school students to support the demands and student staff control, to combat any student prejudices amongst fellow workers and to explain that students and workers are involved in the same fight.
4. Mass mobilization around these demands with full union backing.

IN BRIEF

POLICE FRAME UP OF HARTLEY COMES UNSTUCK

The attempt to convict Victorian ALP Socialist Left leader, Bill Hartley of assaulting police during the anti-Springbok demonstration in Melbourne last year has resulted in a retrial of the case being ordered after the jury could not reach a verdict during 8 hours of deliberation.

Evidence presented by police at the trial was so flimsy that it was clear that the police case is a complete fabrication and only the appeal of the prosecutor to conservative jurors, saying that to acquit Hartley would be to accuse the police of perjury, prevented the case being dismissed.

STAY THERE MAYBE?

Arriving in London on his latest overseas junket, Victorian premier Henry Bolte told the press "I don't really know myself what I am going to do."

With his record, we can well believe it.

THE CLOUDS PART

The May 18 issue of the Maoist newspaper "Vanguard" published by the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) carried an article titled "Investigation Corrects Political Error"; it goes on to recount how, at the time of the rebellion in Ceylon last year, "Vanguard" published an article supporting the uprising.

The error - they supported the uprising instead of betraying it. However when the Peking bureaucracy's attitude to the uprising became clear, "Vanguard" lapsed into silence on the matter - until their latest statement.

Not content with merely not supporting the rebellion in Ceylon, the Maoists go the whole way in supporting the reactionary Bandaranaike regime (which at the present time is holding at least 10,000 militants without trial in concentration camps). In edition No. 51 of the CPA(M-L) theoretical journal "The Australian Communist" they say: "The Australian Trotskyites(sic) - through their rag - 'Direct Action' - condemn China's policy of supporting the Pakistani Government and people against Indian expansionism backed by Soviet revisionism. They also kick up a hullabaloo when the Chinese Government grants an interest free loan to the Ceylonese government."

ALICE SPRINGS MAGISTRATE ADMITS RACIST BIAS

During a recent court case involving 22 black defendants in Alice Springs, the magistrate in the case asked police officers why they did not fire on a group of black people - "You should have let them have both barrels," he said. He went on to say that he was prepared to stand down from the case if people thought that he was biased - which must be as close as it is possible to get to an admission of bias without actually uttering the words "I am biased."

The case arose out of an incident which erupted at Papunya aboriginal reserve when police tried to arrest an aborigine. The black community at Papunya has become so tired of police victimisation of black people that they decided to resist the police. They refused to allow the arrest to take place and began throwing spears and rocks at the police station.

As a result 22 black people have been arrested and are presently on trial in Alice Springs.

TEACHERS' STRIKES

Teachers at Brunswick and Coburg High Schools in Melbourne have gone on an indefinite strike as a result of sackings and threatened sackings at the two schools. The fact that the Victorian government is trying to economise by sacking teachers when there is already a teacher shortage indicates the seriousness with which they are tackling the crisis in education in that state.

Teachers in the Illawarra district of NSW have also been forced to hold stoppages following the victimisation of a teacher who was carrying out NSW Teachers' Federation activities at Smith's Hill Girls' High School.

FOR THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT MC MAHON WITHDREW THE TROOPS

Two recent articles in the bourgeois press might shake their ideas. The Sydney "Daily Mirror" of April 21 carries the tear jerking headline: "Forgotten: The 150 Men We Left Behind" and goes on to recount the dangers of being an Australian Army "adviser" to the Saigon puppet troops. The "Sydney Morning Herald" of May 26 also carried a report of the fact that there are 150 Australian "advisers" left in Vietnam.

BESIDES ITS A LONG WAY FROM PARIS

The ACTU and the New Zealand Federation of Labour have decided to call on unions to boycott French shipping and aircraft because of the French government's determination to continue its testing of atomic weapons in the Pacific Ocean. The French government is unaffected, they are relying upon the fact that manufacturers and traders in New Zealand make large amounts of money by trading with islands which are under French rule, and that these people will not tolerate interference with their profits for any reason - for very long. So the French government will continue to pump radioactive material into the atmosphere over the Pacific.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The University of Melbourne Institute of Applied Economics and Social Research has released figures which indicate that the level of unemployment for the next year will remain at around 100,000. Other figures released recently (in the federal parliament) show that this year, twice as many university graduates have been refused employment with the Commonwealth Public Service as during the previous years. The CPS is the main employer of Arts graduates in the country.

MATAUNGAN FRAME UP

The frame up trial of members of the Mataungan Association over the killing of District Commissioner Emanuel is now 16 weeks old and is still in its preliminary stages. Of the original 18 defendants, charges have been dismissed or withdrawn against 6. The main tactic of the prosecution at the present stage appears to be to convict as many Tolais as possible by laying conspiracy charges against defendants who have especially flimsy evidence them.

PENTRIDGE PRISONERS RESTLESS

On May 8, following the death of a prisoner (Eric Betts) who had asked for medical attention and been refused, 400 prisoners staged a two hour protest demonstration inside Melbourne's Pentridge Prison. Later, on May 23 prisoners were kept locked up all day in order to prevent them carrying out their decision to strike in support of an open inquiry into treatment of prisoners at Pentridge.

With piercing insight the Victorian Minister for Social Welfare, I. W. Smith commented: "They will be shut in and that's that. There is far too much sympathy for criminals at present. . . . They hope to force us into having an open inquiry. They are in no position to force the government to do anything."

Melbourne lawyer, Frank Galbally has handed evidence of the maltreatment of prisoners, including beatings, starvation and other forms of torture, to the Victorian Law Institute.

Last time Westgate fell down, 37 workers were killed.



A VOICE FROM THE DEAD

Ex-Trotskyist Denis Freney, writing in the May 30 - June 5 edition of "Tribune" (newspaper of the Communist Party of Australia) refers to the group around "Direct Action" as engaging in "body-snatching". Perhaps comrade Freney had in mind the fact that a prominent member of the CPA recently declared his support for the Socialist Workers League. If that is the case, Freney has a much lower opinion of militants in the CPA than we do. We acknowledge the fact that the CPA is a political graveyard; however not all of the people in there are dead, some wandered in by mistake. Those are the ones we want to get our ideas to - you can have the corpses, comrade.

WRITINGS OF TROTSKY AVAILABLE

Trotsky closely observed the tumultuous events that shook the world throughout the 1930s - the rise of fascism, the depression, the labour radicalization in the imperialist countries, the civil war in Spain etc. His writings covering these years are available in large 8 1/2 x 11" size. For your copies order from Socialist Books, PO Box 151, Glebe, 2037, and add 20c each for Postage.

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WHEN DOES IT BECOME GENOCIDE?

Figures recently released by the Princess Margaret Children's Medical Research Foundation in Perth reveal that although aborigines account for only 2.5 percent of the population of Western Australia, black babies make up 20 percent of all deaths in the first year of life and 27.5 percent of deaths in the first 4 years of life.

The consequences of denying equal rights, educational opportunities and employment opportunities to a racial minority consistently and over several generations must be clear to anyone but an imbecile. Assuming that the ruling class in this country is not composed of imbeciles, they are deliberately pursuing genocidal policies with regard to the aborigines.

VICIOUS REPRESSION CONTINUES AT LA TROBE

Brian Pola, expelled president of the La Trobe University Student Representative Council, already gaoled indefinitely for failing to purge the contempt of court committed when he entered La Trobe campus after having been banned from doing so, has now received a further 2 months gaol sentence. The latest sentence arose from a charge of "besetting" laid (under Victoria's new Summary Offences Act) as a result of an occupation of the La Trobe administration building earlier this year.

The University Council at La Trobe is attempting to channel all student dissent through the SRC which is unable to implement decisions with which the Council has strong disagreements because of the legislation under which the University was created.

OUT OF PERSPECTIVE

Commenting on the fact that box girder bridges have been found to be susceptible to dangerous rusting because they provide ideal conditions for the growth of a fungus which attacks anti-corrosion paint and metal, the chairman of the Lower Yarra Crossing Authority, Oscar Meyer, has said of Melbourne's Westgate Bridge: "I think this fungus business has been taken a little out of perspective in terms of the more serious problems we face." He admitted that some sections of the unfinished bridge were being repainted because of deterioration.

Last time Westgate fell down, 37 workers were killed.

KEEPING AUSTRALIA WHITE

The Prime Minister of Fiji recently completed talks with the Australian government and left saying that he had made no progress toward gaining free access to Australia for Fijians. Which will surprise no one, given the blatant racism of the government's policies, and the ALP's practice in the past, regarding aborigines and immigration.

It is clear that while the 19th century racist and imperialist justifications for the White Australia Policy are no longer acceptable even to the reactionaries in parliament, the policy itself lives on as a monument to the way in which the capitalist system has distorted all human relations in this area.

SUPERSTITIOUS INSTRUCTION DECLINING IN SCHOOLS

Religious authorities in all states are concerned because the system of religious instruction in schools is everywhere in crisis. The director of the Victorian Council for Christian Education in Schools said recently, "In every state, religious instruction - especially in the secondary schools - is falling down badly. There are no prizes for religious education, and it is generally sneered at by teachers. . . . and students and anyone else with even moderate perception."

WORKERS DECIDE

Construction workers on a new power station at Yallourn in Victoria's La Trobe Valley have decided to work a 35 hour week because of concern about a possible work shortage in the La Trobe Valley in the near future.



READ SOCIALIST ACTION
Published by the Socialist Action League

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APPRENTICES

For young people leaving school, deciding what career to take up is a major decision. Many young people seeking some sort of job security become apprenticed to various trades. However, the majority of apprentices on becoming tradesmen realise there is no job security, they realise their period of apprenticeship was one of exploitation and oppression.

Wages for apprentices are very low indeed. Employers state this is simply because a lot of an apprentice's time is taken up by training. It is certainly true that a certain amount of time is taken up by training but only a small percentage. All training done by apprentices leads to a higher rate of production with the apprentice still at miserably low wages enabling the capitalists to add to their rate of profit. Even during this so called training an apprentice is still producing commodities.

Rates of pay for apprentices in the metal industry as set out by the Metal Trades Award of 1971 are as follows:
For an apprentice on a four year term
1st year - 33.0% of the tradesmen's wage
2nd year - 47.25%
3rd year - 71.0%
4th year - 85.5%

It is easily seen from these figures that apprentices are just another pool of cheap labour.

Apprentices, as well as other workers, work for an industry, producing for that industry but are expected to pay for the tools they use. Apprentices usually have deductions made from their pay to pay for their tools.

In this period of deepening economic crisis apprentices are forced to work harder and harder, to take jobs with deplorable conditions in order to try to secure jobs for when they become tradesmen. They realise that when they are fully qualified, they stand a good chance of losing their jobs, as their employers would then have to pay them the full rate and would not be able to keep them under such firm control.

Apprentices have very few rights when it comes to unionism. They can speak, vote and put forward motions but they cannot go on strike over issues which directly affect them. All issues affect apprentices because any gain made for the tradesmen becomes a gain for an apprentice when he receives his indentures. The fact that apprentices are not allowed to strike can seriously undermine the effectiveness of a strike. While the rest of the factory is out on strike, employers use apprentices to keep production going.

Throughout Australia boards of reference for apprentices are operating. However,

Throughout Australia boards of reference for apprentices are operating. However,



Inside Pentridge

SUPPORT BLACK LIBERATION

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

The Moratorium for Black Rights is calling on people to stop work on July 14 and demonstrate in support of the following demands:

- 1) Absolute ownership, including mineral and forestry rights, of all reserves and traditional areas to be vested in the hands of black communities associated with these areas.
- 2) Full compensation for all land seized since 1770.
- 3) The right and power of black communities to control their lives and their land.
- 4) Support for all black struggles for:
 - a. An immediate and massive Health Programme to eliminate infant mortality;
 - b. Full employment on at least award wages;
 - c. Decent housing and no evictions;
 - d. Black studies and culture in education;
 - e. Real equality of opportunity in education;
 - f. An end to all discriminatory legislation (e.g. Queensland Act).

The Black Moratorium is an important step in building a mass movement in support of black struggles. It is necessary to support and participate in this action, recognising firstly its anticapitalist potential, in that its demands cannot be fully realised under capitalism, and secondly the fact that being a mass movement places it outside the framework of reformist parliamentarism within which capitalism tries to contain challenges to its rule.

In formulating action perspectives we reject two erroneous views of the black struggle held by some on the left. Firstly, the bourgeois-liberals claim that the black struggle is purely "anti-racism" in character, thus absolving capitalism of all blame for the oppression of blacks. Secondly the sectarians reject the black struggle per se as "bourgeois nationalism" and hold that blacks should only struggle for the demands of the "whole" (i.e. white, male) layer of the working class.

Our analysis on the other hand accepts the revolutionary potential of the black struggle, but also holds the perspective of building a mass movement embracing the largest number of people possible to challenge the capitalist system. This entails two things. Firstly, unconditional support for the right of black people to self-determination. Secondly, unconditional support for the right of black people to organise their own independent political organisations to direct and coordinate their struggle.

The colonial expropriation of land for pastoral and mining purposes necessitated a policy of genocide which exterminated the native blacks of Tasmania and reduced the mainland population to about 70,000. With the turn of the century and the growing needs of pastoral and mining concerns for cheap labour, segments of the remaining black population have been assimilated into the capitalist mode of production as the most oppressed and exploited sector of the Australian working class.

Black reserves established to contain and assimilate tribes that had not been smashed and previously subjected to

capital have in recent years experienced the penetration of their last tribal grounds by mining concerns - e.g. Gove Peninsula.

Against this background of capitalist oppression, two factors of considerable importance in the black struggle have emerged. Firstly, there has been a concerted struggle for land rights spearheaded by the Gurindji and taken up by tribes everywhere. Secondly, capitalist liquidation of reserves has forced many blacks into the cities. In Sydney, about 25,000 are concentrated in Redfern, Newtown and Alexandria faced with unemployment, squalid conditions, exorbitant rents - and a concentration of population which will allow them to organise more effectively against their oppression.

Into the streets July 14! Self-determination for the black people of Australia!

SOCIALIST ELECTION CAMPAIGN

BY MILES STUART

Sol Salby, an SYA activist and a member of the editorial board of "Direct Action", is running for the position of president of the University of New South Wales Students' Union. The election campaign is based on a socialist programme for the student movement. The whole purpose of the campaign is to present the socialist alternative to the students.

For a long time student elections have been dominated by the professional student politicians who usually stood for "welfare" student bodies or for achieving minute reforms through negotiations with the administration. The 1972 socialist platform counterposes the idea of mass action to achieve our demands. The Student Union Council being a democratically elected body is seen as a focal point to initiate mass campaigns for a staff-student controlled university, where staff and students make all decisions regarding course restructuring, exams, etc. and with workers control for non-academic staff.

Other demands that the socialist programme includes for the SUC to campaign around are:

- * A free university - abolish all fees - provide a living wage for all students.
- * Good quality, low cost housing for students.
- * No police on campus to arrest or spy on students.
- * Cut all ties with big business.
- * Reactionary Opus Dei off campus!
- * End campus complicity with the Indochina war - abolish the regiment - sever the university's links with Duntroon Military College.
- * Free contraceptives to all students.
- * Free 24 hour child care centres.
- * Write women back into history - stop using male chauvinist texts.
- * Special assistance for blacks to attend uni, as they are an oppressed national minority.
- * Open uni. for adult education - particularly women, migrants and other workers.
- * Open uni. council meetings.
- * Complete civil and other rights for oppressed overseas students.

Sol Salby is a long time student activist at UNSW and has been involved with several mass movements in particular



Sol Salby addressing S.Y.A. National Conference at Eastern Australia

the anti-war movement. Sol has been the convenor of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee and organised the Uni's most successful Moratorium turn out. A founding member of the SYA Sol has been a regular contributor to "Direct Action". A militant defender of the Arab Revolution he has toured Australia and New Zealand extensively speaking on "Zionism and the Arab Revolution". Sol has earned a reputation for his enthusiastic selling of Direct Action on Campus.

Other Socialist candidates include Frans Timmerman - the editor of the students' newspaper "Tharunka" and a long time student activist. Frans, who was already a student leader in 1970 joined SYA a few months after its foundation considering it to be the only viable youth organisation on the left. Frans is running for the position of a student representative on the University Council. Another SYA member, Graham Butt, has been elected as an SUC member unopposed.

PKIU STRIKE POST MORTEM

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

After striking for their first pay rise in three years, the Printing and Kindred Industries Union accepted its leadership's recommendation to return to work. Although the union had demanded an immediate rise of \$10, followed by a further \$10 next year, the PKIU officials persuaded the men to accept the newspaper proprietors' offer of \$8.50 for tradesmen, \$7.50 for other workers, further negotiations in February and an extension of their agreement for three months (to 31st March, 1973). This epitomised the role of the PKIU bureaucrats throughout the strike, which at all times strove to avoid "rocking the boat" culminating in the compromise with the bosses.

The worst mistake of the leadership was the refusal to broaden the strike as much as possible, involving other unions concerned especially the Australian Journalists' Association (AJA). In fact, they actually called on the AJA NOT TO STRIKE - a cynical manoeuvre to increase their bargaining "power" with the bosses. The participation of the

AJA could have been decisive in causing a complete shut-down in the newspaper industry which could have forced the bosses to grant the workers' demands.

The PKIU bureaucrats also were lax in taking measures to counter the effects of scab labour on the strike. Because of it the newspaper proprietors made huge profits through their production costs being down and their wage bill halved. The inaction was motivated by the false belief that capitalism can negotiate its class interests away, or rather ultimatums - that the leadership were forced to sell to the strikers tell a different story.

Apart from the economic injustice, the bosses' conditions imposed great restrictions on the right of the union to strike. A "Disputes Clause" barred strikes unless authorised by the Chapel executive, then the Chapel as a whole and then the union. This was designed to give the Chapel executives - against whose orders the strike began in the first place, authority to suppress any further spontaneous action.

One of the worst features of the terms agreed to was the extension of the agreement. The union had specifically opposed this in the knowledge that a 3 year agreement had the effect of "freezing" wages while galloping inflation eats away living standards.

PKIU Secretary Bennett defended this on the grounds that it was "the best offer available" and that the bosses would withdraw it unless the union accepted it now.

Opposition to the terms of settlement was strong but disorganised, and therefore unsuccessful.

Despite their month long strike - for which they received no strike pay - the union is no nearer to realising its demands than it was at the start of the dispute. There is no guarantee of a further wage increase, and the all-important demand for the abolition of the agreement has not been met.

The PKIU leadership claimed that the dispute had "paved the way" for an "honourable settlement" in next year's negotiations. In fact, all that their "honourable" conduct had achieved was to increase the bosses confidence that equally stringent conditions can be imposed next year with no danger of the union leaders offering effective resistance.

Of course, the great wage makers, the Arbitration Court, must be pleased with the recent turn of events, following their paltry \$2 wage grant in the recent National Wage Case. A significant aspect of this was the loop-hole in the judgment left for unions, through negotiations with their employers, to make up the difference between the \$2 given and the \$12.50 which Hawke and the ACTU had asked for.

Hawke, of course, opportunistically seized upon this loophole to avoid responsibility - once again - for mobilising the whole working class in direct action for their demands. His call for unions to beg with the capitalists for the difference not only left the small unions, with less bargaining power, in the lurch, but now, with the result of this dispute, the larger more powerful unions' prospects as well have been jeopardised.

Following the Court's announcement of the \$2 increase, the PKIU immediately lodged a \$10 wage claim in accordance with Hawke's formula. Their acceptance now of \$8.50 has thus cut the ground from under the feet of even strong unions negotiating for \$10 increases.

RIGHT WING TERRORISM

BY ANDREW JAMIESON

The increasing terrorist activity of the right wing elements in Australian society have culminated in the recent spate of bombings of left-wing bookshops and organizations - particularly in Melbourne. Individuals have also been the target of fascist-like attacks.

Firstly there has been the increasing friction in the Yugoslav community between the Serbs and the Croats (through the Croatian fascist movement - the Ustasha), which has resulted in bashing of individuals and the bombing of an ANZ bank in Melbourne which displayed Yugoslav costumes and culture and the bombing of Marjan Jurjevic's flat (see "Direct Action" No. 17) Following these incidents, the bookshop of the Brisbane branch of the Communist Party of Australia was bombed, causing extensive damage. Also on the same night another bookshop in Brisbane had gun blasts through its windows.

With the moratorium on May 19 gaining support among sectors of students and workers, a death threat was issued to Jim Cairns, the leading figure of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee. During the same antiwar activities leading up to May 19, the Third World Bookshop in Melbourne was set alight. The police did manage to arrest an individual in connection with this arson attempt and his court case is due on June 12. Then came the five petrol bomb and fire attacks on the East Wind Bookshop, the China Friendship Society, Source Bookshop, the headquarters of the Radical Action Movement and Sportgirl (this clothing shop was set fire to by mistake - it was meant for a shop with Jewish ownership next door) - all

occurring within 24 hours. The National Socialist Party claimed responsibility for the attacks.

It has become evident that these activities must be suppressed and the only effective way to eradicate these events is by mobilising a massive number of people against them.

We must take into account the nature of our society in order to effectively defeat the right wing. These attacks did not occur under a fascist system but took place under the regime of capitalist democracy which, in itself, is repressive in the instruments it uses against the workers - the state machinery including the police, judiciary and even ideology. Thus in order to isolate these activities of outright fascist and extreme right wing movements it is not correct to state that the direct responsibility lies with the government which is impressionistically called "fascist" by certain left groups.

Certainly the government maintains its lines of communication with some of these groups, even providing training facilities for some of them. But, let us not be confused. The rulers of this society are on the defensive before the radicalisation of the youth and the growing militancy of the workers. Fascism is not on the order of the day here. But every right wing attack, every attempt of the government to erode basic democratic rights must be vigorously fought by united front mass action. If this is not done, then we are only laying the basis for a much more repressive regime.



Bomb attack victim Marjan Jurjevic (left) talks with Jim Cairns

PORT PHILLIP BAY PIPELINE

BY ROD QUINN

In the days when football club and Sunday School picnics were a family treat, Mordialloc, 16 miles from Melbourne, was a favourite spot. The boat harbour in the creek, the long jetty or Mordialloc's bayside beach won't be the attraction there on June 18 however. The Port Phillip Conservation Society, aquatic and fishing clubs, representatives from Bayside Councils and members of the 26 "rebel" unions (and hopefully from the Melbourne Trades Hall Council) are to support a mass beachfront rally at Mordialloc.

The rally will mark the latest development in the clash between Esso-BHP and those opposed to the laying of an undersea pipeline across Port Phillip Bay.

Esso-BHP's pipeline is to carry ethane gas in a trench on the sea-bed which ends on Mordialloc beach.

Esso-BHP attempted to prove that the project was not dangerous to marine life; they displayed tropical fish in ethane impregnated fish tanks. The fish were apparently unaffected. The propaganda stunt failed when it was learned that in at least one tank the fish and water were being changed overnight.

Conservationists pointed out that (1) the laying of the line established a precedent for other more obnoxious ventures and (2) that in the execution of the project, environmental damage would occur.

Relevant to (1) is the fact that there is provision in the Pipelines Act (section 16) for the minister to authorise the passage of any substance through the pipeline. The vulnerability of the line to anchors and dredges etc. could lead to the mess now familiar to people living around Botany Bay.

According to well-informed conservationists, damage has already occurred as a result of preliminary dredging; they say some Bay abalone fishing grounds have been affected.

Conservationists and skilled planners have proposed that in view of the growing use of pipelines, a land corridor around the Bay could be set aside. In an interview with "Action", the ALP Socialist Left's journal, Bob Fordham, Labor's spokesman on environment, claimed that an interim report on the corridor concept has been prepared by the Town and Country Planning Board and is now in the hands of the Minister. The Government has not responded to Mr. Fordham's request that the document be made public. The suspicion that more pipelines are planned for the Bay is borne out in the reluctance of State authorities to release the report. A favourable report would strengthen the conservationists hand.

Appeals to reason and conscience are a feature of the burgeoning conservation movement. Petitions to parliament, reports and surveys submitted by experts in various fields and personal confrontation with politicians tend to pre-occupy the movement. The amorality and total servility of the state to its big business patrons should be understood by conservationists. Only the development of a powerful movement can hope to beat back huge and unscrupulous interests such as Esso-BHP.

The limited but courageous attempt at picketing the barge repair site, the blocking of the project by some unions and even the direct action by indignant locals have failed to stop the work.

Mr. J. Iggluden, President of the Port Phillip Conservation Council has said that the anti-pipeline fight could, if necessary, continue for years. We feel that in this struggle, in view of the breadth and seriousness of the opposition, a defeat could be inflicted on the giant monopolies involved. The guarantee of success lies only in building a mass movement in full collaboration with organized workers and in the realization that the real enemy and environmental vandal is the outdated capitalist system.

Women in Revolt



WEEK OF ACTIONS SPURS FIGHT FOR ABORTION

Abortion Action Week had a nationwide impact in New Zealand, with six cities taking part. In Wellington and Christchurch, a total of more than 500 persons marched May 5, the large majority of them women. On the marches and at pickets and other activities, the demand was raised for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws and for free, easily available contraception and sterilisation.

The demonstrations were probably the first such actions around a feminist issue in New Zealand since women fought for the vote in the late nineteenth century. Certainly onlookers found it novel to see so many women, of all ages, chanting "a woman's right to choose" as they marched through the crowded city streets.

Public reaction, particularly that of women, was generally favourable. An information booth set up in Christchurch encountered many women who wanted to petition for the repeal of restrictive abortion laws. However, in Wellington, supporters of the "Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child" tried to sabotage the pro-abortion demonstration. About fifty "foetus freaks" mostly men, followed the main march and later, at a public meeting, caused a commotion by trying to shout down the speakers.

Many high-school women took part in the actions and a high-school speaker at the Wellington rally was very well received.

Abortion Action Week was organised by women's liberationists and members of the Abortion Law Reform Association, in some centres through joint action committees. The May Abortion Action Committee in Wellington acted as a national coordinating body, distributing publicity throughout the country. This committee also organised a deputation to Minister of Justice Sir Roy Jackson, which brought forth an expected response: "The government has no plans for changing the law on abortion."

The government is obviously eager to keep the abortion issue quiet in this election year. The right-wing leadership of the opposition Labour party is similarly unwilling to rock this particular boat.

The pressure will be kept up in the coming months, as the elections approach. The enthusiasm shown in Abortion Action Week is a sign that the abortion campaign will grow rapidly as many more women demonstrate to demand their right to choose.

HE'D KNOW

Anti-abortion forces in Adelaide held a public rally on the evening of 29th May to protest the existing legislation in South Australia which makes it easier for women to procure an abortion than in other Australian states. Speakers at the rally claimed that South Australian doctors were not revealing accurate figures about the number of abortions they had performed because if they did so, it would cause a "public outcry".

One speaker, Dr. E. G. Cleary, a pathology reader at Adelaide University said

in his speech that "more than 80% of reported abortions are being done on the grounds of psychiatric disturbance in the matter."

"This is nonsense. There are not that many disturbed mothers around when you consider more than 2,400 abortions were reported last year."

WOMEN'S CENTRE IN SYDNEY

A women's centre has been established in Sydney at 25 Alberta Street, City. It will be available for use by women's liberation groups for meetings and activities, and hopefully will function as an organizing centre and as a place where women can go to find out more about the movement and what is going on. General meetings of Women's Liberation are currently held at the centre on the third Thursday of the month. The centre will be staffed on a roster basis and will be open as much of the time as possible.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION SONG BANNED

The "Chicago Daily News" reports that "Woman is the Nigger of the World" has been banned on most Chicago AM radio stations. The pro-women's liberation song was written by John Lennon and Yoko Ono and sung by Lennon. It was released in April.

In response to objections to the use of the word "nigger" to characterize the status of women, an ad was run in "Billboard" magazine that included the following quote from Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.): "If you define niggers as someone whose life style is defined by others, whose opportunities are defined by others, whose role in society is defined by others, then good news! You don't have to be black to be a nigger in this society. Most of the people in America are niggers."

SCOTTISH FEMINISTS LAUNCH CAMPAIGN FOR ABORTION, CONTRACEPTION

A national conference of Scottish women's liberation groups was held in Glasgow April 22-23. Eighty women from eight groups in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews attended.

The conference decided to launch a national campaign for free contraception and abortion on demand, with actions organised particularly around the Abortion Action Week called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the United States and supported by the Women's National Abortion and Contraception Campaign in England.

Two of the groups had already planned activities on this issue, particularly the Women in Action group of Glasgow.

The conference also agreed to campaign for equal pay when specific issues arose.

Each group have a short report on its aims and activities. Papers on equal pay, women's magazines, the myth of motherhood, and women and revolution were presented and discussed at the conference.

Anti-abortion billboard in the USA

What Is Workers' Control?

The demand for workers' control is on the order of the day. The FGTB (Fédération Generale des Travailleurs de Belgique - General Workers Federation of Belgium) is calling a special congress on this subject. Many British trade unions have adopted it. In France the most left wing workers and students have made workers' control one of their main demands. And in numerous plants and factories in Italy the vanguard workers not only call for workers' control but do their utmost - as at Fiat - to put it into practice at the right times.

This is an old demand of the international working class. It arose in the course of the Russian revolution. The Communist International adopted it at its third congress. It played an important role in the revolutionary struggles in Germany in 1920-23. The Belgian unions raised this demand during the twenties. Trotsky incorporated it into the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International. Andre Renard (Belgian left wing trade union leader) took it up again towards the end of the fifties.

But in the course of the past two decades, the demand for workers' control has fallen into disuse in the broader labour and trade union movement. Two generations of workers have received no education on this subject. It is therefore an urgent matter to define the meaning and the implications of workers' control, to show its value in the struggle for socialism, and to demarcate it from its reformist variants - codetermination (mixed labour and management decision making in the plants) and "participation".

Workers' control is a transitional demand, an anticapitalist structural reform par excellence. This demand stems from the immediate needs of broad masses and leads them to launch struggles that challenge the very existence of the capitalist system and the bourgeois state. Workers' control is the kind of demand that capitalism can neither absorb nor digest, as it could all the immediate demands of the past 60 years - from wage increases to the eight hour day, from social welfare legislation to paid holidays.

At this point we can dismiss an objection raised by sectarian "purists": "calling for anticapitalist structural reforms makes you a reformist" they tell us. "Doesn't your demand contain the word 'reform'?"

This objection is infantile. It is also dishonest - at least on the part of those who do not oppose fighting for reforms on principle. We might be able to understand the argument, difficult as it may be, if it came from certain anarchists who reject the fight for higher wages. These people are wrong, but at least they can be given credit for being logically consistent.

But what can be said of those who support all the struggles for increasing wages, for decreasing the work week, for lowering the pension age, for double pay for vacations, for free medical care and free medicines, but who, at the same time, reject anticapitalist structural reforms?

They don't even realise that they too, are fighting for reforms; but the difference between them and us is that they fight only for those reforms that capitalism has time and again proved it is capable of giving, of incorporating into its system, reforms which thus do not upset the system itself.

On the other hand, the programme of anticapitalist structural reforms has these very special characteristics: it cannot be carried out in a normally functioning capitalist system; it rips the system apart; it creates a situation of dual power. Wage increases - as important as they may be for raising the level of the workers' fighting spirit, as well as their cultural level - can do nothing of the sort.

Actually, the whole argument of our "purist" opponents is based on a childish confusion. Fighting for reforms doesn't necessarily make one a reformist. If that were the case, Lenin himself would be the number one reformist, for he never rejected the struggle to defend the immediate interests of the workers. The reformist is one who believes that the fight for reforms is all that is needed to over-

Participation, No!
Control, Yes!

Workers
Control

throw capitalism, little by little, gradually, and without overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie.

But we proponents of the programme of anticapitalist structural reforms are not in any way victims of this illusion. We believe in neither the gradual advent of socialism nor the conquest of power by the electoral, parliamentary road. We are convinced that the overthrow of capitalism requires a total extra-parliamentary confrontation between embattled workers and the bourgeois state. The programme of anticapitalist structural reforms has precisely this aim - bringing the workers to start the struggles that lead to such a confrontation. Instead of this, our "purist" critics are generally satisfied with struggles for immediate demands, all the while talking in abstractions about making the revolution, without ever asking themselves how will the revolution really be made.

An Eloquent Example: May 1968 in France

The general strike of May 1968 following the one in Belgium in December 1960-January 1961, offers us an excellent example of the key importance of this problem.

Ten million workers were out on strike. They occupied their factories. If they were moved by the desire to do away with many of the social injustices heaped up by the Gaullist regime in the ten years of its existence, they were obviously aiming beyond simple wage scale demands. The way they rejected, en masse, the first "Grenelle agreements" (reached between the de Gaulle government and the union federations on May 27), which would have given them an average wage increase of 14%, clearly reflects this wish to go farther.

But if the workers did not feel like being satisfied with immediate demands, they also did not have any exact idea of precisely what they did want.

Had they been educated during the preceding years and months in the spirit of workers' control, they would have known what to do: elect a committee in every plant that would begin by opening the company books; calculate for themselves the various companies' real manufacturing costs and rates of profit; establish a right of veto on hiring and firing and on any changes in the organisation of the work; replace the foremen and overseers chosen by the boss with elected fellow workers (or with members of the crew taking turns at being in charge).

Such a committee would naturally come into conflict with the employers' authority on every level. The workers would have rapidly had to move from workers' control to workers' management. But this interval would have been used for denouncing the employers' arbitrariness, injustice, trickery and waste to the whole

The Debate On Workers' Control

by Ernest Mandel

country and for organising local, regional and national congresses of the strike and workers' control committees. These, in turn, would have furnished the striking workers with the instruments of organisation and self-defence indispensable in tackling the bourgeois state and the capitalist class as a whole.

The French experience of May 1968 shows one of the main reasons why the demand for workers' control holds a prime position in a socialist strategy aimed at overthrowing capitalism in industrialised countries.

In order for united struggles around immediate demands, culminating in the general strike with occupation of the factories, to lead to the struggle for power, workers cannot initiate the most advanced form as something abstract, artificially introduced into their battle by the propaganda of revolutionary groups. It has to grow out of the very needs of their fight. The demand for workers' control (which involves challenging the power of the bourgeoisies at all levels and which tends to give birth, first in the factory, later in the country at large, to an embryonic workers' power counterposed to bourgeois power) is the best bridge between the struggle for immediate demands and the struggle for power.

There are two other reasons why this demand is so important at the present stage of capitalism and of the workers' anticapitalist struggle.

Capitalist concentration, the growing fusion of the monopolies with the bourgeois state, the ever-increasing role played by the state as guarantor of monopoly profits in imperialist countries, the growing tendency toward organisation and "programming" of the economy under neo-capitalism - all these main characteristics of today's economy transfer the centre of gravity of the class struggle more and more from the plant and from the industrial branch to the economy as a whole.

In the "managed" capitalist economy, everything is tightly interlocked. An increase in wages is annulled by a rise in prices and taxes, or by indirect fiscal manipulations (for example, increasing social security taxes or reducing workers' benefits). Regional employment levels are upset by capitalist rationalisation or by moving investments to other areas. Every effort is made to impose an "incomes policy", tying wages to productivity, but at the same time denying workers the means of accurately determining productivity.

The trade union movement cannot make any serious headway if it limits itself to periodic fights for adjusting or increasing wages. All the logic of the national (and international) class struggle brings the unions to challenge the relationship between prices and wages, wages and money, wage increases and increases in productivity, which the employers - and the governments in their pay - seek to impose on them as "inevitable". But this challenge cannot be mounted effectively, that is, in an informed way, unless the books are opened, unless secrecy in banking is done away with, unless the workers drag out and expose all the secret mech-

anisms of profit and of capitalist exploitation.

It goes without saying that, in the same spirit, workers' control must be exercised by the elected delegates of the workers in view of the entire working class and the nation as a whole, and not by a few trade union leaders meeting in secret with a few employers' leaders. We shall come back to this, because the distinction is extremely important.

We are living in a period of more and more rapid technological change - the third industrial revolution. In the course of these changes, various branches of industry, various occupations, various jobs, disappear in the space of a few years. The capitalists constantly strive to subordinate the work of men to the demands of more and more expensive and more and more complex machines.

At the same time that manual labour is little by little disappearing from the factories, the number of technicians directly involved in production is increasing. The level of training and education of workers is rapidly rising. The tendency towards general academic education up to the age of 17 or 18, which is becoming more common, is a very clear indication of this.

But the more education workers have, the more inclined they are to fight for their rights - and the less will they stand for the fact that those who run society, the directors and the executives, often know less about production and the functioning of machines than the workers themselves. Yet they tell the workers what they must produce and how they should produce it. The hierarchical structure of the enterprise will weigh all the more heavily on workers as the gap in technical knowledge between workers and employers widens and becomes maintained only by an artificial monopoly on the details of the functioning of the enterprise as a whole, which the employer jealously keeps to himself.

It is a fact that statistics on the causes of strikes, in Great Britain as well as in Italy, reveal that industrial conflicts are less and less concerned with wages per se and more and more concerned with the organisation of work, the process of production itself. Belgium is a little backward in this connection, but it will catch up soon enough!

The demand for workers' control, by involving the immediate right of inspection and veto for workers in a whole range of aspects of the life of the enterprise - while declining all responsibility for its

management as long as private property and the capitalist state are still in existence - thus answers a need born out of social and economic life itself. The structure of the enterprise no longer corresponds to the needs of the economy nor to the aspirations of the workers.

In this sense, this demand is eminently anticapitalist, because capitalism is not definitively characterised by low salaries nor even by a large number of unemployed workers (although periodic recessions remain inevitable and important). It is characterised by the fact that capital, the capitalists, rule men and machines. Challenging this right to rule, and counterposing another kind of power to it, means taking concrete actions to overthrow the capitalist system.

Participation, No! Control, Yes!

Experience teaches workers that their immediate and future fate depends on the functioning of the economy as a whole. They more and more conclude from this that it would be useless to fight just to defend their purchasing power or to raise their wages without concerning themselves with prices, with the cost of living index, with fiscal problems, with investments, and with the capitalist "rationalisation" of the factories.

In fact, the capitalist class too often manages to "recoup" wage increases by way of price increases or increases in direct or indirect taxes which are saddled on the workers.

It cheats at the escalator clause game by faking the index or by applying the notorious "index policy" (price increases that avoid or skirt around those products selected for calculating the index).

It nibbles away at the power of trade unions in areas where the working class is very militant by systematically removing investments and enterprises from those areas, thus creating unemployment (the Liege metalworkers know a thing or two about this!). It always assures itself a reserve supply of labour by arranging the coexistence of rapid growth areas with areas that are underdeveloped or on the decline.

In short, it pulls all the strings of

article reprinted here originally appeared in *La Gauche*, a Belgian leftist newspaper edited by Ernest Mandel. Two sections on the response of Belgian trade union movement to concept of workers' control have been omitted from the version published

Ernest Mandel was prevented from visiting Australia in 1970. The government refused to allow him to fulfill speaking engagements here.

economic life and economic policy to defend its class interest.

If from now on workers are content with demanding wage increases, they are sure to be fleeced. This does not mean that struggles for wages and immediate demands are no longer needed or useless - indeed the contrary is true. But it means that we must not limit ourselves to demanding for labour a larger portion of the new value it alone has created. It means that labour must challenge the functioning of the capitalist economy as a whole.

In the old days, employers were content to defend their divine right to be "captain of the ship" - the sacred right of property. Every trade union demand that required some sort of interference in the management of the enterprise (to say nothing of the management of the economy as a whole) was rejected with indignation as a "usurpation", a first step toward "confiscation", "theft".

But today the capitalists' arguments have become more flexible. From the argument of the divine right of employers the bosses have prudently retreated to the argument of "defending the enterprise". They admit implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) that workers should "have something to say" on what happens in their enterprise, their locality, indeed the economic life of the country as a whole (certain international treaties, such as the one creating the European Economic Community or the Common Market, even circumspectly mention the right of workers to be "associated" with solving the problems of the international economy).

This evolution in the thinking of the owners of industry obviously corresponds to an evolution in the relationship of forces. When capital was all powerful and labour feeble and divided, the employers were able to rule by brute force. When capital becomes weak, because its system has entered the stage of incurable structural crisis on a world scale, and labour organises and becomes considerably strengthened, more subtle means of domination have to be invented; otherwise the whole system of domination runs the risk of disintegrating.

Thus we pass almost imperceptibly from the cynical doctrine of the "sacred rights of property" (that is, "might makes right") to the sugar coated and hypocritical doctrine of "human relations". This is born the mirage of the "plant community" in which capital and labour should be associated "in due regard for their legitimate interests".

But the evolution of industrial doctrine is not simply a passive reflection of the evolution of the relationship of forces between social classes. It also reflects a tactical aim of the capitalists. This tactic seeks to involve the trade union organisations, or even representatives elected by the workers, in a daily practice of class collaboration. It is supposed to defuse the explosive character of the social conflict and immerse the working class in a permanent climate of conciliation and bargaining - a climate that blunts all militancy and all attempts

to counterpose the organised power of the workers to the financial power of the capitalists.

An analogy can be made between the change in the bourgeoisie's attitude beginning in 1914, first with respect to the social democracy, then the trade union leaderships, and now this evolution towards a more flexible attitude concerning the "exclusive and sacred rights of private property".

In all three cases, the bourgeoisie sought to weaken its class adversary by seduction, after having vainly tried to smash it by violence, repression, or economic pressure. Thus social democratic ministers have been "integrated" into coalition governments. Union leaders have been "integrated" into labour-management committees. Why not "integrate" workers' delegates into factory councils "associated with management"?

The experience with codetermination in West Germany is especially revealing on this subject. It has been a powerful means of sapping the strength of the trade unions and militancy of the workers.

The workers had the illusion of having acquired "rights" within the plants; the plants became in their eyes, to a certain extent "their" plants. But when a turn in the economic situation took place, they lost not only their bonuses (accorded by the capitalists in the period of great labour shortage) but even a part of their "normal" income, if not their jobs.

The capitalist plants once again revealed their nature: that is, a domain where the employer is the reigning monarch, leaving to his beloved workers only the illusion of an "association" - a booby trapped "association".

De Gaulle invented nothing new with his "participation". Having to sell their labour power to employers who are free to hire them when the "profitability of the enterprise" requires it, workers remain proletarians. Having free command over men and machines (very often acquired with the money of others, that is to say, the state's), employers remain what they were before - capitalists.

Naive pundits, advocates of class collaboration, retort: "You wicked Marxists that you are, preach class warfare to the bitter end, while the sweet and reasonable capitalists are ready to make concessions and to put their class struggle under wraps". Obviously, the reality is nothing like this.

Seeking to ensnare the workers' organisations and the workers in the trap of class collaboration, the employers pursue, from their side, a relentless class struggle. They keep their weapons intact: financial riches, capitalist ownership of industry and banks, subordination of economic life to their profit needs.

But, at the same time, they paralyse or seek to destroy the sole weapon workers have at their commands: their capacity to organise and to launch a common struggle for their class interests, that is, operating workers' organisations for the benefit of workers. In looking to sub-

ordinate these organisations to "the general interest", while the economy is more than ever dominated by capitalist profit, the capitalists have obtained a resounding victory in the class struggle against the wage workers.

This is why trade unions and workers must refuse to make the slightest concession to the "team spirit" the employers spread around. Workers must systematically refuse to take the slightest particle of responsibility for the management of capitalist enterprises and the capitalist economy. Inspection in order to challenge, yes; participation in, or sharing of, management, no. That is where the interests of the workers lie.

Two arguments are often counterposed to this traditional position of the working class movement, which Andre Renard was still strongly defending in "Vers le Socialisme par l'Action" (Towards Socialism Through Action).

First of all, it is claimed that the workers have, despite everything, a stake in the survival of the enterprises: doesn't the disappearance of a large plant mean the loss of thousands of jobs, an increase in unemployment? This argument overlooks the fact that in the capitalist system competition and capitalist concentration are inevitable. In "associating" the fate of the workers with that of the plants, one not only risks tying them to the losers in a fierce battle. One also carries capitalist competition into the ranks of the working class, when all experience has shown that it is only by their class organisation and their class unity that the workers have any kind of chance of defending themselves against the capitalist system.

The same argument has no more validity when applied to regions. "We don't want socialisation of cemeteries; that's why we have to join the bosses to save our (!) industries", certain trade unionists say.

The sad thing about this is that these industries are not at all "ours" but the capitalists', even if nine tenths of the capital does come from state subsidies. These industries are subject to the laws of capitalist competition. To drag them to the dictates of profit making and profit. It is to acquiesce to "rationalisation", to increased productivity, to the speed up, to intensified exploitation of the workers. It also means accepting reductions in the number of jobs. From that to accepting layoffs, even reductions in pay, is only a step.

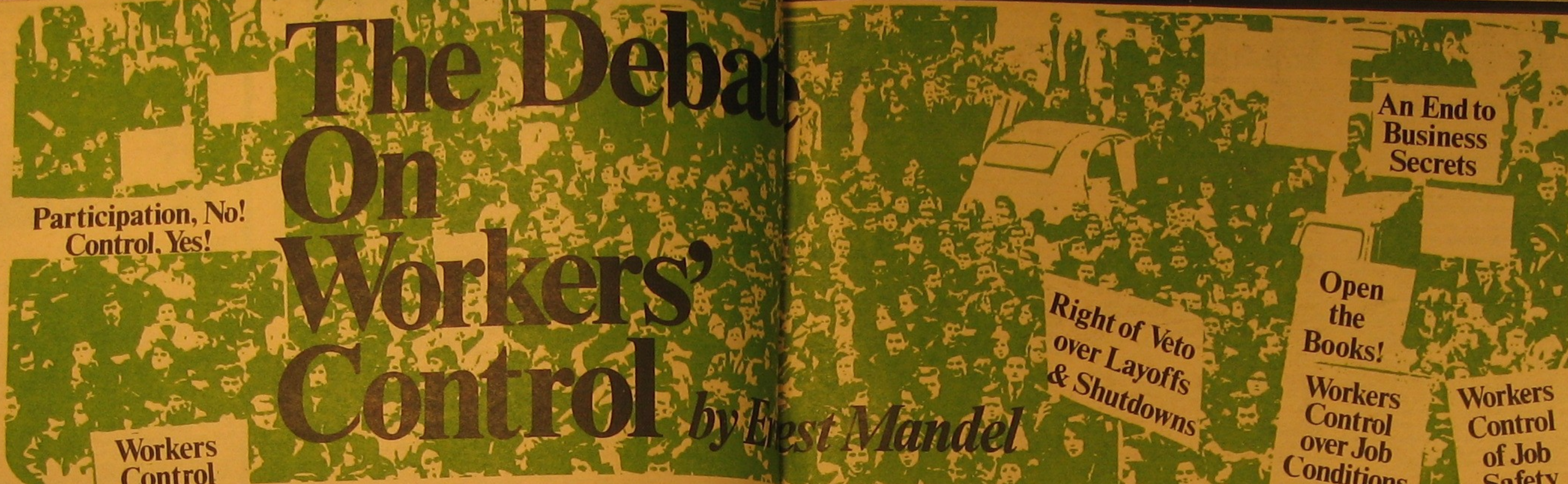
As soon as you take the first step on this path, the employers' blackmail becomes all powerful. In order to smash it, it is necessary to reject collaboration from the very beginning and start to enforce maintenance of the level of employment by structural anticapitalist reforms.

And then there is a more subtle argument. "In order to control, you have to be informed. Why not participate with the sole aim of gleaning information?" The sophist adds that there is no absolute distinction between participation and control.

The answer is very simple: everything depends on the objective to be achieved by the action and on the practical course that is followed. Is it a question of "participating" but not accepting the slightest responsibility for the management of the enterprise? But what opportunity should we wait for then, before revealing to all the workers the much touted "gleaned information"? Such a course is out of the question; the capitalists would refuse to play this game; the cards are stacked against them! Right! But if we didn't reveal this information, if we accepted secrecy, "co-operation" and bits of "co-responsibility", wouldn't we be playing the capitalists' game? In appearance the difference between "participation" and "confrontation" is hard to establish; but all we have to do to realise the difference is to record, in each instance, the reaction of the employers, even the most "liberal" employers.

"Then you just want agitation for the sake of agitation, demanding the impossible", reply the defenders of the bourgeois order. Not at all. We want to replace one system with another, the class power of capital with the class power of the workers.

To this end we want the workers to have a very clear understanding of the thousands of ways the bourgeoisie has, in the present system, of deceiving them, ex-





...Continued

plotting them, fleeing them. That's why we demand workers' control. And if a radical change in the relationship of forces makes this demand realisable - for a brief transitional period - we would want, in order to realise this demand, the workers to organise in such a way as to create, within the plants and the economy as a whole, a counterpower that would rapidly become the nucleus of a new state power.

"Participation" means: associating the workers with capital; accepting secret arrangements with capital, permanent and secret meetings, economic "co-ordinating" committees, and even "control committees" (such as those in gas and electricity) where the workers actually control nothing at all but become co-responsible, in the eyes of public opinion, for the exorbitant rates charged and for the fat profits of the monopolies.

"Workers' control" means: full and complete disclosure, discussion of all "secrets" of the enterprise and the economy in front of general assemblies of the workers; baring all the intricate machinery of the capitalist economy; "illegal" interference of the workers in all the prerogatives of Property, Management and the State. This in itself signifies birth of a new kind of power, infinitely more democratic and more just than that of bourgeois "democracy", a power in which all the workers (85% of the active population of this country) together would make the decisions that determine their destiny.

Six Propositions, In Conclusion

How can the theme of workers' control be integrated into real struggles by the workers? How can agitation for workers' control contribute to stimulating the combativity of the toiling masses, to raising their level of class consciousness, to triggering struggles that go beyond the framework of the capitalist system, that is, contribute to creating a pre-revolutionary situation?

I have tried to answer these questions first by an analysis of the problem in general, relating the current objections to this strategy and critically examining the timidity of the CSC and the FGTB in dealing with, if not a genuine struggle for workers' control, at least the problems raised by this slogan.

Obviously I don't pretend to close the question in this way. I want to set off a real debate. I hope especially that the rank and file, union activists, genuine representatives of the workers in the plants, will participate in this discussion.

The more that workers' control is discussed among the workers, the more will controversy be aroused by this problem, and the more numerous will become the blue-collar workers, the white-collar workers, and the technicians who will enlarge the horizon of their perspectives beyond the limits of reformism and neo-reformism.

But theoretical discussion, abstract discussion (it makes little difference if it is directed toward grasping the question as a whole), is not enough to stimulate the kind of perspective-changing discussion we refer to above. Something else is needed, a complementary factor, in the way of practical proposals, and I am anxious to end this series of articles with these proposals.

They must all correspond with the criteria

set forth in the beginning of our analysis; they must be based on the immediate needs of the workers: they must be of such nature that capitalism cannot integrate them into a normal functioning of its system; they must thus create a situation of dual power which will tend towards a global confrontation between capital and labor; they must enlarge the workers' practical experience as to the fundamental nature of the capitalist system and the ways in which it can be challenged in its entirety, that is, they must prepare the masses to approach this challenge under optimum conditions of consciousness and organization.

1. OPEN THE BOOKS
Innumerable sources--most of them non-Marxist, indeed distinctly bourgeois in origin--attest to the impossibility of relying on employers' statistics to learn the truth about the economic life of this country (as well as all capitalist countries). The employers' balance sheets, their financial statements, their declarations of inheritance, falsify economic reality.

These falsifications are not manufactured gratuitously. They have very definite ends in view, whether it be cheating on taxes; understating profits in order to justify refusing a wage increase; or deceiving the public about the real facts behind a particular trade union demand.

Every time negotiations with the employers are opened, whether they be on wage increases, an increase in productivity, or on the economic consequences of a trade-union demand, we must routinely reply: "We refuse to discuss this blindfolded. Lay the cards on the table. Open your books."

The value of this demand as an anticapitalist structural reform, that is, as a transitional demand, will be all the greater if three conditions are added to it:

First, opening of the company's books must be done publicly and not be limited to a closed meeting with a few trade union leaders whose tendency towards good fellowship with the bosses is well-known. Secondly, analysis of the balance sheets and of the bookkeeping system should be facilitated by the adoption of legal measures for uniformity in accounting procedures. Finally, and especially, verification of the balance sheets and the general accounts need not necessarily be made on the basis of the figures, but must be effected at the plants themselves, so that the mass of workers are in on this examination.

It is easy to doctor a balance sheet by undervaluing a supply of raw materials. But this value, although it has disappeared from the figures, cannot remain hidden from the workers who receive warehouse, maintain, and regularly check this same merchandise.

The objection is often heard that workers would be incapable of verifying balance sheets. We shall soon publish in *La Gauche* some concrete suggestions, advanced in Great Britain by the comrades of the Campaign for Workers' Control, that will facilitate study of balance sheets and of capitalist accounting procedures by workers' representatives. Generally, these objections are greatly exaggerated by those who wish property "rights" to remain untouched. They are the identical twin of objections that used to be advanced by reactionary regimes to justify their denial of universal suffrage: the workers are too "ignorant," "badly educated," "unprepared to assume this grave responsibility," etc. etc.

2. RIGHT OF VETO OVER LAYOFFS AND PLANT SHUTDOWNS
The major motivating force behind the workers' struggles for the past few years has without doubt been fear of unemployment, in Wallonia and in many Flemish regions.

The reclassification and occupational retraining program has proved a failure. It has not been able to prevent a rapid decline in the level of employment in the target districts. As far as industrial reconversion is concerned, experience teaches that you can rely neither on big business nor on its unitary state, neither on various bourgeois governments nor on coalitions with the bourgeoisie, to make reconversion operational.

In these conditions, the workers more and more have the feeling that it is wrong for an economic system, for which they do not have the slightest responsibility to make them bear the brunt of the costs of employment, what the workers must demand from now on is an effective veto right over layoffs and shutdowns.

This concrete application of the principle of workers' control involves the forcible reopening of plants shut down by their owners and the management of these plants by the workers themselves. It also involves making funds available, at the expense of the capitalist class as a whole, to enable these plants to operate during the transitional phase, before newly created modern plants, publicly owned and administered under workers' control, outdo these old rattletraps.

Our comrade Pierre Le Greve proposed a bill along this line when he was a deputy (in parliament). It is useful to come back to this every time a shutdown or a layoff of workers occurs--not to encourage any illusions that that particular item of workers' control can be obtained through electoral or parliamentary means, but to stimulate the critical awareness of the workers and oblige the leaders of the mass organizations of the working class, which are making the demand, to take a position on these proposals.

3. WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN THE PLANT
The hierarchic structure of the plant seems more and more anachronistic, to the extent that the level of technical and cultural qualifications of the workers is raised.

In the most streamlined, modern industrial plants, where a high percentage of personnel is composed of technicians with middle or high level technical education, this anachronism is especially striking. But even in industry as a whole, the growing complexity of production processes results, for example, in teams of maintenance workers often understanding the exact mechanics of manufacturing, and the bottlenecks that periodically arise, better than highly paid engineers--not to mention members of the board of directors!

To the many on-the-job conflicts that stem from the hierarchic character of the relationships between blue and white-collar workers on the one hand, department heads and foreman on the other, must be added the stresses in the workers' life occasioned by the more and more frequent changes in organization of the work.

Changes in techniques often do away with trades and skills acquired through hard work and years of experience. Speed-up increases workers' nervous tension and fatigue, and adds to the number of occupational accidents. The principal victims of these changes cannot be satisfied with the modest right to make suggestions, accorded them by legislation presently on the books, in the plant councils and the health and safety committees. They have to demand overall workers' control of organization of the work, a control that involves not only the right of being informed in advance of all proposed changes, but also the right to be able to oppose and prevent these changes.

When workers adopt the habit of answering each incident that sets them against a department head or a foreman with the demand for workers' control, a big step will have been taken in the direction of overturning hierarchic relationships of replacing the "heads" by workers elected by their fellows, recallable at any time, and responsible only to the rank and file, not to the boss.

4. WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX
In Belgium we live under the system of a sliding wage scale, that is, automatic adjustment of wages to every increase in the official cost-of-living index above a certain threshold, which varies according to the parity agreements (generally, 2.5 or 2 per cent). This system partially protects the workers against the erosion of the purchasing power of their wages and salaries. This guarantee is only partial for reasons explained many times in this newspaper. In this article it is sufficient to demonstrate only one of the reasons for the lack of representativeness and honesty in the retail price index.

The index is, of course, put out by the government. And the government is only too often tempted to give a bit of a push in the direction of its "index policy," (i.e. it's cheating), not only to please the employers, but also and especially to space the periodic adjustment of civil service workers' salaries--which weigh heavily on the budget.

It is true that the Price Commission has the right not to recognize the honesty of index, to oppose this or that decision of the government concerning prices or price increases. But this right of opposition carries with it no power to enforce any changes.

A genuine workers' control over the consumer price index--an indispensable measure to efficiently protect the purchasing power of the workers against the permanent rise in the cost of living--would therefore involve some power of the trade-union opposition to act (right of veto) on the government index. It also involves this control being instituted at the bottom where teams of workers and housewives would regularly determine the real price increases in different parts of the country.

5. ELIMINATION OF SECRECY IN BANKING

Fiscal manipulation has been one of the bonanzas for all those who have claimed to rationalize management of the capitalist economy of this country in the course of the last fifteen years. This is reflected in one of the most striking swindles of the system, a swindle that results in wage and salary earners paying, at the same time, the major part of both indirect and direct taxes.

The proliferation of legal measures, fiscal reforms, administrative controls, is admittedly unable to eliminate this flagrant injustice. Elimination of secrecy in banking and introduction of workers' control on all financial operations, would quickly put an end to this scandal.

We recently witnessed a tremendous flight of capital from France. Everybody wondered who started it. The de Gaulle government was very careful to state that it isn't hard to answer that question, at least in large part.

Actually, in the private property system, confidence between bankers and large depositors never prevails to the point that vast financial operations can take place without leaving any written traces. A workers' control over, bank records--especially one exercised by bank employees devoted to the people--would quickly ferret out most of the guilty.

6. WORKERS' CONTROL OVER INVESTMENT

One of the most striking characteristics of neocapitalism is that there is a socialization of a growing part of production and overhead costs, while profits and property obviously remain private. In this country, a large part of long-term investment has been financed by the state in the course of the last twenty years. The study of successive balance sheets of the Societe Nationale de Credit a l'Industrie (National Industrial Credit Society) is particularly instructive on this question. Sidmar as well as Chertal have in large part been financed with the help of public funds. It will be the same for the rationalization proposed by the Cockerill-Dugree-Providence-Esperance merger.

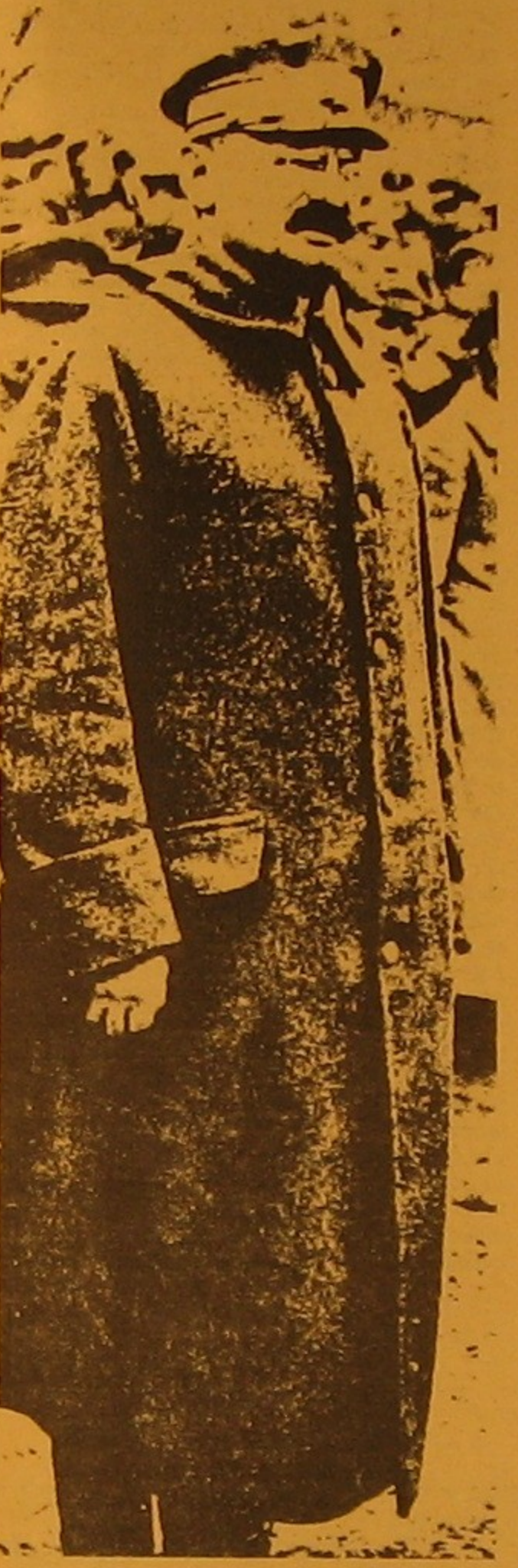
But while an increasing part of the funds come from the pocket of the taxpayer (that is, mostly from the pocket of the workers), profits and stocks and bonds are not the only things that remain in the private domain. The right of decision on the regional distribution of investments and on their destination also remains in the private domain.

To demand workers' control over these investments is thus to demand not core-responsibility of union leaders for capitalist management of industry, but the right of union veto over these investments, as to the geographical apportionment, form, and destination projected by the employers.

It is clear that this kind of control opens the way to formulating a development plan for the economy as a whole, based on priorities established by the workers themselves. The MPW (Movement Populaire Wallon-Walloon People's Movement) used to speak about this a great deal, when the "Wallonian People's Plan" was being discussed. But this "plan" was discarded along with a lot of their reasonableness by the PSB (Parti Socialiste de Belgique--Socialist Party of Belgium).

The campaign for workers' control forms a whole which, without neglecting the day to day problems of the workers, acts in a definite direction: accentuating their distrust of the capitalist system, increasing their confidence in their own strength, and resolving to take their economic future into their hands--by their own anticapitalist action.

THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL PART I



[With this issue we are beginning the serialization of Pierre Frank's *The Fourth International: A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement*. The translation from the French is by Ruth Schein.

Introduction

Up to the present, no study has been written on the history of the Trotskyist movement. Some work is presently being done in the universities, but it bears only on certain periods or on very limited aspects of the movement.

The principal aim of this book is to give today's young militants some knowledge of the past of the Trotskyist movement. The first part of this work served as material for a course at a school conducted by the French section of the Fourth International in 1948, and was published at that time. It appears here without any appreciable changes, with additional material to cover the ensuing period.

Within the limits of a work of this size, we wanted to give what seemed to us the most essential aspects of the history of the Fourth International. Until now the Trotskyist movement, for reasons connected with the size of its forces, has exercised its influence on the class struggle principally in the domain of ideas, by its analyses and its elaborations of perspectives and programs. Generally speaking, it has not been able to lead mass mobilizations and mass actions based on its program and its slogans; the objective reasons for this are given in this book.

Thus a history of the Fourth International would have to describe above all the positions taken by the organization in the gigantic social struggles that have characterized the world in the course of the forty-five years of the Trotskyist movement's existence. In addition, such a history would have to show how the Trotskyist movement, in the course of these struggles, defended and enriched the formulations of revolutionary Marxism, as developed from the time of Marx down to the early congresses of the Communist International. We would have to do our utmost to illuminate the most important stages in the life of the Fourth International, the problems it had to resolve, the debates that took place, and the positions that were reached.

We have limited this book to the history of the international movement and have not treated the history of its sections, except to the extent that a particular section might at a particular time play an especially important role in the history of the International.

The history of the Trotskyist movement scarcely poses any problem in connection with what historians call "periodization." The transition from capitalism to the worldwide victory of socialism, inaugurated by the October revolution, is turning out to be much longer and more complex than anyone had imagined in 1917; no other political movement has followed this transitional period as closely as has the Trotskyist movement, whose successive stages coincide with the very stages of that history itself since 1923.

The Trotskyist movement was born in the USSR at the close of the revolutionary wave that followed the first world war, when a period of relative stabilization of capitalism began. It expanded internationally during the great economic crisis that began in 1929. It moved toward construction of a new revolutionary international after the debacle of the German working-class movement in 1933, and founded the Fourth International on the eve of the second world war. It reoriented itself in accordance with the tremendous upheavals of the postwar period. And today the Trotskyist movement is preparing for a new phase concomitant with the turn inaugurated on a world scale in 1968.

In this book we have done no more than mention the mountains of slander heaped on Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement. We have never yet dealt with this question in depth. Because of the vast proportions the calumny assumed and the aftereffects that still remain, this question will no doubt constitute an important subject for future historians. A century ago Karl Vogt and others furiously slandered Marx and his supporters, calling them the *Schwefelbande* (devil's gang) within the movements for emancipation. How tiny and pale were those vilifications compared to those underwritten by powerful states, heaped high in an effort to make the Fourth International appear the *Schwefelbande* of the twentieth century.

This work leaves aside a good number of questions. Given the aim and the size we had set for this book, we could not go into numerous details. There was no possibility of using extensive quotations without requiring three to four times the number of pages. We had to stick to essentials. We hope that we have succeeded in correctly setting forth how the Trotskyists advanced internationally in the domain of theory and practice, in the defense of

positions previously taken, and in the elaboration--difficult in every epoch and rendered still more arduous by the conditions under which the movement has fought--of new positions in the face of new problems posed by the changes taking place all over the world.

The author of this book has participated in this "long march" of the Trotskyists for more than forty years, first becoming part of the international leadership of the Trotskyist movement in 1931. Although this work very largely expresses the views of numerous leading members of the International, it cannot be considered an "official" history of the Fourth International. We do not think that for Marxists there can be an "official" history, even of their own organization.

The organization is an instrument of political combat, which inevitably necessitates a line of action determined according to the rules of democratic centralism. History, to a great extent, serves to determine politics; its determination cannot be placed at the service of politics. For having abandoned Marxism on this question, as on others, Stalinism has obliged the historians under its thumb to write "official" histories, forcing them in fact periodically to rewrite history as a function of the line of the moment. They have succeeded only in accumulating historical falsifications as well as in proving their growing incapacity to draw objective lessons from history.

November 15, 1968

P.F.

Chapter 1: Historical Continuity

The Trotskyist movement, born in 1923 at the onset of the Stalinist degeneration, has taken part ever since in all the great events of our age, thus assuring the continuity of revolutionary Marxism on a world scale. Between the Communist League and the First International, there was a lapse in time of a dozen years in the field of organization--although political continuity was assured by Marx and Engels personally. Between the First and Second International, there was also a gap of almost fifteen years--the political continuity being assured by Engels, who established a kind of international center by corresponding with leaders of parties in the most important countries. The years of World War I fell between the Second and the Third International. This time it was the Bolshevik party and Zimmerwald that assured the maintenance of the Marxist movement.

Our movement, on the other hand, was born within the Third International. From 1923 to 1933 we fought--within its ranks or outside--as a faction of the Communist International, trying to wrest its leadership from the hands of the centrists and place it once again on the path of revolutionary Marxism. When objective conditions no longer made it possible to pursue this aim, we proceeded directly to the building of new parties and a new, revolutionary international, taking as our point of departure the first four congresses of the Communist International. There was no break, no gap in the continuity of the revolutionary movement, and that despite the enormous ebb in the labor movement starting in 1923, despite the degeneration of the October Revolution, despite the infamous role exercised by Stalinism within the working class.

Congresses and resolutions of a revolutionary organization are not mere matters of form. They do a good deal more than define policy for the immediate period. They record, for the collectivity constituted by the party, its experience, its rules of action, the framework in which--while renewing its membership with the passage of time--it continues to evolve. Should the organization cease to exist, all this remains as historical data that will certainly be used by those who, at some later date, will want to rebuild the revolutionary party. But only as historical data! They would inevitably have to grope about, sometimes for a very long time, to reestablish, to re-create, an adequate framework for the organization. The degeneration of the Third International and the resulting dispersion of its forces have enormously hindered the progress of our movement, which has experienced numerous crises. But it is enough to imagine for a moment what would have happened if the thread had been broken--if there had no longer been, at a given moment, an international Marxist center--to realize by how much the difficulties would have been multiplied, to have an idea of the even greater obstacles revolutionists would have had to overcome in order to reestablish a firm political movement and to rebuild an international leadership.

History will not fail to point out that it was Trotsky, through the sum total of his works, who made the greatest contribution to this task of maintaining historical continuity. Although the names *Communist-Internationalist* and *Bolshevik-Leninist* have been borne by our various organizations, the name *Trotskyist* will most probably be, and correctly so, the one that history will give us.

[To be continued]

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

TEACHER MILITANCY

INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE LEES, PRESIDENT TTA

D.A. What New features are presented by the present struggle of technical teachers?

G.L. Well I think that technical teachers have taken a step right out in front, its the first time there has been a general strike of teachers in Victoria. And I think that the significance will be as great for the whole movement of education as the first strike taken by the VSTA in 1965. I think that it has lifted the level of action to a qualitatively new plane. Now one of the features of this strike was the remarkable unity of technical teachers. There was unity between active members of the Liberal party and active members of the extreme left. The second thing was the spirit of the strike, we set out to make it a new style of strike. We estimate that 20% of the effectiveness would be the withdrawal of labour and 80% of the effectiveness would be the organised activity of say, 3000 of our members working as full-time organisers. And that proved to be right. Wherever we had good programs of action that the teachers could become involved in there was no thought of going back to work. In a few of the isolated country towns where it was difficult to organise such programs they started to become uneasy. So that new style strike was the key point to it, and if you asked people of the whole thing, for the first time we worked as equals. The initiative, the enthusiasm, was really incredible. The other aspect of it was this: that stepping right out in front we did not isolate ourselves, as some people thought we would, we in fact drew support from everywhere. Now we drew support from primary teachers, secondary teachers and particularly from the trade unions and wherever we could get to the public we got their support. This proves that the whole education movement is ready for a qualitative step forward, in my opinion, and that we can get a movement of the dimensions of the moratorium. The fact that we got 5,000 teachers marching to parliament house after 3 days organising indicates what potential there is for a real mass movement, on the question of education.

D.A. Why do you think the question of education at this time could mobilize thousands of people in the streets and make it a really mass issue, a mass attack on the system?

G.L. I think that all the work that is being done by all the various organisations in exposing the shortcomings of education--not just the question of staff shortages, the fact of inadequate buildings, but more particularly the question of inequality of opportunity, the irresponsible attitude taken by governments--they have all gradually had their impacts. So that over the years the ground work has been laid. Now, the other thing is that there's been a more penetrating analysis of education in the last couple of years. The old myths that education will emancipate the individual, the myths of the examination system, and the scholarship system, they have all gradually been exposed. This enormous ground work of explanation has brought people to a point where they see that the issue is far deeper than they ever believed before and they are now coming to grips with some of the essential aspects of the education system. Now I think this groundwork has created the basis for big movement forward.

D.A. Would you agree that we have an education system which is largely subordinated to and related to the class structure? What do you think can be done about this in the long term?

G.L. I haven't thought about it in terms of being subordinated to the class structure. It may be, I just haven't really thought that through. But one thing is very clear, that one of the roles of the education system is to reproduce the existing class structure, I feel sure about that. If you look at the role of the exclusive private school, it is set there really to produce people who will be rulers of the country, politicians, leaders of the big industries and so on. The poor schools have the effect of making the child feel that he is a failure, he gets used to the idea, he knows he is not going to be able to

compete in the rat race, he accepts his position. So that you have a high drop out rate, lack of aspiration and a school system that does reproduce the class structure. I don't think that it is the main role of the school, I think it has other functions in practice. One of them is to get people to passively accept the society in which we live. The other one is to adjust themselves to the idea of bureaucratic institutions. Another very important role of the school, is the child minding role. Beyond all this there are genuine educational aspects, but the fundamental roles are the ones I have outlined.

D.A. You started your speech at the May 2nd strike rally by saying something to the effect that teachers are realising that the idea of professionalism is not correct and that teachers are coming to see themselves as workers like other sections of the working class. Could you expand on this?

G.L. The term of professional, as I said, has two aspects. One is the idea that a teacher as a member of a profession has to a certain extent been emancipated from the lower ranks of society, and that he or she should be forever grateful for that and should never therefore kick up a fuss, complain or do anything else. This aspect of it is used for the purpose of trying to stop teachers from taking up legitimate demands, and to compel them to be quiet and accept things. This must be completely rejected by everybody who is concerned about the future of education. This is the worst aspect of the whole professional line, apart from its elitist implications, which also have to be rejected. It is linked up with the whole concept of the bureaucracy, of the rat race, and with the concept that you have people who are to lead and people who are to be led. The genuine aspect of professionalism is that teachers have to be educators and accept the ethics of their position. They have to be fully

there's nothing particularly special about them, that they are just like other people who work. They work for wages and their best allies are the members of the trade unions.

D.A. The TTA has decided to affiliate with the ACTU. What do you see as some of the advantages and consequences of this step?

G.L. Well most of the students who go to tech, schools are sons and daughters of working class people, in the main, trade unionists. So we have an immediate link up there. The second thing is that the trade unions are a very powerful force in Australia. We feel that if the trade unions have a good educational programme throughout the trade union movement and can effectively use its pressure in the interests of advancing education, it will certainly advance the educational campaigns. The other thing is that teachers know from their experience that the trade unions are their strength and main backing and that we ought to be closely involved with them. We can't expect the trade unions to support us in our campaigns unless we contribute something ourselves. So that we feel from all points of view, and, in broad principle, that we should be linked up with the ACTU. Now, there are particular problems to discuss this matter at length with our members, and it will be put to a special conference before we finally agree with it. But I anticipate that the members will see that it's in our interest and in the interests of education generally to be linked up with the ACTU.

D.A. Its been argued against you that you've taken up the purely economic issues of salaries with respect to the Tribunal rather than the issue of the structure of the tribunal which is seen as an issue of "principle". What would you say about this?

G.L. The salaries issue we're taking up is not just a question of money, which is important anyhow from the point of view of recruiting and retaining teachers. But

be no longer possible for it to pretend that the Tribunal is an independent umpire. And it will expose more clearly in everybody's eyes the role of the Tribunal. And also it will expose the role of the government. If the government is really serious about the static system of education they should be making efforts to see that the decisions made by the tribunal will help the state system, not hinder it. This will expose their role more clearly. We don't see our action in support of our salaries claim as contradictory in any way to our demand that the government should instruct their representative to bring in the kind of award that will assist the education of people going to technical schools. So in our view there is no contradiction whatsoever.

D.A. What do you think it means to say that the Tribunal can be reformed? Would you agree with the general attitude of a large number of workers that the arbitration system is implacably hostile to them? And that to talk of reform is quite utopian? Would you agree that the only alternative is direct negotiations between employer and the workers?

G.L. Well, there are a couple of aspects to this Tribunal reform. First of all there are a lot of administrative actions that have to be reformed. Let me give one example. The determination of a number of positions to be advertised for promotion each year. The Tribunals got the job. At the present time, the Tribunal is so inefficient and incompetent that it can't even make this decision in time for jobs to be advertised so that the teachers will know which school they are going to by the end of the year. In practice it will mean next year that the staffing in technical schools won't be finalised till March, and there will be six weeks of complete disruption at the beginning of the year. We think that the Tribunal should at least have enough manpower to enable it to make such decisions. I know that's a minor change, but we've been fighting for two or three years, just to get enough manpower at the tribunal so that the decisions can be made. When we come to the quality of the main decisions that are made by the Teachers' Tribunal that's a different matter. Now what we want in effect is the Tribunal changed into a place where we can have negotiations with the government. We want the government representative directed by the government, and of course the teacher's representative is

And I think its heartening that they're taking a positive attitude to the kind of education they should have. I think that if students are to find the school relevant and interesting then they have to have a real say in what is taught in the school and a real say in how it should operate. I think however that a teacher organisation is not particularly wise to invite students to participate in its actions because its a two edged sword. It certainly gives a lot of support to the teachers, and that's very important and will be very necessary, in my opinion, in the future. But it can be used by government and people in authority to say that the teachers are manipulating the students. So it kicks back, in that sense, against the campaign. It's my view that students at the secondary level should be organised quite independently and we would encourage that. If they are to come in behind the teachers' demands or have demands of their own then they should work them out themselves and make up their own minds as to the action that they should take. I'm quite confident that their actions and decisions will be in line with the kind of demands the teachers are putting forward.

D.A. Do you think that a Labor government could achieve very much in solving Australia's problems in education? What do you think a Labor government would be able to do?

G.L. Well, I think it's possible that at our conference - which will take place in about four weeks time - the TTA will decide to work for the defeat of the McMahon government. I think its most unlikely that it will work directly for the return of a Labor government, although I suppose it could be argued that working for the defeat of McMahon does effectively mean that. But I don't think it's because tech, teachers think that educational problems will all be solved by a change of government, but they do feel that it would be almost impossible to do much worse than has been done. A Labor government, I believe, could transform the situation. It could, I'm rather doubtful as to whether it actually will. First of all, the whole basis of inequalities could quite easily be changed completely by a Labor government. The whole issue of giving greater assistance to those who need it - that would be quite easily done. Secondly, they could step up the allocation of the wealth of our nation to education, which is now about 4.5% of the G.N.P. It could be doubled to bring it into line with other countries - a Labor government could do that. These things would create a basis for other changes, but I don't think that a Labor government is going to get to the essence of the whole matter of the problem that exists in our secondary schools. They're quite deep social, political problems and they're much deeper problems than the Labor government is likely to grapple with.

D.A. Do you think Teachers' Unions could have a greater role in working out long-term programmes and challenging the fundamental ideology of the system.

G.L. Well, the trade unions and teacher organisations, in the main, are organisations that work within the system. That's their historical role. They work within the existing system, and they endeavour to bring about changes, reforms, and improvements, but seldom do they ever challenge the whole basic structure of society. I think that the teacher unions are going to be compelled to face up to this issue, probably very soon, for a number of reasons. If the students and the teachers themselves are to work out the kind of education programmes that are relevant, then it is necessary to consider the fundamental issue as to whether the kind of society we have at the moment really meets the needs of the people. Now, if that kind of question is asked immediately some of the basic, accepted concepts of our society come into question. The question, for instance, of whether people really do have a say in what happens in our country, that's a basic issue. Of whether a parliamentary kind of control, which we have at the moment, gives the person any direct say whatsoever in what happens. The whole question of the values of accumulating goods, the problem of real needs, of advertising, of what is the purpose of production, of what is the future of humanity? Will the system based on profit lead us to the point where humanity and the earth are going to be destroyed? So, it seems to me that teaching probably more than any other area, is one where these issues will have to be taken up and thought about. And naturally if the teachers are taking up these issues the teacher organisation have to too. So I think it is possible that the teacher organisations could be compelled to take up fundamental issues about the whole future of society and its present structure and organisation.

D.A. What do you think about the fact that students in the schools are increasingly coming into action on education questions, on the questions which involve them directly?

G.L. I think it's a very heartening thing. After all the education system concerns these students more than anybody else.

3,000 IN HIGH SCHOOL DEMO

BY STEVE GORMLEY

Wednesday May 31 witnessed a new upsurge in the radicalisation of Victorian secondary students. Three thousand striking students marched to demand rights for students and better education facilities. The demonstration had been called by the Education Action Committee (EAC), a radical subcommittee of the Victorian Secondary Students Union (VSSU).

The demonstration commenced with a rally in the Treasury Gardens at 10:00 a.m. where several speakers were heard: Moss Cass, Labor M.P.; George Lees, President, Technical Teachers Association of Victoria; Ted Bull, Waterside Workers Federation;

Ted Bull, Waterside Workers Federation; George Crawford, Chairman, Victorian branch, ALP, and spokesman for the Socialist Left; Murray Lloyd, Chairman, EAC, Danny Masel, former secretary, VSSU. This was followed by a march to the City Square where students from various schools addressed the gathering. The demonstration then proceeded to Parliament House. At Parliament House confusion arose over the question of what to do! The demonstration eventually marched to the Education Department Offices, where there was some discussion before the marchers dispersed.

The demands of the demonstration emphasised the absence of democratic rights for students. These included: Freedom of appearance - in contrast to the present uniform restrictions; Freedom of expression

Freedom of press
Freedom from discrimination
Freedom of association.

Most schools in Melbourne were represented at the demonstration, while some schools had more than a hundred students there. The action clearly showed that a large number of students are now willing to take direct action against conditions which have existed for many years. Undoubtedly given impetus by the anti-war movement, this was the largest independent high school action since the rise of the Moratorium.

With the success of the Melbourne action, a call has been sent out by the organisers to other Australian cities to hold a nationally coordinated high school strike around similar demands.

A campaign in New York in support of a high school bill of rights in late 1969 succeeded in bringing about a complete reassessment and expansion of students' rights, after a strike of 275,000 students to support the campaign. While present Australian action will be on a smaller scale, they will make people realise that high school students are a political force to be reckoned with. This will probably have the greatest impact on teachers and the students themselves.

As a result of the Melbourne action, and specifically action at the school, students at Brighton High have won immediate concessions from the administration. School uniform has been abolished, and a student council run on democratic lines has been promised.

Students should see from this the advantages and necessity of direct action. Anyone wishing to help build, or receive information about, high school actions throughout Australia, should contact their nearest S.Y.A. branch.

George Crawford addressing rally



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SRI LANKA DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

Following upon the visit to Australia of the Ceylonese militant Jaya Vithana (see interview in DIRECT ACTION 18), a number of people have decided to set up a defence campaign. The aims of the committee are:

1. To publicise the state of repression in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) and provide information about the repression to the Australian people.
2. To call upon the government of Sri Lanka to restore all democratic rights and to repeal all undemocratic legislation.
3. To provide material assistance to all victims of the repression; to set up a Sri Lanka Defence Fund for this purpose.

These aims have been endorsed by a number of academics including Professor Bruce Johnson of the University of Tasmania, and further endorsements are currently being sought from trade unionists, parliamentarians, jurists and others.

Sri Lanka has been a virtual police state for well over a year now. Under the emergency regulations which have been in force since 16 March 1971, all democratic rights have been suppressed and the security forces invested with arbitrary powers. Never since 4 February 1948, when direct British rule ended in

Sri Lanka, has arbitrary deprivation of life and liberty and suppression of democratic freedoms occurred on such a scale or to such an extent as under the prevailing State of Emergency.

The Prime Minister herself has admitted that over a thousand persons have been killed by the Police and the Armed Services, according to figures made available to her, but public belief is that many thousands more have been killed, without any admission of the killings by the so-called security forces.

From the very day that the Emergency was declared, on 16th March, 1971, the Police and the Military were given powers of arrest without warrant, and all the safeguards provided under the normal law against arbitrary arrest, torture, and even murder and disposal of the dead bodies of persons taken into custody were deliberately removed by emergency regulations.

About 16,000 prisoners have been held in neo-concentration camps since the Emergency began; these detainees were not even allowed the right of access to a lawyer. In the meantime, shootings have taken place in prisons and prison camps. A large number of people who

were taken in custody have disappeared without a trace.

Apart from the mass deprivation of life and liberty that has taken place under the Emergency, there has been continuing and publication, as well as the fundamental right of workers to strike.

All normal political and trade union and other forms of mass activity have thus been suppressed. Parliamentary by-elections and local Government elections have been indefinitely postponed and elected local authorities are being suspended arbitrarily. All forms of public criticism of the Government or of state authorities have also been stifled. Even publication of court proceedings has been restricted.

In April this year (1972), the Government introduced new legislation which gives the Government and Security even wider powers. Under the Criminal Justice Act passed on 5th April, 1972, the Government has obtained powers to set up Courts where trials are held in secret, confessions obtained by torture and blackmail are permitted as admissible evidence, reports made by certain officers of the State are considered conclusive evidence without the accused having the right of cross-examining such an officer. Further, the decisions of these courts are final and conclusive; accused have no right of appeal whatsoever.

The Government had utilised the State of Emergency to attack the already impoverished standard of living of the working class of Sri Lanka by imposing a wage freeze and raising the prices of over 23 essential commodities. Trade Unionists, intellectuals and students continued to be arrested and detained arbitrarily.

The Government may bring some of these 16,000 detainees to trial in the newly established 'Kangaroo Courts'; however, it is obvious that they will not have even a semblance of a trial.

The Sri Lanka Defence Committee would like to hear from anyone who is prepared to support the aims of the committee. Information is available from 24 Alfred St., Annandale, Sydney.



Mass meeting of teachers in Myer Music Bowl, Melbourne

qualified educators, they have to be able to assess the needs of their students and work in co-operation with their own colleagues as equals, and with their own students to work out the kind of education programme that is necessary for their students in that situation. This contrasts with the idea of teachers having a curriculum or examination system where everything is imposed on them, and which they in turn impose on the kids. It is an educational rather than professional role. The word professional confuses the issue. The other aspect of it is the teacher is a worker, in the sense that he has a particular role to perform. He is concerned, of course, with the product, which makes his position a bit different. But with every struggle that we enter into it becomes abundantly clear to our members that those who support us and understand what we are about are members of the active trade unions. They are always our allies, they are our strength in all our main struggles. And the teachers are coming more and more to see that they're not a class apart,

the other aspect of our salary claim is that we want the abolition of the promotions system and the abolition of discrimination or inequalities between subject areas. This is quite a fundamental point because if we can't destroy those aspects of the bureaucracy that are imposed on us, then we're not going to be in a position to remove the same kind of bureaucratic relationships between students and teachers. So it is a fundamental educational demand of the greatest importance. Certainly not less important than changing certain aspects of the Teacher's Tribunal. Now, we do support the concept that the government should instruct its representative on the Teachers Tribunal. But we don't imagine that that's going to change the nature of the Teachers Tribunal and we don't think its necessarily going to make the decisions of the tribunal much better because we tend to see the tribunal now as purely and simply an agency of the establishment. The big difference that that instruction will make is that it will no longer be possible for the government to hide behind the Tribunal. It will

responsible to the teacher organisation. To that in fact it will become the avenue by which we can carry out negotiations. That's fundamentally the role we see for it. We think that this is similar to the kind of trend that is occurring in the trade union movement. We haven't ruled out completely the concept of arbitration. We would still allow in the Tribunal issues to go to arbitration in the sense that the three people could vote. But fundamentally we are after a situation in which we can negotiate with the representative of the government who is instructed and responsible to the government. So in that sense the trend is parallel.

D.A. What do you think about the fact that students in the schools are increasingly coming into action on education questions, on the questions which involve them directly?

G.L. I think it's a very heartening thing. After all the education system concerns these students more than anybody else.



Jaya Vithana speaking at May Day rally in Melbourne

Mass Student & Worker Upsurge in Malagasy

BY JON ROTHSCHILD

After several weeks of growing protests by students and workers, Malagasy President Philibert Tsiranana turned over formal power to the army May 18. This move was intended to head off a mass mobilization that he had tried to drown in blood only five days earlier.

On May 13 the "security forces" of the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) opened fire on a student-led demonstration in the capital city of Tananarive. More than thirty marchers were killed; at least 200 were wounded, and more than 400 were arrested. Immediately after the shootings, President Philibert Tsiranana declared a state of emergency and banned all further street demonstrations.

But the Malagasy students, who had begun to draw other sectors of the population into struggle, refused to back down. Despite the state of emergency, mass actions continued for the next five days. By May 15, the entire working class of Tananarive was on strike. Strike committees were organized; a wide range of demands were formulated; the military, police, and security forces were driven off the streets by the sheer size of the mobilizations, which sometimes included more than one-sixth the city's inhabitants. Black Africa had begun its first May 1968.

Tsiranana, who generally writes off internal discontent as the work of foreign agents, blamed the whole thing on "communists" of undisclosed origin. But in reality, the latest wave of student activism, and the popular upheaval it sparked, grew out of deep social problems that have become increasingly generalized throughout Black Africa in recent years.

Malagasy, the world's fourth largest island, was officially annexed by France in 1896. Previously, its strategic location had made it the target of Portuguese, Dutch, and British colonialism. Technological developments of the modern have in no way reduced the island's strategic importance. In the May 17 "New York Times" C. L. Sulzberger noted: "Madagascar dominates the Mozambique channel off Africa's east coast and the route of those enormous supertankers which have been carrying Europe's oil around the Cape of Good Hope ever since the Suez Canal was closed five years ago. Moreover, it is a strategic key to southern Africa and the western and southern Indian Ocean."

During the early days of the twentieth century, French colonial rule in Malagasy was challenged only by relatively small nationalist movements. But the post WW II rise of the colonial revolution had its impact on the country. In 1947, the French armed forces put down a mass popular revolt. Official French history claims that 11,000 persons were killed in the suppression of the rebellion, but less biased sources put the figure at about 80,000.

The country finally won formal independence in 1960. But French domination - in the form of "cooperative accords" signed at the time - continued. Under the terms of these agreements, France today maintains 4,200 troops on Malagasy territory - including a Foreign Legion regiment, a paratrooper regiment, and tactical air support. Recently, a small naval force was added. In addition, there are some two thousand French "technical advisers" on the island.

Supposedly, the French forces protect Malagasy from the threat of foreign invasion, although from where nobody knows. In reality, the Foreign Legion and the paratroopers stand as a reserve force should the Malagasy people attain a level of militancy that outstrips the repressive capacities of the 4,000-strong indigenous army. In 1971, for example, French air transport played a crucial role in suppressing a peasant rebellion in the southern provinces.

The continued presence of the former colonial power has done the population little good. The economy remains tied to the capitalist market and is at the mercy of fluctuating prices of tropical agricultural commodities. The result has been a constantly rising cost of living and growing unemployment. The regime has sought to gain some economic advantages

by cultivating close relations with the apartheid government in South Africa, a move toward which the population is nearly universally hostile.

But the issue that triggered the student actions of May is the government's insistence on Gallicizing the country. The development of African nationalism has led students to react against this. A diploma from a French university, regarded in the past as a valuable possession, is today increasingly looked upon as a badge of submission.

The attainment of formal independence has stimulated a desire on the part of the masses to study their own history and culture, revive their own language, and dismantle the old-style colonial university system, whose major achievement has been the education of UN bureaucrats who often leave the country seeking more lucrative pastures.

This "cultural nationalism" has tended to merge with the broader issues of economic and social domination of the country by imperialism, and had linked itself to the militancy of the trade-union and peasant movements.

Not surprisingly, the regime views the question of Malagasy history and culture somewhat differently than does the population. The ruling Parti Socialiste Democratique (PSD - Social Democratic party) was created with the assistance of members of the Section Francaise de l'Internationale Ouvriere (French Section of the Workers' (Second) International). Laurent Botokeky, the minister of cultural affairs who was forced to resign May 15 by the student demonstrations, once declared:

"We have resolutely opted for French culture, and I can assure you of our youth's

students in Tananarive went on strike to support the medical students. The students remained on strike April 24-30, and during the first week of May some street demonstrations were organized.

On May 12, the government declared all high schools and universities closed and arrested the members of the student strike committee. The May 13 action was organized to demand the release of the arrested leaders.

Two central features distinguished the student upsurge from past mobilizations. The supposedly leftist, legal opposition party AKFM (Antoko Kongresin'ny Fahaleovantenan'i Madagasikara - party of the Congress of Madagascar Independence) was completely bypassed. An AKFM statement issued April 27 warned the students against "political forces that don't dare reveal their names but push the youth into actions against their own interests." This "warning" from the traditional oppositional safety valve was ignored.

Still more important, the student actions began to draw support from the unions. On the morning of May 13, the 30,000-member Firaisan'ny Dendika eran'i Madagaskara (FISEMA - Madagascar Labor Union Federation) passed a motion supporting the student demands.

The students' refusal to stop demonstrating soon forced the government to make certain concessions. On May 15, twelve of the students arrested two days previously were provisionally released. Several thousand persons assembled at the Place de l'Hotel-de-Ville to greet them.

Funeral hymns for the May 13 dead were sung, and the meeting soon turned into another antigovernment demonstration.

Tsiranana agreed to meet with a delegation of students, announced the resignation of Cultural Affairs Minister Botokeky, and promised to concede to the demand for Malagasiaisation. But most importantly, he agreed to release the students who had been arrested on May 13.

Far from pacifying the movement, their release gave it a second wind. From dawn until 8:00 p.m., when the freed students arrived in the capital, crowds patiently awaited their arrival. The calm and organization of the students surprised many observers in Tananarive. When the freed prisoners finally arrived, a silent, solemn march through the capital was held. The new cultural affairs minister showed up at the march, but the students refused to discuss any demands with him unless he called a national educational conference to which the students would elect delegates. The police stayed quietly in the background.

On the morning of May 17, as the May 13 dead were buried, the struggle took a new step forward. Throughout the morning and into the afternoon, massive crowds - now, in their majority, workers - paraded through the capital. The general strike continued, and the workers began raising economic and social demands: a rise in the minimum wage, the firing of the minister of labour, a general reorganization of the government.

As the crowds marched down Independence Avenue, long discussions were being held in the Glacier Hotel, where delegates to a new nationwide strike committee were being elected. Malagasy unions presently have no national leadership organ, so the workers were in the process of building their own.

At the same time, students were planning a national conference on the educational system. The "forces of order" were nowhere to be seen. General Gilles Andriamahazo, who had been appointed military governor of Tananarive the day before, stood quietly, alone, observing the demonstrations.

According to Le Monde, there were unconfirmed reports that disturbances had also broken out of other towns.

On May 18, the Tsiranana government fell. The president, while he did not personally resign, turned over all powers to General Gabriel Ramanantsoa, army chief of staff, instructing him to "lead the country and form a new government."

Ramanantsoa, according to a May 18 Associated Press dispatch from Tananarive, "was wildly acclaimed by the crowd that has been almost constantly in the streets since Saturday (May 13)." The new head of state said the leadership change had been necessitated by "the critical situation in the country," and told the demonstrators: "First of all, I will be concerned with economic and social matters, and above all the poorest people. In our army, tradition is that we take care of the privates first and then the officers. We'll take care of the masses first, the poorest above all".

The rhetoric no doubt accounts for the "wild acclaim." But just after Ramanantsoa's speech, strike leaders mounted the platform and presented him with a list of demands: that Tsiranana formally resign his post, that a new cabinet be formed, that democracy be extended, and that Malagasy culture be given predominance over French culture.

It is too early to tell exactly what will be the effect of the mass mobilisation on the government's policy in coming weeks. But no group of "progressive" officers appointed by Tsiranana will be able to deal with the central social questions that have been raised. "France ceded independence to Madagascar under the pressure of the freedom struggle of all Africa," one striking student told the French daily Le Monde. "Madagascar did not fight for full independence, and France was able to impose conditions that are translated today in the cooperative accords. Today we are demanding a new independence."

The struggle for this "new independence" is in the wind in all the former French colonies in Black Africa. The Malagasy workers and students have shown that the new struggle may well be waged by the use of one last French import: May-June 1968.

THE WORLD



REVOLUTION

Picture above shows General Ramanantsoa.

We have suspended our World Revolution briefs this issue to allow space for the publication of two larger items of particular interest. One, dealing with the strike wave in Quebec, appears on Page 14. The other appears on this page. We return to our regular format with the next issue.

great attachment to this culture."

But Botokeky forgot to assure his youth. According to the Paris daily "Le Monde", two of the most popular slogans during the May 13 demonstration were "Cooperative accords: Slavery accords!" and "French language: Language of slavery!"

The events leading to the May 13 - 19 explosion began in January, when the Befelatanana school of medicine was paralyzed by a student strike. The regime closed the school in March, but when it reopened in April, the students walked out again. On April 19 the government dissolved the association of medical students.

On April 24, university and high-school

Workers from both the public and private sectors stopped work in response to an appeal from the unions; many joined the rally. Virtually all shops were closed, and the radio employees occupied the station to declare their support for the students.

The crowd swelled to about 50,000 and marched to the presidential palace. Three central demands were advanced: abrogation of the "cooperative accords"; Malagasiaisation of the educational system; and the dissolution of the Republican Security Forces (RSF), which were responsible for the May 13 shootings.

The government surrounded the RSF barracks with tanks, but made no attempt to break up the rally.