



DIRECT ACTION

NO. 34

JAN 18 1973

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A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

WORLD CONDEMNS NIXON'S VIETNAM GENOCIDE

NO CONDITIONS-

U.S.

OUT

NOW!



Labor and Vietnam * Ireland
Revaluation * H.S. Conference

DIRECT ACTION

No. 34, January 18, 1973.

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EDITORIAL

U.S. OUT NOW - NO CONDITIONS!

Not so very long ago, around the time
of Nixon's reelection, capitalist politi-
cians and the press in America and
Australia were carefully fostering the
illusion that the Vietnam war was over
or would end shortly. The key to peace
they claimed, was the treaty that Nixon's
agent Kissinger had negotiated with
the Vietnamese. Protests, the petitions,
the mass street demonstrations - none
of these were needed any more for
peace was at hand. This monstrous
edifice of lies and deception now lies
in ruins before world public opinion.
Nixon's unprecedented terror bombing
of north Vietnam has outraged
people the world over. The rising tide
of protests from around the world has
stayed Nixon's hand and U.S. imperi-
alism has returned to the negotiations
in Paris to achieve its aims. They
no doubt expect that the Vietnamese
will be less stubborn in their terms now
that they have had a taste of American
air power.

The bureaucratic castes ruling in the
Soviet Union and China continue in
their shameful role as agents of Ameri-
can imperialism in its bid to force the
Vietnamese to settle on U.S. terms at
the conference table. Against Nixon's
terror bombing, the USSR and China
have done precisely nothing. The world
Socialist movement has aided and
abetted this betrayal.

In the face of the renewed imperialist
assault on the Vietnamese people, in
which the Paris "peace" talks are mere-
ly a variant, it is necessary that the
most massive and sustained campaign
be mounted internationally to force
the U.S. government to end all the
bombing unconditionally and withdraw
all of its forces from south east Asia
immediately and without conditions.
Nixon has no right to negotiate anything
with the Vietnamese. For this reason
the international protests projected for
January 20 are vitally important. All
those who support the right of the Viet-
namese people to national self-deter-
mination must work to make these
actions a massive success.

In Australia the antiwar feeling has
been reflected in the labour movement
in the bans against the American ships
and other projected industrial action.
This is a very positive development.
It is unfortunate that the declared aim
of this movement is to force Nixon to
sign the peace treaty rather than dem-
and that he withdraw his forces im-
mediately and unconditionally from
south east Asia.

The Labor government has also reacted
to this antiwar pressure, with several
cabinet ministers making outspoken
statements condemning Nixon's aggres-
sion in Vietnam. What is necessary now
is that the government develop an all
out campaign against the American
assault. It should endorse the union
bans, call on people to demonstrate
in the streets on January 20 and initiate
diplomatic and economic action against
the U.S. until such time as it ceases
its Vietnam aggression. For example,
American firms here could be national-
ised and American products boycotted.



The role of the Australian Stalinists
of the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA)
and the Communist Party of Australia
(CPA), is especially treacherous in the
current crisis. In the labour movement
they have sought to organise the protests
about a demand ("sign now") which in
effect endorses a treaty negotiated by
the Vietnamese at gunpoint - its signing
won't bring peace or justice to Vietnam.
In pursuit of this same aim in the indepen-
dent antiwar movement the CPA has
indulged in bureaucratic manipulations
which run counter to all hitherto accepted
principles of united action and democ-
ratic decision making.

The Australian Stalinists of course
pursue this course in support of the
Kremlin bureaucracy, for whom the
Vietnam war is an embarrassment,
something to be ended as quickly as
possible even if on terms negotiated by
means of American terror. Then they
can uninterruptedly develop their
detente with U.S. imperialism.

No, to American imperialist terror and
blackmail there is only one answer.
We must build massive sustained protests
using all forms of action, throughout
the world demanding that the Vietnam-
ese masses be allowed to determine
their own destinies free from imperialist
intervention.

END ALL THE BOMBING NOW!
WITHDRAW ALL U.S. FORCES FROM
SOUTH EAST ASIA NOW - NO
CONDITIONS!

DEMO

SYDNEY

10 a.m., Saturday January 20,
U.S. Consulate, Pitt Street.

BRISBANE

10 a.m. Saturday January 20,
King George Square.

MELBOURNE

5 p.m. Friday January 19,
City Square.

DIRECT ACTION FORUM BRISBANE

Sunday 21st January, 7 p.m.,
40 Union St., Spring Hill,
VIETNAM AND WORLD
POLITICS TODAY

ALP GOVT. & NIXON ESCALATION

"I'd like to emphasise that our Party,
our Government, has a mandate to do
all it can to stop the continuation of this
war here and abroad." (Emphasis added)
Gough Whitlam in his January 9 press
conference has certainly committed him-
self and his party. How did reality
match up to promises?

So far the results of this promised anti-
war activity have been limited to words,
not deeds. However, the words of the
three cabinet ministers have been use-
ful as an initial contribution to the anti-
war movement. Jim Cairns, Clyde
Cameron and Tom Uren have all lashed
out against Nixon's escalation.

Immediately following the resumption
of the bombing the new Minister for
Secondary Industry and Overseas Trade
Jim Cairns stated publicly: "I say to the
Nixon administration 'Stop your attack
on the Vietnamese people, leave them
alone, take your armed forces home!'"

In another statement Labour Minister
Cameron, also a senior minister,
described Nixon and Co as "maniacs" in
condemning the "murderous bombing of
Hanoi". He said on December 29:

"The world is witnessing an attempt by
the greatest military power ever known
to impose national torture upon a poor
and tiny Asian country to force it to
accept America's own repudiation of
an agreement to end the war... war
mongering is based on profiteering and
if the people of the world can rise up
and take effective action against profiteer-
ing which has so far characterised the
American action in Vietnam the war may
come to an end."

Urban and Regional Development Minister
Uren accused Nixon of waging a
"diplomacy of terror" in Vietnam. The
U.S. president's policy was described as
stemming from a "mentality of thugery."

Nixon and Kissinger didn't appreciate
being called "maniacs". While they
did put a fair amount of pressure on the
Australian government, more pressure
was forthcoming locally. It is true that

U.S. Ambassador Rice tried to call on
Whitlam three times, succeeding only on
the third occasion, and Henry Kissinger
called on the Australian embassy in
Washington. But, the local coercion
was what the ALP leadership felt most.
Their new supporters, Rupert Murdoch
and his ilk, have deserted them. Nomi-
nally "antiwar" papers such as the
"Australian" and the Melbourne "Age"
attacked the union bans and advised the
ALP ministers to 'shut up'. The most
sanguine attacks, however, were reserved
to that wing of the ruling class opposed to
Labor's victory, typified on this occasion
by the "Sydney Morning Herald".

In an editorial on January 1 it lamented:
"... the United States for so long our
ally and 'our great and powerful friend'
is now the target for the Australian Gov-
ernment's criticism and virulent abuse.
The Whitlam Administration has not
waited long to abandon the pretence of
goodwill towards the U.S. and to sabo-
tage the ANZUS treaty. Any stick is
good enough to beat Washington... The
language used by senior members of the
Australian government about the U.S. is
the language hitherto reserved to Moscow
and Peking..."

By January 12 the "liberal" "Australian"
was after Cairns' blood; it moralised:
"In short, if Dr Cairns so cherishes the
freedom to speak as an individual parli-
amentarian he has one logical and
honorable course: to return to the back-
benches where he will be free to indulge
in it..."

Despite the bloody attacks by the capital-
ist press, the ALP involvement in the
antiwar movement was very limited.
Only Jim Cairns and Labor Senator
W.W. Brown (Victoria) actually called
on their supporters to protest in the
streets. In a joint statement they called
on the people of Melbourne to attend an
antiwar rally on December 31.

No doubt the forceful statements of the
Labor ministers will strengthen the anti-
war movement. These, together with
Whitlam's "strongly worded protest letter"
to Nixon will help mobilise new forces,

particularly among the ALP members
and supporters for the next antiwar dem-
onstrations around January 20.

During the Seamen's Union ban Prime
Minister Whitlam and the Labor govern-
ment have shown that they are not pre-
pared to do "all they can". Their lack
of support to the seamen combined with
the indirect pressure they put on the
unions showed the exact opposite.
Certainly no one in the ALP government
has taken up the plan put forward by
Senator Gietzelt at a Sydney antiwar
rally on New Years Eve. He proposed that
the Australian government should be
'persuaded' to:

- * Appropriate all land owned by U.S.
companies in Australia.
- * Ban the entry of all U.S. citizens
unless they are publicly associated with
the antiwar movement.
- * Cancel the agreement with the U.S.
concerning the Exmouth Gulf and Pine
Gap installations.

Quite clearly Arthur Gietzelt's proposals
only begin to scratch the surface of the
possibilities open to Labor. The ALP
can use its state power to take many
measures to make it more difficult for
the U.S. to continue its aggression.
The list of such measures is almost
unlimited, all the way up to the com-
plete breaking off of all commercial
and diplomatic relations.

A more fundamental betrayal of Whit-
lam's promises is the lack of any ALP
attempt to help build any mass action
around the war. In sharp contrast to
some of his overseas counterparts, for
example Prime Minister Palme of Sweden,
Whitlam didn't call on Australians to
march in the streets. Nor is it expected
that either he or any of his colleagues
will participate in the January 20 dem-
onstrations, the only possible exception
is Jim Cairns and there are strong doubts
about his participation.

Any such endorsement of the antiwar
actions by Whitlam and the whole gov-
ernment would have given a tremendous
boost to the antiwar movement. There
is nothing surprising about the attitude



Jim Cairns

of the conservative ALP leadership.
Only under mass pressure, did they adopt
a strong antiwar line in the past and only
under similar pressure will they adopt a
militant line in the future. For the
moment they prefer to hide behind the
Paris negotiations and the "sign now"
fraud. By ignoring the Vietnamese
peoples' right to self determination and
tacitly accepting a U.S. "right" to
maintain a presence in Vietnam, by
accepting its "right" to negotiate they
are serving the interests of the U.S. -
not the Vietnamese. Nevertheless,
Labor members and supporters should
not be discouraged. They should mobilise
both inside and outside the ALP for
an antiwar Labor government, for full
speaking rights to all Labor members,
and for massive demonstrations around
January 20.

TRADE UNION ACTION ON WAR

BY SOL SALBY
Armed with new confidence following
Labor's election victory, Australian
trade unionists reacted sharply to Nixon's
latest escalation. Bans on U.S. com-
mercial activities were threatened or
imposed by no less than 20 unions. Only
the cessation of the bombing of Hanoi
and an extremely vigorous intervention
by Bob Hawke stopped the bans from
snowballing into an effective boycott
of the United States.

Many trade unions under varying lead-
erships combined in a joint effort as the
news came from Hanoi. There were
unions under Socialist Party of Australia
(SPA), Communist Party of Australia
(CPA), and Labor party leadership.

First and foremost was the Seamen's
Union ban on American shipping imposed
on December 28. This ban received
the bulk of the publicity because of
its early reaction. But the response was
much wider than from this union alone.
On Thursday July 4 the "Sydney Morn-
ing Herald" presented a roundup of
unions bans on U.S. shipping and U.S.
owned companies and services in
Australia:

"The Seamen's Union has imposed a
total nationwide ban on all U.S. owned
shipping whether registered in the U.S.
or other countries.

"Sydney, Port Kembla and Melbourne
branches of the Waterside Workers
Federation have imposed a total ban on
ships flying the U.S. flag as have the
New South Wales branches of the Store-
men and Packers' Union, Ship Painters
and Dockers' Union, Federated Ship-
wrights, WWF Mechanical Branch,
Firemen's and Deckhands' Union, Fed-
erated Clerks' Union, Tugs and Lighter-
men's Union, and the Victorian Mari-
time and Waterfront Group of unions.

"The West Australian branch of the
Amalgamated Postal Workers' Union
has called on its federal office to im-
pose a nation-wide ban on all commu-
nications with the U.S.

"Nine unions forming the building trades



Austral Envoy tied up in Melbourne

group of unions in the NSW Labor Coun-
cil have called on the council to imple-
ment a statewide ban on U.S. owned
goods and services if a peace treaty in
Vietnam is not signed by the end of
this month. . . ."

This overwhelming response by workers
is indicative not only of the new confi-
dence of the working class - it also
reflects the overwhelming opposition
amongst workers to Nixon's genocide
and the pressure they have exerted on
the leadership.

This new confidence and union action
created a furore amongst the ruling
class. In no time at all the differences
in their attitude to the Labor party were
all but forgotten. They all shared the
same message. The "Sydney Morning
Herald" said: "The stupidity of the
continuing trade union ban on American
shipping should by now be obvious to
almost everybody. . . . The threat to
employment in this country need hardly
be underlined. . . . The 'Australian'
after all an idiotic exercise. . . . The
orders they gave Prime Minister Whitlam
and ACTU president Hawke were quite
clear - get the unions to lift their ban
or else."

The retaliatory ban by the International
Longshoremen's Association (ILA) which
covers wharves on the Atlantic coast of
the USA once again demonstrated its

role as a bosses' union. ILA president
Gleeson, a reactionary from way back,
was undoubtedly working as an agent
of president Nixon. The Australian
embassy in Washington was informed of
the ban by the State Department long
before it was publicly announced.

The crumbling of the ban under capital-
ist pressure and protests from the U.S.
administration was quite rapid. The SPA
Seamen's Union leadership, in particular
union secretary Elliot V. Elliott, capitulated.
On January 9 they put forward an
ACTU recommendation calling for the
suspension of the ban (to be reimposed
immediately Nixon attempts carpet
bombing of Hanoi again).

The course of events is by now history.
There is no need to consider the detailed
manoeuvres behind the scene. There are,
however, several interesting features
emerging from the events which followed
the quick backtracking by the union
leadership.

The role of the SPA easily comes to
mind. This pro Moscow Stalinist break-
away from the CPA has not been noted
in the past for its radicalism. Why has
it helped launch such a campaign? Per-
haps the answer lies in Moscow's support
for the Paris peace treaty. Whatever it
was the SPA had very limited objectives.
It limited its effort to the cessation of
the bombing and the signing of the treaty
rather than the principled demand of

OUT NOW! At any rate, Moscow's
enthusiasm couldn't have been too
strong. The agreement isn't signed
yet but the ban has been lifted.

The SPA opted for an unprincipled
demand. They did not defend the Viet-
namese people's right to self determi-
nation. They preferred the short term
gains of having a more respectable dem-
and, that of signing the peace treaty.
The SPA refused to force the U.S. to
withdraw unconditionally. They refused
to adopt "out now" as their fighting
demand.

Hawke acting as chief executioner was
able to capitalise on the bombings
of Hanoi and Haiphong being halted,
even though bombs continued to rain
down on the rest of north Vietnam. He
argued that with the cessation of the
bombing the bans should be lifted.
Hawke's role in selling out the Viet-
namese, a role he played on behalf of the
right wing bureaucrats of the ALP, was
also made easier by comments of the
ACTU's secretary Souter before Hawke
return from overseas. Souter completely
disassociated the ACTU from the ban.

For all the betrayals of the SPA, CPA
and ALP bureaucracies, the unions'
bans had valuable impact. They help-
ed to build the antiwar movement. They
have forced Hawke to promise ACTU
sponsored boycotts of US economic
interests if the bombing is resumed.
They have forced Whitlam to warn
Nixon not to resume the bombing. What
will be needed is a principled union
action around the demand of Out Now.
Such actions should hurt Nixon economi-
cally and politically if he continues
the war, and should pressure the ALP
itself to take real antiwar measures.
Unions should also mobilise their mem-
bers to attend mass antiwar demonstra-
tions to end the war, especially the
actions on January 20.

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CPA SPLITS ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

BY GORDON ADLER

The recent massive bombing of Hanoi with heavy civilian casualties, the destruction of a major hospital, the bombing of a camp housing U.S. prisoners of war, and the heavy losses of B-52 bombers by the U.S. air force, have shown once again that the war in Indochina is far from over. Nixon's belligerent statements and the flagrant violation of his election promise that U.S. forces would withdraw from Indochina have shattered widely held hopes of an early peace settlement. The exposure of Nixon's lies by the brutal reality of the bombing has aroused sharp reaction in a number of countries.

The statement of the Prime Minister of Sweden comparing the barbarous U.S. bombing of heavily populated residential areas of Hanoi with the atrocities committed by the Nazis during the second world war produced an angry response from Nixon. The criticism of U.S. actions in Vietnam by ministers of the newly elected Australian labor government, and the refusal of Prime Minister Whitlam to endorse U.S. policy, coming from the nation which has hitherto been the most servile and dependable ally of the United States, aroused a particularly bitter reaction from the White House.

The ban of the Seafarers Union on the handling of U.S. shipping, an action that threatened to really hurt U.S. interests, provoked a furious retaliation from the U.S. International Longshoremen's Association, a bosses' union of long standing, notorious for its obsequious support for Nixon and the imperialist policy of the United States in south east Asia.

By far the most impressive mass action against the war however, was the march of over 50,000 people in Utrecht, one of the smaller cities of Europe. Holland has never been directly implicated in the war, yet this protest against the bombing was supported by the trade unions, the churches and all major political parties except those of the extreme right. Surely no more dramatic proof of the worldwide opposition to the war and the possibility of rebuilding the antiwar movement could be found.

THE MORATORIUMS 1970-71

The antiwar movement in Australia has experienced periods of great upsurge in mass action and other periods of passivity and decline. The great street demonstrations of 1970 and 1971, which mobilised over 100,000 people throughout Australia, were the biggest and certainly the most important mass actions seen in this country for many years. These Moratorium demonstrations succeeded in bringing such huge numbers of people onto the streets in protest against the war because they were organised on a broad base, with a clear perspective of action around a single major demand that could be readily understood by large numbers of people and because the Moratorium was organised on the principle of non-exclusion of any group opposed to the war, and non-dominance by any particular political tendency. For the first time in decades a genuine coalition of antiwar forces operated within a comparatively democratic organisational framework.

THE ROLE OF THE CPA-ACID

At the end of 1971 however, the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) and its front organisation in Sydney, the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (AICD) decided that the war was virtually over. No further point could be served by continuing to participate in the Moratorium coalition. Despite vigorous protests from the Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA), Worker-Student Alliance and others the Moratorium was wound up. AICD considered that the time had come for it to cease being merely an antiwar organisation. The war being now over, a broad new programme of political action was required. Racism, environmental destruction, the role of imperialism on a world scale, the aboriginal movement, foreign takeovers of Australian assets and many other issues overshadowed the Indochina war. But the war did not end in 1971, and by March 1972 it was becoming clear to many antiwar activists that new efforts would have to be made to build another antiwar coalition. A number of demonstrations were held, but they were all small and poorly organised, important though they were.

With the visit of John Benson of the United States National Peace Action Coalition in August an attempt was made on the initiative of the Socialist Workers League to rally the forces of the antiwar movement at a meeting held at AICD premises. With the exception of the convener Ken McLeod no members of AICD attended, and no members of the CPA were present. A further meeting was convened for the purpose of organising an antiwar march on November 18. All organisations previously associated with the Moratorium were invited to attend. This time the CPA was represented, and a coalition was formed from organisations opposed to the war. AICD declined to participate in the action. The November 18 march had limited success. The attendance was small, mainly through insufficient preparation and publicity, the absence of AICD, and lukewarm support from the CPA. At that time both AICD and the CPA were more interested in campaigning for medical aid for Vietnam and reconstruction of Vietnam after the signing of a peace treaty than in demanding the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina.

THE RECENT EVENTS

The revival of the bombing in December jolted all the organisations of the left. AICD called for a street rally at the Sydney Town Hall on December 31, and at this meeting announced plans for a demonstration on January 20, Nixon's inauguration day. This commendable initiative was a reversal of the previous lack of interest in the antiwar movement, but it was marred by the fact that the AICD committee took it upon itself to make all the decisions about the date, the nature of the action, the demands and the venue without consulting any of the other organisations active in the struggle against the war. AICD spokespersons claimed that the reason for this unilateral action was the urgency of the situation created by the renewed U.S. bombing, which left no time for any meetings with other tendencies. This is surely a strange argument coming from an organisation that had refused to support the November 18 action. U.S. aggression does create an urgent need for protest, but this need has existed for a considerable time, and will continue to be necessary in the future.

Cooperation between all the antiwar forces is an even more urgent necessity if protests are to be effective, and the action of AICD in seeking to exclude other tendencies from making decisions about the demands and the orientation of the demonstration is a reprehensible and transparent attempt to dominate the antiwar movement. Such an action is diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Moratorium movement, and if continued can result only in splitting the antiwar forces.

In view of AICD's decision, a meeting of representatives of all tendencies of the Antiwar Action Coalition was called by the convener, Lindy Decker, with the object of discussing united action on January 20. AICD and the CPA were both informed of the meeting and invited to attend. AICD declined to attend either this meeting or the following meeting called for a few days later to allow time for the maximum attendance from all groups. Brian Arons attended the first meeting as the sole representative of the CPA but no CPA members attended the meeting on January 5 at which decisions about action on January 20 were to be made.

The absence of two major groups, AICD and the CPA, certainly limited the effectiveness of the antiwar coalition. The sophistry of those CPA members who claimed that since AICD and the CPA were not present, no coalition existed, does not absolve either the CPA or the AICD from responsibility for destroying the antiwar coalition and splitting the movement. If the antiwar coalition now has a narrow base it is only because of the boycott of the planning meetings by the CPA and AICD.

At the meeting of January 5 it was learned, indirectly, that AICD had called a meeting of its members for January 9. None of those present had been invited. It was agreed that representatives from the general meeting of the antiwar coalition should attend the AICD meeting to present the views of the general meeting and to seek the cooperation of AICD for joint action on January 20. The representatives were somewhat startled, therefore, to find that at the

AICD meeting the chairman Tas Bull claimed that the meeting was a general meeting of antiwar activists called for the "planning" of the January 20 action. A more blatant attempt to exclude some sections of the antiwar movement from the decision making could hardly be imagined. It is significant that the main elements excluded, the SWL, SYA, and the WSA are the sections of the movement which have most often disagreed with the AICD-CPA perspectives for the antiwar movement in the past and which have not been afraid to voice their disagreements.

As it turned out, no decisions were made at the meeting at all. Everything had already been decided by the AICD committee. Even though SWL, SYA and the WSA had been excluded, the committee evidently did not trust even the rank and file of AICD to come to a decision to their liking. The truth of the matter is that the whole meeting was a sham, an attempt to dress up the bureaucratic action of the AICD committee. A number of people at the meeting attempted to amend the decisions made, but were quickly informed that the vital questions had already been settled. In reply to an AICD member who suggested, from the floor, that a march should be held after the rally on January 20, Bull said that "if the committee had considered that a march was necessary it would have decided that way." The reason given for rejecting a march was that the Socialist Party of Australia would oppose a march, and that if a march was planned, the SPA dominated Trade Union Peace Committee might withdraw from the demonstration.

Leaflets advertising the demonstration have been already printed and distributed, no discussion of the principal demands of the action was possible. Bull said that he could see no major differences amongst those present regarding the slogans, and that as AICD was a broad coalition of antiwar forces there was no need for any other coalition. Two minutes before the closure of the meeting at 9.30pm when a long, rambling resolution covering a wide range of issues was moved, Bull decided, without taking a vote, to put the resolution without any discussion.

"I don't think we need to come at the old amendment game," he announced in justification for his bureaucratic conduct of the meeting. "I am sure we all agree on this motion, and a number of people wish to leave early".

DULL, AICD AND FACTORIAL MANIPULATION

It is obvious that it is not necessary to belong to a Communist Party to be a Stalinist, and Bull and the AICD have shown that they have nothing to learn from the bureaucratized Communist Parties in mastering the theory and practice of Stalinism. This meeting was without question one of the worst examples of Stalinist bureaucracy since the dark days of the fifties, when the Stalinist forces were able to get away with it because there was no effective challenge from the left. This type of factorial manipulation has no place in the antiwar movement, which requires above all else the free and open discussion of outstanding issues, and decisions made by the rank and file of the movement.

Bull is quite wrong, of course, in asserting that major differences do not exist. The inclusion of the demand that the U.S. sign now is a matter of particularly sharp disagreement. CPA members suggested that those who claimed there had been a sellout were casting aspersions on the heroic Vietnamese fighters. This is a deliberate misrepresentation of the position held by opponents of the nine point peace programme (in particular the SWL and the SYA). Everyone who has read DIRECT ACTION knows perfectly well that references to a sellout are directed at the Soviet and Chinese Communist Party leaders and do not refer to the Vietnamese leaders and do not refer to the Vietnamese revolution to the limit of their capacity, or does it agree that the Stalinist bureaucracies have betrayed the Vietnamese? This is not a false issue invented by the Trotskyists as the CPA implies, but the vital question that lies at the heart of the whole situation in Indochina. To force the demand that the U.S. sign now on the antiwar movement,

through bureaucratic manoeuvring, in the face of such fundamental disagreement is completely contrary to all principles of democracy and violation of the spirit of the Moratorium.

PEKING, MOSCOW AND THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

It is quite futile to attempt to build united action on the basis of demands that are totally rejected by any major section, whatever may be decided by the clique that attempts to control the movement. There is enough that we can all agree on to make a united front possible without insisting on demands that exclude important forces from the action. The CPA claims that its demands are in accord with the wishes of the Vietnamese themselves and that therefore its position is beyond criticism. It asserts that the wishes of the Vietnamese have been made known through the recent Stockholm Conference. But the CPA should know by now, as everyone else who is not under the spell of Stalinism knows, that the Stockholm conferences have a notorious record of subservience to the CPSU, and faithfully reflect its policies. When you hear the Stockholm Conference talking you hear not the voice of the Vietnamese revolutionaries but the voice of Nixon's friends in the Kremlin, those who have extended the hand of comradeship to the greatest mass murderer of our time. The Vietnamese, being totally dependent on the limited aid supplied by the Soviet Union and China, have to "want" what the CPSU and the CPC tell them to "want". But we can be certain of one thing. The Vietnamese do not want U.S. forces on their soil, nor do they want bombs raining on their cities from U.S. bombers based in Thailand and the waters around Indochina. Whatever the Kremlin or the Stockholm Conference decides, this is still what matters in Vietnam.

The same day the White House announced cessation of the bombing north of the twentieth parallel and the reopening of secret talks in Paris scheduled for January 8.

RANK AND FILE VS BUREAUCRATIC DECISION MAKING

One further issue has arisen in the organisation of the antiwar movement. A vigorous campaign is at present being waged for the reorganisation of the antiwar coalition on new lines. Instead of the decisions being made by the rank and file at general meetings the CPA wants to eliminate the rank and file altogether by limiting discussion and voting to two representatives from each organisation supporting the aims of the coalition. Seeing that the CPA and the SPA have many front organisations this would clearly give them the decisive say in any such coalition. The SWL and SYA have been accused of "stacking" meetings and the CPA has asserted that it does not wish to take part in "the numbers game".

SWL and SYA have a young and enthusiastic membership who see the antiwar struggle as central to the cause of the world revolution, and who therefore regard attendance at antiwar meetings as an essential part of their activities. The CPA, on the other hand, has an aging and largely inactive membership, very few of whom make the effort to attend coalition meetings. It has been aptly remarked that the only times when the CPA turns up in force at such meetings are when they want to close something up. It can easily be seen why the CPA is so strongly opposed to meetings at which the general body of activists make the decisions. In preference to this the CPA proposes the formation of a coalition composed of two representatives from each organisation, thus keeping control of the decision making apparatus firmly in its hands.

FOR A DEMOCRATIC ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

Such a proposal comes quite naturally from the CPA which for fifty years has been built around the principles of bureaucratic centralism. Notwithstanding recent claims to the contrary, the CPA in its conception of democratic practice is as Stalinist as it ever was. The old practices emerge continually despite all the efforts to persuade the world that the party has reformed. Anything at all rather than to accept the right of the mass of antiwar activists to make decisions. So long as control is in the hands of a small bureaucratic organisation with no responsibility to the rank and file the CPA is evidently satisfied that true democracy operates. This practice must be firmly resisted by all who oppose the Vietnam war, and should be decisively rejected in favour of democratic control by the rank and file. Only in this way will it be possible to avoid the mistakes of the past and to rebuild a strong antiwar movement.

WORLD OUTCRY CHECKS NIXON'S BOMBING



B-52s on Guam, ready to participate in assaults on population centres of Vietnam

BY DICK ROBERTS

Faced with an unprecedented world outcry against U.S. war policies and the threat of a new upsurge of protest in the United States, President Nixon suspended at least temporarily the genocidal bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong on December 18.

The criticism round the world today appears to equal or surpass in emphasis anything the United States has endured before and even includes what seems to be veiled disapproval from the Vatican, "declared the 'Christian Science Monitor's' front page December 30.

Conspicuously lacking, as U.S. bombs reduced civilian centres of Hanoi and Haiphong to rubble, was a meaningful response by Moscow or Peking. The two supposed allies of North Vietnam once again contented themselves with 'serious criticisms'."

On January 2, the "Wall Street Journal" could speculate that "North Vietnam's major suppliers, the Soviet Union and China, have told it to sign soon even if more concessions are needed. The two Communist giants both find their own relations with the U.S. damaged by the war and may also be tired of subsidizing the long conflict."

But Washington's latest bombing emphasises more than before the only concession that will satisfy the U.S. warmongers: defeat of the revolution in South Vietnam. Nixon's goal is the same one that propelled John F. Kennedy to order the napalm bombing of Vietnamese peasant villages a decade ago. That goal is to stabilise a proimperialist regime in Saigon.

It is Saigon's "sovereignty" that Nixon and Kissinger want Hanoi to guarantee in the secret talks. The White House demonstrated in the last two weeks that to long at there are U.S. military forces in Southeast Asia they can be used at a moment's notice to back up this demand with bombs.

CIVILIAN TARGETS

As hundreds of North Vietnamese civilians were killed or wounded each day that U.S. bombs fell on Hanoi and Haiphong, the Pentagon reached new heights of cynicism in its attempt to deny the genocidal character of the U.S. attack.

For example, Hanoi reported that American air raids on December 20 and 21 had wounded U.S. POWs in a prison camp. A Pentagon spokesman told the Associated Press that if the report was true, Hanoi was violating the Geneva Convention by keeping prisoners of war "in an area particularly exposed to the dangers of war."

"Washington Post" columnist Nicholas von Hoffman retorted, "Maybe, someday, somebody in the Pentagon will actually step toward a mine in a briefing room and say we had to kill our own prisoners of war in order to liberate them."

von Hoffman's bitterness typified domestic and international reaction to the White House duplicity. This time there were few believers of the administration line that only military installations were targeted.

The essence of the White House intention was summed up by the "New York Post" December 27. "One ranking source told the Chicago Daily News last week the bombing was designed to obliterate North Vietnam's ability

to function as a state," the "Post" reported.

U.S. CONDEMNED

To what extent this massive bombing pressured Hanoi to resume the secret talks is impossible to determine at this time. However, it is clear that immense pressure was also building up on the Nixon administration to stop the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.

"... protests intensified around the world," said the "Washington Post", December 30. "The displays of indignation frequently escalated into anti-American actions.

"Leaders of nations allied with the United States are facing rising public demands to denounce American policy and to bring open pressure on the Nixon administration to halt the bombings."

The "New York Times" declared in an editorial January 1, "North Vietnam has undoubtedly suffered cruelly from the most intensive aerial bombardment in history, but the United States has also paid a terrible price for this crude attempt to negotiate through terror. Losses

in aircraft and men were staggering. . . . But the still larger loss for the long run is in credibility and respect at home and abroad."

The "Wall Street Journal" remarked on January 2, "The raids that ended last weekend subjected Mr. Nixon to much criticism at home and abroad, perhaps ruling out renewed raids if the President isn't happy with the peace talks."

The speculation testifies to the immense potential strength of the national and international antiwar movement. Although Washington has temporarily halted the bombing above the twentieth parallel, it is subjecting the remainder of Vietnam, North and South, to continued bombing at peak war levels. Nixon's goal remains to impose the capitalist regime of Saigon on the South Vietnamese people. The secret talks between Hanoi and Haiphong will be resumed.

These factors point to urgent tasks facing the antiwar movement. It is necessary to transform the anger of the world's populace against Washington into an active force to get Washington out of Southeast Asia. The events of the last

two weeks underscore how meaningless any "peace" in Southeast Asia will be that does not include the total withdrawal of the U.S. military armada.

All the more treacherous in this context is Moscow and Peking's continued refusal to provide a meaningful defense of Vietnam. As the huge U.S. bomber fleet pounded the Hanoi-Haiphong area for nearly two weeks, the North Vietnamese military was forced to fire anti-aircraft missiles at random at the B-52s because Hanoi lacks missiles capable of pinpointing these bombers. But B-52s were made in the 1950s. The Soviet Union has long had sufficient missile technology to halt them. The entire world is aware that the Soviet Union is withholding from Hanoi these more advanced missiles. Given the overwhelming sympathy with the Vietnamese in the face of Nixon's horrendous bombing, the masses of people throughout the world would greet with approval a Soviet move to provide modern SAM missiles and advanced aircraft for the defense of the people of Vietnam.

But Moscow and Peking continue to supply Hanoi with only the most minimal and largely obsolete military aid.

At the same time the two powerful workers' states refuse to take part in helping to build a unified international antiwar movement. The protests of the last two weeks show more clearly than ever before the potential for building a world antiwar movement. There are few places on the earth where people are not bitterly angry at the deceitful and barbarous war policies of the Nixon administration.

These peoples could be welded into a mighty antiwar movement that could exert tremendous pressure on Washington, not simply to end the bombing north of the twentieth parallel, but to end all the bombing and get out of Southeast Asia. That remains the pressing task of all who oppose the war.

INTERNATIONAL ANTIWAR PROTESTS

BY CAROLINE LUND

"Things should be called by their proper name," stated Swedish Premier Olof Palme on December 23 in regard to Nixon's bombing of north Vietnam. "What happens today in Vietnam is a form of torture. . . . What is being done is that people are being tormented, that a nation is being tormented, to humiliate them to force them to submit to the language of force. That is why the bombings are an outrage.

"There are many of this kind in modern history. They are often connected with names - Guernica, Oradour, Babi Yar, Katyn, Lidice, Sharpeville, Treblinka. . . . Now there is one more name to add to the list - Hanoi, Christmas, 1972."

The Swedish premier's statement likening Nixon's bombing campaign to Nazi massacres in World War II was only one of a series of unprecedented protests from political figures around the world.

Although massive popular demonstrations have not as yet occurred on the scale of the international antiwar actions of the late 1960s, the extent of protest from political figures is a reflection of the deep revulsion against the war felt by masses of people throughout the world.

The following is a roundup of some of the international protest actions we have learned of so far.

* In Bangladesh, students demonstrated January 1 against U.S. bombing of North Vietnam in front of the U.S. Information Service in Dacca. Two students were killed when police opened fire. In response, workers and shopkeepers in Dacca carried out a half-day general strike the following day. According to the January 3 "Washington Post" account, the original antiwar demonstration "began on a wholly anti-American note, but it quickly turned against the prime minister (Sheikh Mujibur Rahman)" after police opened fire.

* Demonstrations were also reported to have occurred in Wellington, New Zealand; Vienna, Austria; and Singapore.

* In addition to issuing his statement condemning the bombings, Swedish Premier Palme has joined with representatives of four opposition parties in Sweden to launch a campaign for two million signatures on a petition demanding a halt to the bombing. Nixon res-

ponded to these protests by telling the Swedish government it could forget about sending a new ambassador to the U.S. Palme answered this move by challenging Nixon to a public debate.

In Norway all political parties have agreed to take part in a conference on Vietnam the first week of January.

* In addition to the Swedish government, the governments of Italy and the Netherlands have also officially condemned the bombing.

* In Great Britain, top Labour Party leaders have in the past raised no protest against the Vietnam war. But in response to the latest bombings even right wing Labour leaders, such as Harold Wilson and Roy Jenkins, felt constrained to speak out.

On December 25 an AP dispatch reported that 200 members of parliament, actors, church leaders, and trade unionists, held a silent picket line outside the U.S. embassy in London to protest the recent bombings.

* In West Germany the Social Democratic Party government refused to officially condemn the bombing raids, but six prominent members of the party accused the U.S. of attacking cities, schools, and hospitals in Vietnam. They compared the raids to Nazi bombing of civilians in the Spanish civil war. Several hundred West Germans marched against the bombing in Berlin on December 25.

* Carrying banners saying, "Today Vietnam, Tomorrow Us," protesters in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, threw red paint on the U.S. consulate in that city during demonstrations held December



Japanese woman leafletting in Tokyo in protest of bombing



Cameron Whitlam
Frank Crean

REVALUATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

BY DAVID NIZOZ

On Saturday December 23 the new Labor government announced its first major economic decision. The Australian dollar was revalued upwards by 4.85 percent. The effective rate was 2.4% higher at 7.05% because of a change in procedure, fixing the exchange rate in the middle of the permissible band. Previously the rate was fixed at the bottom of the band.

In revaluing the dollar Prime Minister Whitlam has kept one of his earlier "promises". While strictly not part of the Labor platform, he made a reference to appreciation during the campaign. In keeping their promises Whitlam and his two close advisers, Deputy PM Lance Barnard and Treasurer Frank Crean served notice to their supporters - to supporters amongst the employing class notice of willingness to fulfil their expected role, to their working class supporters a notice of the government's priorities.

The "Sydney Morning Herald", hitherto Labor's most ardent critic suddenly changed its colour. Its December 26 editorial was full of praise: "... Mr Whitlam has acted quickly and decisively. The size of the effective revaluation and the fact that it is accompanied by more stringent exchange controls should ensure that it has a significant impact on Australia's excessive liquidity. Mr Sneed's reaction has a hollow ring to it. . ."

From the people who brought the "don't rock the boat" theory in December these are very strange words indeed. What has caused such a closing of the ranks in the capitalist press? Why has revaluation been so widely praised? Was revaluation really such a big surprise?

Any serious response to these questions will have to take into account the international economic crisis. The end of the long post-war boom has meant increasing competition between the capitalist powers. It has also meant intensification of the economic rivalry between these powers. Various measures have been taken by ruling classes throughout the world. All share the same basic character.

They all involve attempts to shift the burden of adjustment to the new conditions onto someone else's shoulder. That someone else turns out to be the population of other countries or more precisely the working classes in those countries.

It is in this light that the continuing breakdown of the international monetary system should be seen. Retaliation has followed an attack and counterstroke has followed a retaliation, culminating in Nixon's August 15, 1971 measures. Last November, in a meeting of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) the United States gave notice that it will take further measures against those countries allegedly taking advantage of the U.S. These countries, in particular Japan but to a lesser extent Australia, have been running a large, favourable balance of trade with the US and simultaneously, have been building large overseas reserves.

In attempting to shift its unemployment overseas the U.S. has been exerting pressure on Japan and Australia to revalue their currencies. This will make American and other overseas exports to Australia cheaper. Appreciation will also make Australian goods more expensive and therefore less competitive overseas.

For some time Australian capitalists have realised that sooner or later they will have to revalue. The Liberal Party, dominated as it was by its Country Party coalition partners has been unable to take decisive action.

The ALP leadership not only has far fewer parochial interests to defend but also has the advantage of being able to persuade the working class that such action is taken in its interest. Opposition to increased unemployment is far more likely to be tamed by the "friends" of the working class in the Labor Party bureaucratic leadership than by their open enemies, the Liberals.

Despite dozens of denials, Japan is still very likely to revalue. By acting early and decisively Whitlam has probably reduced the impact of revaluation. By preceding the Japanese action, he

allowed Australian capitalism to escape the full blow of going all the way with the complete Japanese revaluation. Under the circumstances 7.05% is probably the lowest figure which will be acceptable to the U.S. and other trading partners with large trading deficits.

The Australian bourgeoisie has one more reason to be delighted with the government's decision. Revaluation ought to have a marked impact on foreign investment. It should allow the local capitalists to keep a share of the ownership of the means of production. Australian workers are not going to benefit from this change of status. They discovered a long time ago that the local boys are just as efficient exploiters as their overseas counterparts.

Australian workers are not going to benefit from the other impacts of revaluation. It appears that the gains from lower prices of overseas goods will be absorbed by importers and other distributors.

The employment situation, already unacceptably high, can only worsen. Bryan Frith, Business editor of the "Australian" predicted on December 26: "With the jobless level already high and the labour market having to absorb this year's crop of school leavers, the timing of the revaluation could cause some employers to think twice about taking on more staff."

In this context the predictions of Melbourne University's Institute for Applied Economic and Social Research take on new meanings. In its report released on December 19 the Institute, taking into account a 10% revaluation, forecast on present trends an average rate of unemployment of about 130,000 and an inflation rate of about 7%.

So far the new government, while taking heed of the Institute's revaluation recommendation, hasn't taken up some of the other recommendations such as an all round income tax cut of \$120. On the other hand pensions are going to be raised by slightly more than what was recommended.

The latest unemployment figures have confirmed the Institute's prediction and Whitlam's callous disregard for the unemployed. On January 7, the Minister for Labor, Clyde Cameron, released the figures. The number of jobless increased in December by 25,986 to 136,769 - the highest number since World War II. Seasonally adjusted figures were not included in Cameron's early release. (The Labor minister released the figures a fortnight earlier than his Liberal predecessor Lynch would have done). It is estimated that on seasonally adjusted figures unemployment fell to just under 100,000.

The "Sydney Morning Herald" assessing the economic situation following Cameron's announcement stated on January 9: "Despite the seasonal adjustment provided by the Commonwealth Statistician, the period from November to March remains one of uncertainty because of the volatile state of the labour market due to the school-leaver element. Some apparent distortion in the seasonal adjustment process adds to the difficulty. In December and again in January the seasonal adjustment will have the effect of understating the level of unemployment. . ."

Regardless of how much faith one has in the Commonwealth Statistician there is an easy way of assessing the unemployment trend. Compare it to a situation in a comparative period. The best period is of course a year ago. December '72 wins by 16,215 from December '71. Actually December '72 was the TWENTY-NINTH month in a row where that was the case i.e. unemployment was higher than a year previously. No one can seriously talk about the "employment trend best in three years" until that simple statistic reverses.

While Whitlam, Crean and Cameron persist in doling out meagre handouts to the states, like the recent \$16.5 million to NSW, the jobless number is not going to be reduced drastically. What is needed is real action. Such a programme of action should include such measures as increasing unemployment benefits to the minimum wage and reduction of the working week without loss of pay.

held later this year.

The high schools resolution will sum up the experience of SYA activists in working to build the successful September 20 national high school strike and the earlier expressions of unrest in Melbourne's high schools which eventually gave rise to the call for a nationally coordinated action. Projections will be set forth to guide SYA activists in their task of building the campaign for democratic rights for high school students and in mobilising high school students around the demands of the antiwar, women's, black and gay movements.

The resolution on the radicalisation among university and CAE students will assess the experience of the student movement in the past year, particularly events such as at La Trobe University where many of the best activists have

been disillusioned and dispersed by the ultraleft and directionless tactics of the Maoists. Perspectives will be advanced aimed at turning the radical consciousness of the students to advantage by advancing the most important demands facing the socialist movement on the campuses - opposition to the Vietnam war, support for the Labor Party and support for the struggles of all oppressed social layers - workers, women, black people and homosexuals.

SYA approaches its Fourth Conference stronger than ever before and confident that the next year will see a continuation of the steady growth which it has experienced since its foundation. The Fourth Conference will lay the foundation for the continuation throughout 1973 of SYA's task of setting the ideas of revolutionary socialism before young workers and students throughout Australia.

REVIEW

I AM WOMAN

I Am Woman, Capitol Records. Written by Helen Reddy and R. Burton. Sung by Helen Reddy.

I am woman, hear me roar
In numbers too big to ignore,
And I know too much to go back and pretend.
'Cause I've heard it all before
And I've been down there on the floor;
No one's ever gonna keep me down again.

Yes, I am wise, but it's wisdom born of pain.
Yes, I've paid the price, but look how much I've gained.
I am strong, I am invincible,
I am woman!

At the beginning of the year, "Billboard" magazine (the organ of the record business) made its annual projection of trends in popular music. The main trend it projected for 1972 was the rise of the female singer (songwriter). Women have always been underrepresented among popular singers, but among composers they have been virtually excluded. In past years a third of hit records have been by male singer-songwriters, but only about 1 percent have involved women singing their own compositions. The effect, of course, is that female artists have had to sing what men have written, and thus to express ideas that men think for them.

This began to change in the spring of 1971 with the release of Carole King's "It's Too Late" and her "Tapestry" album, which had unprecedented success in the U.S. alone. The record business doesn't like to miss a chance to make an extra buck, and it smelled a trend. As a result, the industry reduced its barriers to female singer-songwriters substantially. The inevitable effect was that the ideas of feminism gained some very significant access to the radio stations that the majority of the American people listen to.

Helen Reddy's "I Am Woman" is a product of the new women's liberation movement that in just a few years has already deeply affected the consciousness of the American people. Reddy is an activist in that movement. Her song is the first popular hit to clearly identify with feminism.

"I Am Woman" was released last May; it was a total flop. It needed to be played on the radio, and the disc jockeys wouldn't touch it. In a letter to "Billboard", one of them explained why - he had nothing against women's liberation, you understand, but this record was just plain "propaganda"! He plays lots of records that are insulting to women, but that's not "propaganda," of course.

According to the song, "no one's ever gonna keep me down again." There may be a long struggle ahead, but it's beginning to be true, and Reddy was right about her own record. Four full months after its release, "I Am Woman" managed to get played on a couple of stations. It was such a success that gradually other stations were forced to play it.

"I Am Woman" made number one on the charts in the United States. Sales are around the million mark. Tens of millions of radio listeners are tapping their feet and rhythmically nodding their heads to the catchy beat of women's liberation.

The men who own the music industry know a trend when they see one, even if they can't begin to understand it. May we suggest what's next? Songs that treat women as prize property, weak and silly and desiring only to please men are rapidly going out of style. Songs where women define themselves - as oppressed and exploited but strong and proud and determined to be free - are the wave of the future.

... PAT FURLONG



LABOR FORESHADOWS PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION

Since Labor has come to office, it has taken a progressive stance on many issues of concern to women. It has reopened the Equal Pay Case, arguing for the implementation of equal pay over a period of three years. It has removed the 27 1/2% "luxury" tax on contraceptives and placed them on the Pharmaceutical Benefits list. It has moved to make divorce proceedings more simple and less costly, and has introduced new maternity leave provisions for Commonwealth employees, which allow for 52 weeks leave, including twelve weeks on full pay.

Mr Cameron, the federal minister for Labor, has stressed the government's intentions to expand job training and retraining facilities, and to aid housewives who wish to reenter the work force. Pensions are to be extended to single mothers and deserted de facto wives also. Mr Hayden, the Minister for Social Security, when announcing the government's intentions to do this defended the right of mothers who choose not to marry, to receive the same benefits as deserted wives. "I don't think it's a role of social security legislation to try to impose general moral values in relation to marriage," he said.

But perhaps the most significant development has been Mr Hayden's statement that the department will examine the possibility of family allowances for all mothers. In announcing this, Mr Hayden said women must be given the free choice to work or to stay at home to look after their families, and not be forced through economic necessity to work outside the home.

Women should certainly have a choice about where they will work, and more importantly, they have the right to demand that the work they perform in the home, as mothers and housewives is recognised as socially necessary and useful work. An allowance for mothers is a step in the right direction - towards a national wage for domestic workers, whether they be male or female. Much will need to be changed of course, to free women from the confines of this role and to give them a real alternative to work in the home. However, in the meantime a wage for house work would do much to alleviate the economic dependence of women on their husbands, fathers etc and the negative effects of this dependence on personal relationships. Labor has demonstrated, to date, that it is seriously attempting to eliminate many of the most obvious manifestations of women's oppression in Australian society, and has displayed a progressiveness which has greatly offended such reactionary forces as the Democratic Labour Party and the Catholic Church, who campaigned against the election of the ALP on the grounds that Labor's election promises would lead to a breakdown of the family.

Labor has still to face the problem of 24 hour childcare facilities and pre school centres, and has yet to come out with a clear position of support for the right of women to abortion. Hopefully, it will acknowledge the obvious support for these issues on the part of those who put them in power.

Women's issues have achieved prominence in election campaigns around the world, and this has been in obvious response to the pressure of the growing

international movement of women for their liberation. Only the continued pressure of an independent movement of women fighting for an end to all discrimination and oppression, can ensure that governments, however progressive, carry through all their demands.

INTERNATIONAL ABORTION TRIBUNAL

On the weekend of March 9-11, women and men from all over the U.S. and from other parts of the world will gather at Town Hall in New York City for a historic event: the International Abortion Tribunal.

Since 1910, when March 8 was first designated International Women's Day, this date has been one of solidarity with the worldwide struggle of women for their liberation. Today one of the central struggles of the international women's liberation movement is for the right of women to control their own reproductive lives.

Author Simone de Beauvoir has agreed to serve as honorary chairwoman of the Tribunal, which was called last July by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). Other endorsers of the event include Gloria Steinem, editor of "Ms." magazine; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Beulah Sanders, president of the National Welfare Rights Organisation; Congresswoman Bella Abzug; Mary Lindsay; and TV commentator Barbara Walters.

Through the personal testimony of women, and through the evidence legal and medical experts present, the Tribunal will give a voice to the unheard millions of women around the world who suffer from laws denying them the right to control their own bodies.

The international Tribunal Committee of WONAAC is collecting testimony on the status of the abortion fight in other states and is also seeking the testimony of women from other countries, including foreign students studying in the U.S. Recent struggles in France, Italy, and Germany for the right to abortion emphasise the importance of the Tribunal's international aspect.



Simone de Beauvoir

In just two weeks more than 150 individuals and organisations have endorsed the Tribunal. These include writers Anais Nin, Kate Millet, and Alex Kates Shulman; Dr. Alan Guttmacher, president of Planned Parenthood Federation; antiwar leader Ruth Gage-Colby; Patricia Burnett, member of the national board of the National Organisation for Women (NOW) and the Michigan Women's Commission; Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party; and Amy Swerdlow of Women Strike for Peace.

Also, Ti-Grace Atkinson; attorney

Brenda Feigen-Fasteau; Elinor Guggenheimer; Josephine Hulett of the National Committee of Household Employees; attorney Florynce Kennedy; Dr. Edgar Keemer; Eleanor Holmes Norton; and Ralph Schoenman.

Some of the organisations that have pledged support to the Tribunal are: the American Civil Liberties Union; the National Lawyers Guild; the Fourth National British Women's Liberation Conference; the Women's Political Caucus in Monroe County, N.Y., and in Cuyahoga County, Ohio; and NOW chapters in Santa Cruz, Calif., and Essex County, N.J.

Also Physicians Forum of New York, New York Zero Population Growth, New York City Coalition for a Free Choice, Cleveland Gay Activists Alliance, the Feminist Party, and many campus and city-wide women's liberation groups around the country.

Trade unionists who have supported the Tribunal include Auda Romaine, executive board, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Local 427 in Cleveland; Mary Jane Nolan, Women's Rights Committee, Local 1746 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Anne Draper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and Blanche Hunter, Cleaners and Dyers Joint Board in New York.

The executive board of Local 371 of the Social Service Employees Union in New York, which has more than 12,000 members, has voted unanimously to help defend the New York law. Its newspaper, "The Unionist", ran an article on the New York abortion fight in its December 22 issue urging union members to attend the Tribunal.

WOMEN'S COMMISSION PLANNED IN SYDNEY

On March 10th and 11th this year or the weekend closest to International Women's Day (March 8) women in the women's liberation movement are proposing to organise a "Women's Commission" in Sydney, where women will be invited to testify to their status and oppression in Australian society.

Partly designed to be an answer by women to the proposal by ex-Prime Minister McMahon for a "Royal Commission" into the status of women in Australia (which, he had claimed, would not consider the issues of abortion, birth control or equal pay) the commission will try to involve as many different women and women's organisations as possible, in an attempt to build the commission into a large and well publicised consciousness raising event.

Although planning is only in the early stages, suggested themes for sessions are "Women as Mothers", "Women as Workers - Paid, underpaid, and not paid", "Women as sex objects" and "Why marriages break down". It is hoped that such topics will stimulate discussion on all the pressing needs of women, and their overall oppression in society.

An initial planning meeting, to which as many individual women and organisations as possible have been invited will be held on January 18, at 8 p.m. at Women's Liberation House, 25 Alberta St., Sydney. Letters requesting information about the commission, and any other correspondence can be addressed to "Women's Commission" c/- 25 Alberta St., Sydney 2000.

... NITA KEIG

SYA NC Sets Date For 4th National Conference

The Socialist Youth Alliance National Committee, meeting over the New Year weekend set the Fourth National Conference of the organisation for April 20 to 23. For the first time since the founding conference, which will have been two years and eight months ago at the time of the fourth conference, the gathering will be held in Sydney.

The conference, usually held once yearly, is a national gathering where revolutionary youth from all over the country come together to discuss the experience of the past year and perspectives for the future. The gathering will be preceded by an intensive and thorough discussion of the strategy for Marxists in Australia and the practical tasks involved in working for the socialist transformation of society at the present time.

The National Committee decided to submit four main resolutions to be voted on by the conference. The main resolution will cover the present social context in which young socialist activists must work in this country as well as assessing the present stage of the antiwar, women's, black and gay liberation movements. The other resolutions will cover the labour movement, the high school movement and the radicalisation among university and CAE students.

The labour movement resolution will assess the work of SYA activists in campaigning for the election of the ALP in the recent elections and will make projections concerning work relating to the ALP in the coming period. Important in this sphere will be the state elections in Victoria and South Australia and the federal Senate election all to be

THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

BY PIERRE FRANK

PART 12

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

Chapter 7: The Turn in the World Situation (The Year 1968)

The composition of the congress held in late December 1965 reflected the influx of youth that had revitalized the sections. The accentuation of this phenomenon in the following years was to pose a good many new problems. We have reached the point at which our history merges into current politics.

It was the war in Vietnam that contributed, in the most conclusive and decisive fashion, to the turn in the world situation that had been ripening beneath the surface apathy, beneath Europe's political stagnation, beneath the reformism that followed "de-Stalinization" in the workers states. As Marx said, revolution, that old mole, was inexorably burrowing away, so that one fine day the ground, thus undermined, might cave in.

Other phenomena also operated in a direction equally favorable to the turn in the situation, for example China's "cultural revolution," despite the extravagant forms that it often took. The announcement of the Ninth Congress of the Chinese CP showed that the "cultural revolution" basically aimed at replacing a bureaucratically ossified party by another party, bureaucratic too, but more active. One of the ways this operation had been effected was through mass mobilizations against the old apparatus. But how many in the capitalist countries saw only these mobilizations and were thus encouraged to revolutionary action!

An international phenomenon, the activation of students in the capitalist countries, was a premonitory sign of this turn in the world situation. Up to then, only students in the underdeveloped countries participated in mass struggles; there was really nothing surprising about this in the colonial revolution, where students have always played a substantial role. But students entering the political arena in developed capitalist countries was a new phenomenon, which had no comparable precedent in history—not even in the bourgeois revolutions. Particular circumstances in each particular country played their part in this phenomenon; since the latter was international in scope, however, it had to have a common objective basis. For the first time—and this in a by-and-large affluent period—students, not in tiny minorities but in large masses, attacked university structures, then went on to attack the very social structures of capitalist society, independently of traditional leaderships. Various indications also pointed to an awakening of working-class youth (even if it were, for the moment, less marked than that of the student youth), with the same tendency toward finding their own path outside the control of the traditional labor leaderships. Finally, an even more unexpected and novel phenomenon appeared—a political awakening of adolescents in the high schools. The International immediately grasped the unusual importance of these developments among the youth.

The sections very rapidly found themselves engaged in propaganda and agitation in favor of the Vietnamese revolution. The aim of this activity was to organize vigorous demonstrations which, in contradistinction to the never ending petitions and timid measures of the peace movement, would have real impact and would be really effective. This could be done only by clearly establishing the difference between the demand for "negotiations" (which was formulated by this instrument of Moscow's peaceful-coexistence policy) and a revolutionary policy whose aim was victory for the National Liberation Front, victory for Vietnam.

The policy followed by China and its supporters, as confused as it may have been in many ways, also favored going beyond the Kremlin's satellite parties to help the Vietnamese revolution.

One of the most valuable contributions in furthering the revolutionary currents was Che Guevara's celebrated slogan, "Two, three... many Vietnams." He gave his life to make this slogan a reality, to engage the forces of imperialism on another front.

Trotskyist activists were always in the front ranks of the ad hoc groups organized in many countries, first in the United States and Japan, and then in several West European countries, for the purpose of bringing together into one broad, united front all who favored mass actions on the Vietnam question. Trotskyist activists were behind the first demonstrations for Vietnam in West Europe (Liege, October 15, 1966; the October 1967 demonstrations at the time of Che Guevara's death; the Berlin demonstration of February 21, 1968). They were in the thick of battle at Berkeley and are in the forefront of all antiwar actions in the United States. It is they who maintain the unity of the movement conducting the campaign in Great Britain, which brought 100,000 demonstrators out in the streets of London October 27, 1968.³⁶

On the heels of these actions for the defense of Vietnam, the Trotskyist organizations linked up with large layers of youth who, in their search for a revolutionary political program, were beginning to learn the truth about the October Revolution, the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky, the Trotskyist movement. The Trotskyist organizations (especially those in the West European countries and in the United States, which had suffered long and difficult years of debilitation) were rejuvenated and reaped the benefits of a recruitment larger than they had ever before experienced.

It was inevitable that such a phenomenon would provoke sectarian criticism: students, not workers, are being recruited, etc. Vanguard organizations such as those of the Trotskyist movement have no reason to abstain from being active and recruiting among a social layer where valuable intellectual forces, indispensable for the working-class movement, can be found. Aside from this fact, however, the generalized student radicalization in the developed capitalist states merited analysis because it was specific to a new social situation, different from what had hitherto existed.

Technological progress, the needs of the economy, new developments in the sciences—all this sparked a veritable explosion of the university population. So greatly increased was the size of the student body that a qualitative change took place in its social importance. At the same time, the position in society for which these students were being prepared was no longer what it had been. On entering the university—and even earlier, in high school—they became extremely concerned about the contradictions of capitalist society. They were even the first to be aware of the new contradictions in neocapitalist society. This phenomenon assumed exceptionally large dimensions in the United States, but the same tendencies appeared elsewhere. Henceforth there would be about six million students in the fortress of imperialism—a percentage of the population not very much lower than the percentage of farmers.

This student population is concentrated in university towns. Their studies are not preparing them—as was formerly the case for most college students—to fill their fathers' shoes, to take their older brothers' places as capitalists, industrialists, merchandisers, or petty-bourgeois professionals (doctors, lawyers, etc.). Gone is the hope of finding important and high-paying positions in big industrial plants, as so many technicians have done before. The new students are destined to become men who work for a living, exploited either by the big corporations or by the state. Part of the middle classes, these students are threatened with unemployment—just as workers are. And the numerous social layers of this student population are particularly sensitive to the other multiple contradictions of society.

The use that capitalism makes of their higher education (whether in the natural sciences with, for example, utilization of nuclear energy for military purposes; or in the social sciences for socially destructive purposes, such as man's exploitation of man), the monstrous behavior of capitalist society toward the most oppressed strata (colonial masses, Blacks, etc.), all this made students move beyond a critique of an educational system that was being "reformed" only to make it better able to fulfill its alienating functions. They moved on to criticize the underlying causes of the evils that were victimizing students themselves, as well.

The International had barely begun preparations for a new world congress (at which, besides the general trend of the world situation, very important specific problems

36. Never did the position of the Socialist Labour League sectarians appear more pitiful than when they refused to engage in joint actions with "petty-bourgeois" groups. In the existing circumstances, this position reduced SLL activity to violent attacks against the Fourth International and its supporters, and to purely verbal denunciations of the reformist and Stalinist leaderships. It also led to the SLL's total isolation from the big mass demonstrations. Thus, after having sent several hundred British youth to Liege on October 15, 1966, in order to denounce the Fourth International, they abstained from participating in the October 27, 1968, London demonstration, perhaps the greatest mass demonstration held in England since the end of the war—the most spirited, at any rate. This anti-Vietnam-war demonstration was also, in effect, a demonstration of the left against the Wilson government's general policy; the SLL characterized the demonstration as a petty-bourgeois assembly and a "fraud!"

We do not care to act like scholastics, using and abusing quotations from on high; but with sectarians who follow the letter rather than the spirit of the law, it is often useful to let the classics take the floor. Let us hear what Lenin had to say in "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder":

"... how is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? ... First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent, to merge itself with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard. (Emphasis in original.)"

Thus, merging to a certain extent with nonproletarian masses is placed above correctness of political line. It took the daring have said if these lines had been written by us, poor sinners that we are!

such as the Chinese "cultural revolution" were to be examined) when a turn in the international situation took place—the biggest turn, in fact, since the end of the second world war.

The year 1968, which opened with the smashing defeat inflicted on the Americans by the Vietnamese Tet offensive, will assuredly be a landmark in the history of the socialist revolution. Two events stand out. First of all, May 1968 in France: Triggered off by a student revolution, a general strike of 10,000,000 workers in its turn drew large sections of the petty bourgeoisie into an unprecedented challenge to the authority of the state, as well as to private ownership of the means of production and numerous other capitalist institutions. This was followed by a revolutionary upsurge in Czechoslovakia that, during the first week of Soviet military occupation, assumed a size and strength unprecedented in a workers state.

Several other events, smaller in scope but pointing in the same direction, should be added to these two, whose significance defies description.

(a) The crisis in U.S. imperialism's two-party political system—including a leadership crisis—evidenced in the presidential election (Johnson's abdication and the general lack of enthusiasm for both Nixon and Humphrey, neither of whom had any political authority).

(b) The crisis in the International Communist movement, Moscow having definitively lost its authority as "guide" in this long-time monolithic and extremely hierarchical outfit.

(c) The disgraceful bankruptcy of the British Labour party government, the strongest party of the International Social Democracy, which had strong hopes for it.

(d) The activation, after several years of relative passivity, of the Latin American urban masses. This included Mexico, a country considered by its bourgeoisie up to then as immune to Latin American-type revolutions.

These upheavals, the early outlines of which had been apparent for two years, particularly the entry into the lists of a new generation outside the control of the old bureaucracies, confronted the European sections of the Fourth International with the problem of changing their tactics. As soon as these phenomena appeared, the Trotskyist movement had undertaken certain tactical adjustments. This was particularly true in France at the time of the Algerian war, as a result of the working-class parties' position on the latter, but they were only partial adjustments. The size and scope of these phenomena laid the groundwork for the formation of currents to the left of the Communist parties, currents strong enough to become factors on the political scene in several countries. Thus, beginning in 1967, the European sections opened a debate on tactics, with a view to revising the entryism tactic. The open discussion on this point was oriented toward a change in tactic. Entryism was the price that had to be paid because of the disproportion that existed between the hegemony of the old leaderships and the weakness of the vanguard, practically incapable of going beyond the stage of a propaganda group. The possibility now existed of organizations being formed that, while still largely in the minority, could nevertheless exercise enough strength in given sectors to acquire importance on a national scale. Moreover, the entryist tactic had been established almost fifteen years earlier on the perspective, based on the relationship of forces of the time, that the crisis of the old leaderships would develop through the formation of left tendencies within those leaderships themselves. (See sixth installment, issue of April 17, p. 415.) Because of the prolonged period of prosperity, leftists in the traditional organizations generally experienced the same slide to the right that the mass working-class movement underwent as a whole. In only a few cases did the contrary occur. For us, those few cases justify the old tactic.

While those who kept denouncing "entryism" ended up by withering away into sectarianism, it is sufficient for us, in view of May 1968, to point to the formation of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire [Revolutionary Communist Youth] as a result of its application within the Union des Etudiants Communistes [Communist Student Union]. The JCR constituted Trotskyism's most valuable contribution to the French May.³⁷ Let us not forget, too, that the SDS in Germany [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund—German Socialist Student Union] arose out of the Social Democracy, which is the mass organization in that country.

37. May 1968 in France also allowed for an evaluation of the policies of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. (This great opponent of entryism has followed a line similar to that of the British SLL on the question of Cuba and Vietnam.) During the greatest event in the history of the European class struggle since the end of World War II, the daily denunciations of this group, which accords the title "revolutionary" only to its own members, culminated in its abstaining from the confrontations with the forces of the bourgeois state. The OCI sounded the alarm each time and advocated retreat, in order not to be led into "a slaughter." On this I refer the reader to Daniel Bensaid and Henri Weber's *Mat 68, une répétition générale* (May 68: A General Rehearsal). The authors of this book illustrate, in excellent fashion, how and why the OCI's sectarianism changed into active opportunism at the decisive

moment. The year 1968, which opened with the smashing defeat inflicted on the Americans by the Vietnamese Tet offensive, will assuredly be a landmark in the history of the socialist revolution. Two events stand out. First of all, May 1968 in France: Triggered off by a student revolution, a general strike of 10,000,000 workers in its turn drew large sections of the petty bourgeoisie into an unprecedented challenge to the authority of the state, as well as to private ownership of the means of production and numerous other capitalist institutions. This was followed by a revolutionary upsurge in Czechoslovakia that, during the first week of Soviet military occupation, assumed a size and strength unprecedented in a workers state.

The 1968 turning point marked the end of the period of political stagnation in the advanced capitalist countries, which had begun shortly after the end of the second world war; the end of the period of reformism which had followed the first years of "de-Stalinization" in the workers states. This turning point marked the end of the period in which the world revolution had been pushed forward almost exclusively by the colonial revolution, a fact that distorted the world revolutionary process considerably and resulted in a proliferation of numerous theories, reformist or revolutionary, that had in common: the alleged incapacity of the proletariat, especially in the advanced capitalist countries, to play a revolutionary role. The activation of the working-class masses in France and in Czechoslovakia, as well as the demonstrations in the large Latin American cities, delivered a mortal blow to all these theories. The theory that the world revolutionary process was preyed upon almost twenty years were on their way out.

Under these new conditions, theoretically and politically much more propitious, the International made preparations for its 1969 world congress. Ninety-eight sections, fraternal delegates, and observers, from thirty countries, were present at this congress, held in April of 1969.

The principal documents adopted by this congress were:

• A resolution on the new rise of the world revolution and an introductory report on these theses by Comrade Ernest Mandel, passed unanimously except for two votes.

• A resolution on the perspectives of the Latin American revolution, presented by Comrade Roca and passed by a two-thirds majority.

• A resolution on the "cultural revolution" in China and the report of Comrade Livio Maitan, who presented the resolution to the congress, passed by a very large majority.

• A resolution orienting the International's work in the immediate future toward the radicalizing youth and open to a discussion on the problems posed by this orientation, with a document presented by Comrade Albert.

The congress also unanimously adopted the outgoing General Secretariat's report on activities, presented by Comrade Mandel; a report on the finances of the International; and resolutions dealing with the situation of the movement in Germany, Argentina, Ceylon, and Great Britain. In Great Britain, where there had been an official section, the congress recognized the Internationalist Group as the British section of the Fourth International.

The theses presented to the congress on the new rise of the world revolution summarized in six main points the turn in the world situation that took place in 1968:

1. The imperialist counteroffensive, unleashed by American imperialism following the victory of the Cuban revolution, after having met with some temporary successes in Brazil, Indonesia, and in numerous African countries, had been stalemated by the heroic Vietnamese masses who recaptured the military initiative with the Tet offensive (1968).

2. The victorious resistance of the Vietnamese people stalemated with a general slowing down in the economic

movements, only to change back into sectarianism when the upsurge needed—an apt time for this group to indulge in denunciations.

While on the subject, I may be excused for adding a few lines that might seem of a personal nature but that concern part of the history of the Trotskyist movement. For lack of even a slightly serious criticism of the International's positions, this group attacks the author of the present work, generally in connection with prewar events. The gist of these attacks is contained in the collection entitled *Le mouvement communiste en France* [The Communist Movement in France] by a member of this group, Brous, who has added a number of asides to articles by Trotsky. The object of these additions is to give the impression that in 1935-38 Trotsky was, in essence, waging a struggle against the faction I belonged to, and that this faction bore major responsibility for the defeat of the June 1936 movement. There were at the time differences of opinion amongst Trotskyists; differences that were aggravated by the exit from the SFIO. [See third installment, issue of March 27, p. 338—Translator.] A split took place—amid very lively polemics. I do not intend to give the history of the 1935 split; to do that would require writing a pamphlet to explain the opinion I hold today on that subject, which has nothing in common with any attacks, black and white approach. At any rate, to make Trotsky's polemics centered around me is a far cry from reality. As to the other "accusation," it is pure and simple nonsense. Moreover, if that were the case, how explain the fact that Trotsky, despite the split, mentioned my testimony before the Dewey Commission as that of a "friend"? And even if I were wrong in 1935, what evidence would that be against my positions and those of the International today? Strange to have forgotten that I reunited with Trotsky. Had he bothered to care about writing a sound historical work, he would have researched the correspondence between Trotsky and me on this point, in order to treat the subject fully and to avoid entering a fragmented, incomplete, and thus necessarily erroneous picture of it. He would have noted that on this question Trotsky asked for neither a preliminary discussion on the causes of the split, nor responsibility for the 1935 split nor a "self-criticism" from

growth of the imperialist countries, which sharpened the social contradictions and intensified the class struggle in most of these countries.

3. May 1968 in France had reactivated the revolutionary upsurge in Europe.

4. The victorious defense of the Vietnamese revolution and the reactivation of revolutionary struggle in several imperialist countries gave the colonial revolution the possibility of surmounting the obstacles of the preceding phase and again gathering momentum.

5. Stimulated by the Vietnamese revolution and by the revolutionary crisis in France, the ripening of conditions for the political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated or deformed workers states has already led to large mobilizations in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and is at the doorstep of the USSR itself.

6. The appearance of a new, young vanguard on a world scale, largely independent of the traditional mass organizations, favors the solution of the central task of our era—creating a new, revolutionary leadership of the world proletariat.

The report on activities could justifiably record the important—in many cases, decisive—role played by the Fourth International's militants in the campaigns for the defense of the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions; the defense of militants persecuted by the bourgeoisie (Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian revolutionists, the Mexican students) or by the bureaucracies of the workers states (the Polish comrades Kuron and Modzelewsky); the campaign for support of the socialist Arab revolution, etc. The activities report could also point to the considerable advances made by the Trotskyist newspapers and other publications throughout the world, and the extraordinary volume of editions and reeditions of Trotsky's works in many languages and in countries where they had never before appeared.

Most especially, the report had to evaluate the Trotskyist movement's participation in the May 1968 events in France. This participation had its climax at the world congress itself, as evidenced by the replacement of the Fourth International's French section: the Ligue Communiste, ten times larger and with immeasurably greater influence than the pre-May 1968 Trotskyist organization, would henceforth constitute the International's French section.

Side by side with this striking advance, participants at the world congress reported on progress made practically everywhere. Leadership bodies of the International and its sections felt new blood coursing through their veins, supplied by young cadres expressing the high potential of the new generation in the ranks of the world socialist revolution.

The turn in the world situation was expressed not only in the composition and progress of the Trotskyist movement—it was not only confirmed in a general way, but it was also examined very carefully in the course of in-depth analyses in the tradition of the Trotskyist movement itself. To the usual outline of general tasks, the discussions added an exceptionally strong note that emphasized the principal result of this turn, i.e., the necessity of raising the International's activity to a higher level, a level demanded by the new situation: the organization would no longer content itself with participating in mass struggles by advancing its program; it would now endeavor to intervene, at least in certain countries and on certain fronts of the struggle, with the object of playing a leading role in them. The question of the Trotskyist movement's making an eventual breakthrough on certain points, in and through action, thus constituted the thread of continuity in the main discussions of the congress—which were extremely lively.

During each of the discussions on the principal documents submitted to the world congress, it became apparent that the Trotskyist movement (after having tried for years to stem the Stalinist tide and then having witnessed revolutionary upsurges that did not throw off the bureaucratic yoke) for the first time in its history had possibilities for making a breakthrough by effectively proving, on a few, still limited class-struggle fronts, the validity of its program, no longer in a theoretical way but in action. The world congress showed that it was very aware of this new situation, of its implications, and of the perspectives it offered for constructing a revolutionary-Marxist, mass International. It is obvious that such a turn cannot be taken just by voting at a congress, no matter how important that may be. The present period will demand of the International, of its sections, of the organizations connected with it politically, persisting day-in, day-out work to make such a turn a reality—as well as even closer ties among all the parties in the movement.

Shortly after the world congress, the Ligue Communiste registered a big gain for the Trotskyist movement through the extraordinary election campaign of Comrade Alain Krivine, the Ligue's presidential candidate. This

campaign went far beyond the borders of France and made the International known to large sectors throughout Europe. Since then the Ligue has continued to be in the vanguard of the class struggles in France; its membership and influence continue to grow.

Most of the Fourth International's sections and the U.S. Socialist Workers party have grown since the Ninth World Congress, in an unequal fashion from country to country but very substantially nevertheless (certain sections have even increased tenfold). During this same period, organizations—which will become sections—have been created in many countries where the Fourth International had not been present before (Sweden, Luxembourg, Ireland); sections are being rebuilt in countries where circumstances had made them disappear (Spain) or had reduced them considerably (Switzerland, Mexico, etc.). These phenomena extend to countries like Japan, Australia, New Zealand. In Argentina the Revolutionary party of the Workers (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—PRT), political mentor of the Revolutionary Army of the People (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—ERP), has begun an armed struggle, some of whose operations have won it renown and prestige throughout Latin America. In Bolivia the Revolutionary Workers party (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—POR), led by Comrade Hugo González Moscoso, was preparing for armed struggle. During the resistance to the Banzer *coup d'état*, about forty of its members, including Comrade Tomás Chambl, a member of the Central Committee, were killed in combat. Many others were wounded and imprisoned. The Fourth International is in the forefront of the struggle against the war in Vietnam, and is more and more active in class struggles across the entire world.

The groups claiming to be Trotskyist but which are hostile to the Fourth International remain sects (Pablo, Postadas, etc.). The only two groups of any size—the OCI-AJS [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste—Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme] in France and the SLL [Socialist Labour League] in Great Britain, which together had formed an "International Committee" to "reconstruct" the Fourth International—split in October 1971.

The progress made by the Fourth International could be seen concretely in two large demonstrations during 1970 and 1971. In November 1970, the International called a conference in Brussels, seat of the European Economic Community, at which it counterposed to the Europe of multinational trusts the slogan of a "Red Europe," a socialist Europe which alone can overcome the division between the Western and Eastern parts of the old continent. More than 3,500 enthusiastic people, most of them youth from all the countries of Europe, were present at the Brussels Conference.

The Fourth International issued an appeal for a demonstration to be held in Paris in May 1971 to celebrate the centennial of the Paris Commune by continuing its fight for a world commune, for the world socialist revolution. Over 30,000 people covered the Belleville and Ménilmontant sections and filed past the Mur des Fédérés in the Père Lachaise cemetery, at the very place where the last fighters of the 1871 Commune met their death. An utterly astounded bourgeois press described the demonstration in terms such as "composed mostly of young people," and "vibrant with enthusiasm." The press also had to acknowledge that of all the demonstrations organized for this anniversary (Socialist party, PSU, etc.), this was—except, of course, for the CP's demonstration, in which about 60,000 people participated—by far the biggest.

In relation to the number of years since its founding, the Fourth International has unquestionably made great progress. But we cannot stop here. We must turn our efforts to the ever greater demands made on us by the world situation.

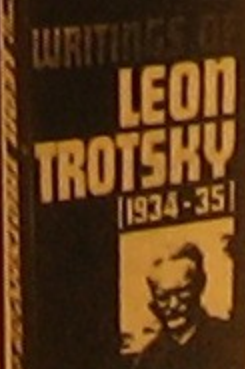
There is still quite a way to go before the aims for which the Fourth International was founded are achieved, namely, to create a mass, international, revolutionary-Marxist leadership and mass revolutionary parties, capable of assuring the victory of the world socialist revolution. For a long time, Trotskyists pursued this aim on the sole basis of historical necessity, of their profound belief in the revolutionary capabilities that the working class has evinced throughout history, and in the correctness of revolutionary Marxism and the analyses it enabled them to make. Their opportunities for mass-scale actions were then minimal. Today, the old leaderships continue to clutter the road, to poison working-class consciousness; but from now on more than theoretical conviction underlies Trotskyist activity.

The new generation of youth living under the contradictions of capitalism are seeking anticapitalist solutions, and their vanguard is beginning to rediscover revolutionary Marxism in thought and action. The path of the Trotskyist movement and the path of this youthful vanguard are beginning to converge.

[To be continued]

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THE WORLD REVOLUTION

Pyotr Yakir's "Recantation"

BY MARILYN VOGT

"If I commit suicide, that means they have murdered me, and if I confess, that means they tortured me." This was the statement of Pyotr Yakir, prominent Soviet dissident Communist and civil rights-leader, prior to his arrest June 21, 1972. He was arrested under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code, which deals with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Yakir, who was instrumental in the formation in May 1969 of the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, has undergone five months of interrogation in the notorious Lefortovo prison in Moscow. He was arrested on June 21 and was reportedly facing trial under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda").

During the first week of December, Moscow correspondents for major Western newspapers and wire services reported that Yakir had renounced his activities against the Soviet bureaucracy's suppression of democratic rights and called for the dissolution of the democratic opposition movement.

The reports that Yakir had recanted spoke of twenty-five people being called in for questioning by the KGB (secret police) as a result of Yakir's "cooperation with Soviet authorities." Some of these people had allegedly met with Yakir in officially supervised "Confrontations," during which Yakir had supposedly "confessed his errors of the past and acknowledged his guilt."

Yakir's daughter, Irina, also an activist in the democratic opposition movement, supposedly reported similar statements by Yakir to her family after a visit with Yakir in prison.

One report stated that Yakir had confessed to being an editor of the "Chronicle of Current Events" a "samizdat" journal that has appeared bimonthly since 1968, reporting the activities of the democratic opposition movement and the arrests and trials of dissidents. The Kremlin bureaucrats have sought to crush the "Chronicle" in a year-long campaign of repression and intimidation, an effort that has been juridically dressed up as "Case No. 24" of the Moscow Court.

Yakir, the reports asserted, would be presented as a key witness in a "show trial" being planned by the Kremlin. His public "confessions" would supposedly implicate a large number of other dissidents in "anti-Soviet" activities.

However, since the reports appeared, a statement has been issued by Yuri Shtein, a member of the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, refuting these rumours. The statement entitled "In Defense of Yakir", was published in a New York Russian-language newspaper, Novoye Russkoye Slovo, and details the results of Shtein's investigations

into the rumours by checking with dissidents in Moscow.

Yuri Shtein, who has worked closely with Yakir, is now in New York. In the Soviet Union, Shtein had been a director of documentary films, but lost his job after protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. In early 1972 he was one of several dissidents who were offered a choice of prison or exile by the KGB. Shtein left the Soviet Union in March and since then has issued statements of protest against the Kremlin's intensifying campaign of repression.

The information in Shtein's statement raises several important questions regarding the source of this rumour about Yakir. The Moscow correspondents who transmitted it around the world cited their sources as "reliable circles." One correspondent states that the information was "circulating among dissident groups" in Moscow. Did these correspondents attempt to verify the information before making it sensational news?

Zinaida Grigorenko's report that Yakir's daughter, Irina, was about to give birth and was not well might indicate that Western reporters were not able to contact her directly to verify the statements attributed to her in the rumour. But the role of the "New York Times" and its Moscow correspondent, Hedrick Smith, in promoting this story has a curious aspect to it.

Shtein told the New York-based Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners that he submitted to the "New York Times" a statement containing the same data as the one submitted to and published in "Novoye Russkoye Slovo" and that the "New York Times" refused to publish it. If this is so, what are the "Times" editor's reasons? Are they afraid the Kremlin would expel their Moscow correspondent for having too close contact with the Yakir family if he were to check with Irina directly?

The "New York Times" has played a significant role in publicizing Yakir's alleged recantation. In his December 11 article, Hedrick Smith accepted the rumour as true and commented extensively on its demoralizing effect on the Soviet democratic movement, but gave no authoritative source for his information. Surely he owes it to his readers to print what Irina Yakir, Elena Kosterina, and Zinaida Grigorenko have to say now on this subject. Or does the "New York Times" have its own reasons for down-playing the Soviet democratic movement and publicizing its "disarray"?

As Zinaida Grigorenko implied in her statement, rumours of this sort are themselves a means for intimidating the Soviet opposition movement because they deliberately revive memories of the Moscow Purge Trials in the thirties. There is a distinct smell of KGB rumour mills behind the story of Yakir's recantation.



Pyotr Yakir

But the very fact that the story has been so widely publicized makes it easier for the KGB to go ahead and try to break Yakir's will - in order to prove that the stories were true. Worse yet, they could decide to take measures to prevent Yakir's ever giving his own account of what prompted these rumours.

Energetic protests are called for demanding that Yakir be freed immediately and that there be no repetition of the Moscow Trials.

Repression Intensifies in Turkey

After nineteen months of martial law in Turkey, 1,047 leftist students, professors, journalists, and others are in prisons awaiting trial. Martial law was imposed in April 1971 in eleven of Turkey's sixty-seven provinces, including those in which the most populous cities are located. Since then, reported Juan de Onis in the December 6 "New York Times", 3,300 people have been tried before military courts.

In November the government passed legislation banning all existing student organizations as well as any group based on class or on "extremist" ideology. According to de Onis, "all the big universities here (Ankara) and in Istanbul are under military control, with soldiers at the doors of buildings and plainclothesmen mingling in classes and in student meeting places."

The government is preparing a new law that would permit it to take over any campus and control faculty appointments.

The regime has taken direct control of the state radio, and several leftist publications have been prevented from publishing. On October 26 a military court sentenced a writer, Nahir Nuri Ileri, to seven and a half years in prison for translating a book on the life of Lenin.

This repression against journalists and restrictions on freedom of the press were condemned in September by a Congress of the International Federation of Journalists which was held in Istanbul. The president of the Turkish journalists' union told delegates to the congress that 754 cases were pending against Turkish journalists.

The December 3 "New York Times" reported that at least 1,000 persons were being hunted by the Turkish regime for suspected "connection with a 'worker-peasant' Communist movement."

Although the government denies the use of torture against prisoners, the "Times" account asserts that "there is substantial evidence that the civilian secret police have been using electric shock, beating and a traditional method of loosening up suspects in which the victim's feet are flayed."

Apparently the many months of martial law and severe repression have not been sufficient to wipe out expressions of the widespread dissent and unrest among workers, students, and the Kurdish minority in Turkey. Martial law was declared soon after a new government was formed by Nihat Erim on March 26, 1971. Erim was brought to power by the

military, who had ousted the government of former Premier Suleyman Demirel of the conservative, openly pro-American Justice party.

The current government, headed by Premier Ferit Melen, is the fourth army-backed coalition government since the overthrow of Demirel. The president of Turkey is Cevdet Sunay, a former military chief of staff, and the army is the most powerful political force in the country. In a nation of 35 million, Turkey's army of 500,000 is the second-largest within NATO, second only to the U.S. army.

Under the Demirel government, the Turkish student movement had grown to massive proportions in 1970, precipitating a crisis for the regime. Demonstrations of as many as 70,000 students and workers occurred against antilabor legislation and against the docking of U.S. ships from the Sixth Fleet.

The army's ouster of Demirel was undoubtedly aimed at crushing this growing opposition movement, although the military commanders cloaked their action with rhetoric about the need for social and economic reforms. The military had been pressing the Turkish parliament to pass legislation to effect token land reform, educational reforms, and limitations on foreign investment in mineral resources.

Since the imposition of martial law, bombing and kidnapping incidents have mounted. The military-dominated regime has accused two banned groups of responsibility for these acts - the Turkish People's Liberation Army, and the Dev Genç (Revolutionary Youth). Using the terrorist incidents as a pretext, the government has widened its repressive dragnet against the entirety of the student and workers' movements.

Elections are scheduled to take place in Turkey in October 1973. To give them at least the appearance of legitimacy, the Melen regime has proposed constitutional amendments that would allow for continued repression of the left without martial law. According to the August 3 "Christian Science Monitor", these measures include setting up "special security courts that would deal with terrorists and other extremists, enforcing stricter control in the universities particularly over the academic staff, limiting the powers of the Constitutional Court and high judicial organs, and giving more powers to the executive in appointing or removing civil servants in senior administrative posts."

Canadian Trotskyists Contest Elections

BY ROSS DAVIDSON

In the December 4 Toronto elections the Canadian Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action (LSA) and the Young Socialists (YS) conducted a vigorous campaign, fielding a partial slate of 6 candidates for Mayor, Aldermen, and Board of Education.

Winner of the mayoral contest was conservative party "reformer" David Crombie, with 81,000 votes. His opponents in the supposedly non-partisan elections were liberal Anthony O'Donohue, who came second, and "Old Guard" conservative David Rosenberg who was soundly defeated. "Reformers" also won a slim majority of aldermanic seats on the Toronto City Council.

A major issue in the elections was the environment. Establishment politicians who supported unbridled developments of high-rise estates and highways with no consideration of environmental needs or the need for mass transit were voted out. Lesser known capitalist reform can-

didates were able to win seats by appealing to popular desire for urban development designed to suit peoples' needs.

None of the "reformers" presented a clear alternative to the big business-run City Council. Even the few members of the labor-based New Democratic Party (NDP) ran as individual members with no common programme. The LSA/YS launched their campaign following this scandalous abstention of the NDP, and focused attention on the need to kick big business out of the City Council and return a labour administration armed with a socialist programme. "For A Labor City Hall" was their slogan.

Despite a virtual press blackout and a lack of resources, LSA/YS mayoral candidate Jacques Henderson polled 1,551 votes (0.8 percent) and others on the LSA/YS ticket received up to 6.7 percent of the votes. The socialist vote was concentrated mainly in student and working class areas. In the mayoral contest many people said they supported the campaign but voted for Crombie

as the "lesser evil" candidate compared to Rosenberg.

Although they won a partial slate in the last civic elections, the NDP abstained in this election, refusing to run a slate. The Toronto Labor Council took a huge rearward step from the municipal election when they took a policy of only endorsing the NDP candidates, by endorsing a slate of liberal conservative "independent reformers".

The Communist Party (CP) member Nelson Clarke ran as an "independent" saying that the CP was "opposed to the entry of political parties into the municipal arena". He polled fewer votes than Henderson.

The LSA/YS were able to get a clear alternative across to millions of people through radio and television as well as through their leaflets and posters. And on election night the LSA/YS issued a challenge to the upcoming Ontario NDP convention to take a firm decision to run a full slate next election against the capitalist parties.

Interview: Abortion Fight in Germany

The following interview is reprinted from the November issue of the American socialist monthly newspaper "Young Socialist". It was obtained by Carol Schuchbach, a former national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action League, in Frankfurt, Germany. She is a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and a past national officer of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The three women interviewed here - Ina Brenner, Sibylla Flügge and Margit Schuchbach - are organisers of Aktion 218, a national pro-abortion group in Germany.

Question: When did the women's liberation movement develop in Germany?

Answer: In 1968 many women began to recognise that they were oppressed, even by the socialist organisations, and they decided to organise separately from the men in SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund - German Socialist Student Federation). They discussed their oppression as women in SDS, but this women's group didn't exist very long - only a part of a year.

Two years later, in 1970, new groups developed. By that time SDS had broken up, and some of the same women helped form a new organisation, the Women's Society. These women were mainly from the student movement and didn't have any group to be active in.

The Women's Society met for the first

time here in Frankfurt. The group met together with secretaries and working people - not industrial workers, but journalists, photographers, office workers and teachers.

We held discussions in educational study groups where we read literature about the family - the role of the family under a socialist society and especially the function of women in the family. We wanted to show how the oppression of women is not an individual problem but a social problem.

We wanted to find out how a women's group can do revolutionary work. At first we didn't approach it like the feminist groups in America. We didn't do work around our own oppression as women. We worked together with all the socialist groups in Frankfurt - holding teach-ins and demonstrations about the Vietnam war, etc. We were active because we were socialists and we had to build a strong socialist movement, but we didn't have an understanding of how imperialism and the Vietnam war or the oppression at the universities related to the women's movement.

Question: Could you describe the abortion movement in Germany?

Answer: When the abortion movement began to develop in Germany in 1971, we thought that the abortion issue was very important and that we had to struggle and be part of this movement. We set aside our books and our educational programme and turned to organising demonstrations and collective acts of

solidarity with the movement against the abortion law.

We knew that this campaign, as it was then organised, was a bourgeois campaign. In Germany, it was started by a magazine called "Stern", which published a statement by famous artists and actresses who declared, "I had an illegal abortion." It was not organised by us but by women who were bourgeois.

Spontaneously, a number of groups against Paragraph 218 (the section of the German law code prohibiting abortion) were formed. They were called Aktion 218. We wanted to join this movement, although it was not really a movement at that point.

It was then that we became really active in the abortion struggle. Last summer we stood in the streets giving out information on the abortion situation. We collected signatures on petitions with our demands and 100,000 people signed up in a few days.

We also collected signatures from women who said, "I have had an illegal abortion."

Then we had a demonstration in November. In August we had scheduled our demonstration for Nov. 6. Later we heard that international abortion demonstrations were being held in Europe and America on November 20, but we couldn't change the date.

On March 11 and 12 of this year, Aktion 218 and other women's groups held a conference of 450 women. All the

women's groups in Germany came together for meetings, discussing experiences and plans for demonstrations and actions. We discussed the family, working women's problems, the problems of women in trade unions, and the future of the abortion movement.

When the movement first began most groups thought it was enough to show parliament that a majority of women wanted to abolish the abortion law. There are polls that have shown that 70 percent of the people want to abolish the law. But parliament doesn't care what people want.

At the March conference it was clear to most of the women and the groups that were initiated last summer that lobbying the minister of Justice or the parliament is not enough. We must be strong and aggressive to get anything.

Question: How do you see the relationship between socialism and feminism?

Answer: When we first became involved in the abortion campaign, we wanted to explain how the problem of the abortion law is a social problem, only part of the total situation of women in this society. We wanted it to have a socialist orientation, and we even had intense discussions in our group over whether or not to join. We decided to join so that we could explain our position on the connection between this law, as a law that oppresses women, and the social structure of capitalism.

We now see the relationship between feminism and socialism in the following way: that women have to fight for their demands, and during this fight they will begin to perceive that these demands are an integral part of the revolutionary fight. They will eventually see that this fight is part of the whole class struggle.

We also think that it is not only the fight against strictly class oppression that can end all oppression. It's not possible to struggle only around demands about working conditions; you also have to make demands about women's oppression. The women's struggle is part of the revolutionary struggle. That is the main reason why an independent women's movement has to exist.

Before, we never believed that we could do something on our own. We didn't even believe that actions could be organised only on women's problems. But this abortion campaign taught us that the oppression of women is very deeply connected with the oppression of all people in capitalist society and that a socialist movement that doesn't see women's oppression sees only half of reality.

Since the March conference many women have come to recognise that it's not only a question of abortion. They are beginning to recognise that the problems are deeper than abortion.

The abortion campaign is more than simply an abortion campaign. Most of the women's groups in Germany were built around this question, but they have a broader range of issues. Abortion is just the beginning of the movement.

3rd Congress of Ligue Communiste

BY MIKE JONES

The Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, held its 3rd National Congress at Versailles from November 6 - 10, 1972. The Congress was attended by 350 delegates and 200 observers.

The main topic of discussion was the Ligue's attitude to the coming French legislative elections. In the elections the right wing coalition, L'Union des Républicains de Progrès pour le Soutien du Président de la République (Union of Progressive Republicans for the Support of the President of the Republic) will be contested by the leftist group L'Union de la Gauche (Union of the Left), comprising the PSF (French Socialist Party) and the PC (French Communist Party). The independence at the Congress, the Bolsheviks for Proletarianism, declared itself in support of boycotting the elections altogether on the grounds that "... the 1973 elections do not appear as a deal in the eyes of the workers". Another tendency, made up of a minority of the ex-Central Committee called for support for the Communist candidates only. The majority declared support for the entire coalition. The 3rd position was carried by the Congress by 199 votes against 71 for the minority of the League and 12 for the abstentionists.

The reasons for the majority's support for the Union of the Left were summarised in the statement: "... a success for the Union of the Left will be interpreted by the workers as a defeat for the bourgeoisie and a success for the workers' movement.

The French elections are held in two parts, the first ballot in which all parties stand; and a second a week later in which some candidates may withdraw. Since May 1972 the Ligue Communiste and the Lutte Ouvrière (Labour Struggle) as well as the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste have been carrying on negotiations with a view to a political agreement on the division of the electorate among them for contesting the first ballot. The OCI later pulled out of these negotiations but the Ligue and Lutte Ouvrière were able to come to an agreement. The purpose of the Ligue in presenting candidates for the first ballot is to demonstrate to the workers that their support for the Union of the Left does not mean that they consider the coalition to be in any way capable of attaining socialism.

The Political Resolution adopted at the Congress outlined the Ligue's position on the current crisis of the capitalist system in Europe and the rest of the world. The Resolution states in section 1: "The most probable political perspective is that of a prolonged period of instability which will see a succession of alternative bourgeois gangs and of reformist attempts led by the traditional workers' parties." In Part 6 of the document, "After May '68, the first task of

the bourgeoisie is to restore in its favour a relationship of forces which was displaced in favour of the working class whose combativity remains high after four years."

The Congress was attended by representatives of many sections of the Fourth International and sympathising organisations, testifying to the rapid growth of the Trotskyist movement around the world.



Ligue Communiste Convention

Krivine Debates Gaullist on French TV

French television viewers had a rare opportunity on December 13. On that day the French TV, which is run by a government agency, the ORTF (Office de Radiodiffusion et Television Française - Office of French Radio and Television), presented a two-hour debate between a revolutionary socialist and a Gaullist deputy. Alain Krivine, member of the political bureau of the Communist League and the League's presidential candidate in the 1968 French elections, debated Bernard Stasi, a member of the National Assembly and of the UDR (Union pour la Defense de la République - Union for Defense of the Republic).

Krivine and Stasi appeared on the programme "A armes égales," meaning "on equal terms." It is one of the most popular programmes on French television, with an estimated audience of some 16 million.

Krivine used his time to explain basic Marxist ideas about the exploitative nature of the capitalist system and to expose the injustice of capitalist courts and repressive apparatus, as well as the corruption in government, in parliament,

and in the capitalist-controlled mass media. He displayed some 50 documents that had come into possession of the Communist League, revealing secret police plans for surveillance of leftists, students, and trade unionists, as well as evidence of fraud in past French elections.

Support for Argentine Prisoners

The following report is taken from the December 1 issue of the New Zealand biweekly "Socialist Action":

"The Mayor of Christchurch, six Labour MPs, the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, the Presidents of the Wellington and Canterbury Trades Councils and National Executive members of the Federation of Labour and Labour Party, were among the signatories to a petition presented to the Argentine Consul-General in Wellington November 27. The petition protested the imprisonment and murder of political dissidents and the general denial of human rights in Argentina.

"The petition was circulated in New Zealand in answer to a call by the United States Committee for Justice to

For example, he showed photos of tombstones of dead persons recorded as having voted for the Gaullist party, the UDR.

The debate received widespread coverage and comment in all the major French newspapers.

Latin American Political Prisoners for international protests following the murder by the Argentine military of sixteen political prisoners who had been recaptured after an escape attempt at Trelew airport last August.

"Dozens of trade union officials, clergymen, academics and student leaders put their names to the petition, which was presented to the Argentine Consul-General by David Cuthbert, president of the New Zealand University Students Association, and Terry Marshall, a leading antiwar activist. A picket line was maintained outside the building housing the consulate while the petition was presented, and leaflets were distributed to after-work crowds passing by. The protest received national radio and press coverage."

AUSTRALIAN LABOUR HISTORY PART 2 LABOR IN POWER 1895~ 1914 BY PETER CONRICK



This is the second part of our series on the history and development of the Australian Labor Party. The first part in our last issue traced the origins of the ALP.

The Australian Labor Party grew to political maturity in a period when great changes were taking place in the nature and function of the Australian state. Federation became the central question to divide the embryonic political groupings of the bourgeoisie. It is no task of ours to go into the debate over federation. Suffice it to say that stripped of its legalistic coating, the problem of federation turned around the question of which class considered itself the most efficient and loyal defender of the intertwined interests of British and Australian capitalism. The ALP had its part to play in this movement, particularly in dealing with immigration and arbitration, both key functions of the new centralised state. As we shall see later, the role of the ALP in the Federal arena was as a national, centralising force, as opposed to the more parochial loyalties of the bourgeois parties. It is in this sense that Lenin emphasised that "the Labor Party has to concern itself with developing and strengthening the country and with creating a central government. In Australia the Labor Party has done what in other countries was done by the Liberals. . . ." (1)

FEDERATION AND THE COLONIAL ECONOMY

Federation was the most concrete political and administrative expression of the development of each individual colonial economy. In spite of rifts over tariffs and protective devices, the overwhelming trend in these economies was towards national planning, distribution and marketing, accompanied by expansion of exports. The period 1895-1914 was one of slow recovery from the sharp break in the expansion of Australian capitalism that had occurred in the 1890s. In primary industries the general recovery was punctuated by drought, but then offset by a rise in wool prices and the growth of butter as an export commodity. The expansion of the manufacturing industry was assisted by the elimination of customs barriers between the states. Manufacturing activity, stimulated by the reallocation of resources under federation, became more specialised and tended to concentrate in the major states of Victoria and NSW. (2) And it is in these two states that rising prices and unemployment most severely affected Australian workers.

THE UNIONS HIT BACK

Despite this erratic recovery, the opening years of the twentieth century saw a rising confidence in the workers' movement. After the depression one of the major tasks of the unions was to restore wages to their pre-1890 levels. Some victories were won, although any rise in wage rates was quickly accompanied by the inevitable price rise and jump in the overall cost of living.

The come-back of the working class movement after the defeats of 1890-94 can only be understood in terms of the rapid and often spectacular advances of political Labor. In the context of these gains the trade unions were more prepared to take the initiative and as-

sumed an altogether less defensive posture. Their confidence was further reinforced by the build-up in union membership in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Though unemployment remained at a constant 5.5%, it was far more difficult for capitalists to obtain scabs than during the depression. Most unions began where they left off in 1890 developing amalgamation and Federation and strengthening their organisational structures.

By 1900 there had been substantial confirmation of the unions' offensive through the return of Labor representatives in NSW, Queensland, Victorian and South Australian parliaments. As yet, the Labor leadership had had little chance to prove its notorious capacities for strike breaking and maintaining the fundamental confidence of the whole trade union movement. (3)

THE FIRST LABOR GOVERNMENTS

The ALP did not have to wait long before its conception of ballot-box reform became a possibility. In fact, barely five years had lapsed before it was swept into office in the 1899 Queensland state elections. On the federal plane, Australians had only to wait until 1904 before J.G. Watson became the first Labor Prime Minister. Watson's ministry soon fell victim to the chronic political instability of the period and the party saw its first taste of power fade within four months. In 1905 the ALP was involved in Lib-Lab alliances (coalitions with Liberal groupings) in Queensland and South Australia, nowhere having the numbers to form a stable government on its own.

The party supported constitutional reforms by conservative governments, often making unprincipled blocs with bourgeois parties. However, pressure from the trade unions to adopt principled stands in parliament severely limited horse-trading. At the 1905 Commonwealth Conference the federal parliamentarians pleaded to be allowed to decide their own tactics, including alliances with other groups. These pleas were ignored by the majority of the Conference and any idea of alliances was rejected. This decision led to early breakaway movements in Queensland, where the ALP had entered a temporary coalition to achieve adult suffrage. When instructed by Conference to break the alliance, some twelve members refused and left the party, relegating Labor to opposition for another decade.

The hard line taken on parliamentary alliances at the founding conference of the Federal party and expressed a gain in 1905 marked a definite break with the old methods of loose organisation and lack of control over individual members. These initial problems were resolved as the parliamentary wing increased its strength and political cohesion and was able to co-opt the effective leadership of the whole movement.

While Labor grappled with these problems, the bourgeois groupings began to crystallise into more precise formations - receiving full confirmation in the emergence of the Deakinite Liberal Party which held government until 1910.

The instability of the first years of Federal Government came to an abrupt end with the ALP, under the leadership of Fisher, victorious at the 1910 general elections. It became the first federal party to win a clear majority over all other parties in both houses. In the Representatives, Labor won forty-one seats to thirty one for the Protectionist-Liberal alliance (the Fusion). The main Labor gains were in New South Wales - five seats and in Victoria - six seats. The Senate result showed that the swing was Australia-wide; Labor won all eighteen seats contested, yielding a Senate of twenty-two Labor and fourteen fusionists. The 1910 election was Labor's honeymoon in Australian politics. More than anything else this victory snapped the bourgeois groupings out of their protectionist-free trade bickering and laid the foundations for a decisive feature of Australian politics in the century - the permanent anti-Labor bloc of all capitalist parties. From here on Labor faced a reasonably coherent opposition.

Having traced the electoral fate of the ALP in its first fifteen years, it is now necessary to analyse those issues which arose inside the workers' movement during this period, and which shaped the politics of the movement outside the purely parliamentary sphere.

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION

The question of arbitration and conciliation formed one of the most crucial issues confronting the workers' movement in Australia. Both of these devices, dedicated to the end of ensuring "industrial peace", were an integral part of the thinking of the ALP's leadership. They constituted a key position in the empirical policies of that leadership and remain there to this day. In the development of the conflict between the day to day struggles of unions and the strategic goals of political labor, arbitration and conciliation have been the most consistent points of contention.

One of the main tasks of the new federation was in this area. Labor's role during federation consisted mainly of demanding safeguards and "checks" in the constitution in spheres such as arbitration. It fell upon Watson and Hughes to champion the cause of flexibility in what was otherwise an extremely rigid bourgeois constitution. Arbitration proved to be yet another area where the party leadership could be more "subtle" than the bourgeois parties themselves. The growth of arbitration and conciliation as legitimate methods of settling basic confrontations proved to be an important weapon for governments in attempting to crush workers' militancy and substituting negotiation for direct action.

W. A. Holman, later a Labor premier of NSW, outlined perfectly the objective role of arbitration when speaking in favour of the 1900 Arbitration Bill: "Today there is one way of settling a dispute; if the bill passes there will be another way of settling it. All that the method of reason, arbitration, common sense and judgment for the methods of brute-force." Holman did not delineate any further on the meaning of those methods of "brute-force", upon which he had so conveniently arisen to power.

Holman's elevation of "industrial-peace" to the level of a social cure-all did not go unchallenged. Attempts to push through arbitration legislation met with strikes from the coal-miners and maritime unions in particular. However these challenges were the exception rather than the rule and the strikes did nothing to stop the passage of the Commonwealth Arbitration Act.

The Fisher Ministry (1910-1913) regarded arbitration as one of its most valuable weapons in maintaining its own political stability. Fisher mapped out what has become a standard manoeuvre for the party's leadership once in power. The ALP in government has seen arbitration as a way of escaping its obligations to the workers' movement - a method of avoiding commitment to unions in industrial disputes. Thus Labor has been content to demand that unions accept the jurisdiction and decisions of "independent" industrial courts.

Such concepts were closely linked to the need felt by the reformist leadership to become the inheritors of Australian nationalism. Their policy was to transcend class. It was "a national one which they felt sure would result in the development of the Commonwealth along right lines and the general well-being of the people", said one of Fisher's ministers. (4)

While there was talk of Labor's "national tasks", it was not perfectly clear which way, or for whom these tasks would be resolved.

It was argued that: "The worker's great concern is not how he might temporise with the robber, not how he might persuade the robber to take a little less of what he produces; his great concern is rather how to get rid of the robber."

But how was this to be done? - It was the mission of Australian workers "to effect the social revolution by means of an intelligent use of the ballot." (5)

Clearly, this confusion had its repercussions in the early stages of the ALP. It had to be established once and for all that Labor was a parliamentary party, no matter how unclear its political ideology.

One issue over which there was very little argument was defence. The defence policy of the ALP was closely related to the sponsoring of the racist White Australia policy - the preservation of a white, democratic Australian nation. Many early Labor leaders such as George Black and William Lane reinforced and popularised some of the 1901 based fears and lies. During the 1901 House of Representatives debate one Labor member claimed that those Asians "who do raise themselves to the level of the whites get as cunning as foxes. . . they beat us at every turn." (6)

With both immigration and defence Labor leaders invoked the worst fears and most backward elements present in the working class movement. Class interests were made to appear complimentary to "national interests" and "national interests" to Imperial interests. The

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

IN BRIEF:

NEW THEORY

"Hanoi Out To Destroy Mr. Nixon" was the headline in the Sydney Morning Herald. One could have been forgiven for thinking it was a misprint, surely even the Herald could stand reality on its head in such a way. But it wasn't a misprint, it introduced an article by Louis Heren reprinted from the London Times. Heren's theory is that the devilish North Vietnamese are all out to thwart the skilful and determined efforts of President Nixon in order to destroy him just like they did to Johnson in 1968. The North Vietnamese would have peace anytime they like says Heren, they just don't want it - they are a "new generation of communists, prepared to accept all the political consequences of the nuclear stand-off between the United States and the Soviet Union. . . . With the Chinese now anxious to emerge from self-imposed isolation, the North Vietnamese can be seen as the new international Maoists - dedicated to wars of national liberation and permanent world revolution. . . . So that's why the little devils are throwing themselves under Mr. Nixon's bombs and giving the President a bad name.

THEY'RE EVERYWHERE

Another interesting point about Heren's article was the comment on the "self-imposed isolation" of China - does that make the long standing refusal of the United States and many other capitalist governments to recognise China part of the Communist conspiracy?

TOUGH ACTION

Following a leakage of between 600 and 1,000 tons of naphtha liquid from a pipeline between the Silverwater Shell Refinery and the nearby Australian Gas Light Plant which turned a Sydney swamp into a giant bomb, NSW Minister for Environment Control Beale decided to get tough. He said that the state government would consider prosecuting the companies involved and that from now on the government would insist on the installation of the best available "fail safe" equipment to prevent a recurrence. That should defuse the issue until people forget about Shell's and AGL's little mistake and the matter can be safely shelved by the government.

RSL WANTS INQUIRY ON BURCHETT

The NSW Returned Services League, following the New Labor government's decision to return an Australian passport to left wing journalist Wilfred Burchett has called for a government inquiry into allegations against Burchett. RSL State president Colin Hines said: "He should be given a chance to clear his name". Strangely, the RSL was not so vocal about Burchett's rights three years ago when Burchett himself called for an inquiry into his activities and the reasons behind the Liberal government's refusal to issue him with a new passport after his original passport had been stolen.

NSW UNIVERSITIES FEE RISE

Fees at all NSW universities will be increased when the academic year begins in early March. The rise at Sydney University will be about 17 per cent bringing compulsory fees there to \$632 for a first year student. Both State and Federal governments have refused the financial aid to the universities which would enable them to avoid the fee rises. So individual students are forced to meet the costs of training the skilled workers which the society increasingly needs.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO INTERVENE AGAINST DESTRUCTION OF LAKE PEDDER

According to a recent announcement by Tasmanian Premier Reece the Commonwealth government has decided not to launch an inquiry into the Gordon River power scheme which involves the inundation of Lake Pedder in central Tasmania. The Commonwealth's refusal to intervene means that the scheme will proceed regardless of the fact that Lake Pedder contains at least 16 plant and animal species which are found nowhere else in the world.

BUREAUCRATS DISCOVER NEW VIRTUES IN MARRIAGE

Recently the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union reversed the decision of the lower Ryzan Court and revoked novelist and political oppositionist Alexandr Solzhenitsyn's divorce from his first wife. The decision may have stemmed from the Soviet bureaucrats' desire to maintain respect for the virtues of family life and the sacred institution of marriage, but more likely it is an attempt to prevent Solzhenitsyn from marrying a Moscow resident and thus winning the right to live there. At present Solzhenitsyn is not permitted to live in Moscow because he does not have the necessary residence permit.



Alexandr Solzhenitsyn

MARCOS BRINGS DOWN MORE "REFORMS"

Over the past few weeks Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos has announced several reforms to speed the development of his "new society", one of these was to declare rumour mongering punishable in the same category as subversive propaganda, another was to order the execution by firing squad of a 52 year old Chinese convicted of drug trafficking. The execution order really opens up new vistas for the Philippines - it is the first time in modern history that execution by firing squad has been ordered in that country, Marcos commented to the press that he had tried to have a "smiling martial law" in keeping with the humane character of his administration.

DON'T WORRY, THERE'S STILL SOME LEFT

Melbourne recently saw a long developing water supply crisis recognised, with a buckets only regime imposed in panic after months of ineffectual sanctions against watering of gardens. One wonders how many suburban peasants will recall as their fields wither that throughout the sixties the Bolte government and the Board of Works (the latter consisting of metropolitan council members elected largely on a property franchise) stalled for five years on implementing a scheme to boost Melbourne's water storage capacity, while at the same time refusing to restrain or even bring some planning to the urban sprawl.

The new civilised (post Bolte) Victorian Liberal government assures people that within a few years Melbourne will be drawing water from the lower Thompson River, nearly seventy miles from the city. They ignore the fact that the waters of the Thompson and the other Gippsland rivers are already heavily drawn upon by irrigators and that water restrictions have also been imposed there in recent months. Why drawing on a distant river whose resources are already strained is preferable to decentralisation of population the government doesn't condescend to explain. But how can they explain anything when the explanation for their behaviour is that they are frantically trying to patch up some of the worst problems created by the anarchic urban growth fostered by capitalism?

FIRETRAPS

The Plumbers and Gasfitters Union recently announced that it considered many shopping malls across the country to be unsafe as they have inadequate fire protection. As a result the union will be approaching proprietors of such establishments to incorporate adequate safety features in new buildings and to make improvements to already existing buildings. The union's South Australian secretary R.J. Giles recently stated that if proprietors refuse to accept the union's advice: "We will tell the public which are the dangerous places. There are an enormous number of them." Giles also said that the union was considering approaching the Shop Assistants Union and the Housewives Association for joint action if necessary.

ANTHONY DEFENDS TERRORIST

Country Party leader Doug Anthony, speaking on January 11 said that the Prime Minister should dismiss Minister for Urban Development Tom Uren for his "inexcusable" attack on President Nixon. Uren among other things claimed that Nixon was waging a "diplomacy of terror" in Vietnam. Anthony did not say what should happen to Nixon for his attack on the people of Vietnam.



Tom Uren

QUEENSLAND GOVERNMENT'S VALLIANT DEFIANCE OF HISTORY

Local Government minister McKechnie stated recently that he would investigate whether there was any way in which Queensland's Country Party government could ban films approved for screening by the federal government. McKechnie's outburst was provoked by the opening of the film "Portnoy's Complaint" in Brisbane, the book of the same is banned by the god fearing Bjelke-Petersen government.

PIGEONS PREVENTED FROM SHOWING THEIR APPRECIATION OF DICK

United States President Nixon has ordered \$13,000 spent so that the trees lining the official procession route in Washington will be free of pigeons on his inauguration day. The trees are being sprayed with a chemical which will "give the birds a type of hot foot treatment". The pigeons might not be able to show Dick what they think of him but the antiwar demonstrators will.

WHITLAM TO VISIT MASS MURDERER

Prime Minister Whitlam has announced that he will visit Indonesia for four days in mid February to ensure continuing good relations with the government of that country. He did not say whether he would inquire of President Suharto as to the fate of the tens of thousands of political prisoners incarcerated without trial in Indonesian concentration camps since 1965.

THE EFFICIENCY OF THE MARKET ECONOMY

In the first week of January half a million bananas were dumped at the Sydney tip in order to keep prices up.

. . . STEVE PAINTER

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

struggle that arose inside the ALP over such questions of war and peace were to foreshadow the pressures building up in relation to conscription - an issue which was to split the party in 1917.

THE RISE OF SYNDICALISM

At around this time two influences emerged in the trade union movement - both were syndicalist type currents, one personified by the English socialist Tom Mann, the other by the strongly anarcho-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

The ALP's monopoly of working class support had pinpointed two distinct responses from Australian socialists in the period before the outbreak of the First Imperialist War. Some, such as the IWW, were correctly diagnosed the ALP as a "pseudo-socialist" party, but then proceeded to turn away from the ALP altogether. In the long run those groups who tried to ignore the ALP were condemned to oblivion.

One member of the Chicago-line IWW recognised this when he explained that the result of the IWW's sectarian campaign against Labor was that "workers who regarded the ALP as bona fide were antagonised. . . ." (7)."

Other socialists took the view of Tom Mann and made some sort of attempt to concretely relate to the ALP. Mann was a former secretary of the Independent Labor Party, a forerunner of the British Labor Party, and had been brought out to Australia by the ALP to work as an organiser at the Trades Hall in Melbourne. It was under Mann's influence that the Victorian branch of the Labor Party adopted what came to be known as the "socialist objective". In reality this concept was fairly remote from socialism. Nonetheless Mann made it clear that any attempt to ignore the ALP altogether was doctrinaire, exclusive, pedantic, narrow . . . comparatively useless and perhaps mischievous. (8)

Mann's influence, like that of the IWW was short-lived. Yet in the brief period 1910-1914 syndicalist ideas had a remarkable influence on the workers' movement. The influence of syndicalism was at its height when an important dispute broke out in Brisbane during the opening months of 1912.

THE BRISBANE GENERAL STRIKE

A direct confrontation between the conservative Queensland government and the workers pushed the ALP leadership to the front of what was to be its first experience of a workers' mass movement

since the party's inception. The strike followed a refusal by the State to recognise union rights in public service industries such as transport.

If the strike did nothing else, it did illustrate a new consciousness within the movement as shown by the publication of a "Strike Bulletin". The January 31 edition of the "Bulletin" carried this remarkable passage: "The Workers Raise the Flag of Solidarity. . . . First Simultaneous Strike in the World. . . . At 6 o'clock last night the signal was given to down tools. Brisbane unionists nobly responded. . . . Superb demonstration this morning. . . . City business ceases. . . . Unparalleled proof of the Solidarity and Power of Labor. . . . Brisbane toilers class conscious at last."

The industrial action was accompanied by daily processions through the streets. In each case demonstrations were led by state and federal Labor MPs. The State threatened that "this strike must end in the downfall of socialism." In spite of its militancy the Brisbane strike ended in defeat after lasting out five weeks. The return to work was accompanied without any real gains. (9)

The Brisbane strike was to be the last major struggle before the Imperialist war. In the years leading up to 1912 Labor

had made some spectacular gains. The ALP began its drive into the 20th Century from a minority position - by August 1914 Labor had created a national party, in office in 3 of the 6 states and fighting to regain control of Federal Parliament. They could now look forward to becoming the dominant factor in Australian politics.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, *The Labor Government in Australia* (1943 ed.)
2. see Becham, *20th Century Economic Development in Australia*, pp 18-20
3. Those unions which had initially opposed the formation of an ALP soon recanted when presented with a fait accompli. Quick electoral successes saw the affiliation of most unions by 1904.
4. Member of Fisher Ministry, cited in Turner, I.H. *Industrial Labor and Politics 1900-1914*
5. Platform of ASL, in *People*, 14 July 1900.
6. cited in McKechnie, H. *A New Britannia*, p. 50
7. Member of Broken Hill IWW local, December 1908, in Turner, *Op. Cit* p. 61.
8. T. Mann, *Memoirs* (London 1923) p. 197
9. *Strike Bulletin*, 31.1.12, cited Turner, *Op. Cit.*

A Challenge to the School Movement

BY GREG ADAMSON

Within the last year, a major change has occurred in the secondary school radical movement. This was clearly seen last September when thousands of students joined in national protests against the present education conditions and treatment of students. For the past five years, school radicalism has distinguished itself by its unpredictable and unorganised appearance. Yet the national action had supporters in more than a dozen cities and towns, who united against the existing education system. Such coordination represents a qualitative advance for the school movement, and the national student rights conference is an attempt to expand and continue the student rights campaign in 1973.

As leading school activists report on the state of the movement in all major cities, certain strategic questions will have to be considered.

MASS ACTION

The enthusiasm of the September 20 demonstration reflected the potential strength of the school movement. In the fight for better education and student rights this is the greatest weapon of students. The campaign which mobilises students is one which goes furthest in realising this potential. The ability of large numbers of students to mobilise against the education system is the factor which will force the education departments to make concessions to the students, and finally raise the question of the whole nature of education within this society. There is no substitute for such action.

This conclusion stems from an assessment of the school as an institution of the status quo, a means of reinforcing the present values and concepts rather than developing the potentiality of students. If this conflict is not recognised, the present education system appears to be for the good of students, and any changes could be worked out in discussion with the educational hierarchies. The continual failure of such discussions (which the education departments always consider "advisory" rather than binding) reflects the incorrect premise on which they are based.

In the last four years there have been radical school groups which have passed the "respectable" school limits with demonstrations, teach-ins and so on, and those which didn't. While the latter may have claimed wide support this completely passive support is useless,

while the former were able to win limited victories on uniforms and other school restrictions.

DEMANDS FOR THE MOVEMENT

The present school movement has sprung up around issues which directly affect students. Those raised so far can be summarised by two demands: better education conditions and democratic rights for secondary students. It is probable that these will remain central in any future actions. Each of these may be subdivided, and adapted to different schools by emphasis on one particular aspect. However, no single demand, such as "end corporal punishment" or "no uniforms" has gained predominance. As such, the two central demands will continue to attract the greatest support from students and should be the basis of the national school campaign (though of course these need to be expanded in all publicity to make them unambiguous).

FORMS OF ORGANISATION

The organisational form of the campaign is dictated by a previous consideration,

that is, what will mobilise the greatest numbers of students around their common interests? The form which has been adopted by the Education Action Groups has been a coalition of those groups and individuals which can support certain basic demands, such as student rights and better conditions of education. This has proved effective because it means that the largest possible forces can combine for the interests of the campaign, even if these separate groups and individuals have completely differing attitudes on other political questions. This is preferable to autonomous groups, which by having much wider attitudes would exclude potential support for the campaign.

NATIONAL COORDINATION

National coordination however, is much more complicated. In the period leading up to September 20 this only consisted of limited correspondence between centres. However the conference should not try to artificially create a national organisation with a national newspaper and other such ambitious projects. The form of national coordination most suitable

to the various conditions of each area would be a loose federation of area groups, which could publish a regular national newsletter, serving mainly a coordinating role.

This is not to diminish the importance of national unity in action, which is a valuable lever for students. Such national coordination can overcome the downturns in interest which appear in different cities from time to time. Also, national action shows students that it is not the peculiarities of their particular state school system, but the entire education system within this society that they are fighting.

FUTURE FOR THE CAMPAIGN

The radical secondary student movement has passed through numerous forms of organisation. These included student unions, antiwar groups and people working around a newspaper (e.g. FOK in Hobart). The weaknesses of all types of organisations to date resulted in short periods of high activity and long periods of inactivity for these groups.

The student rights campaign is the highest organisational and political expression of the movement to date. The proposals above for the action, demands and structure of the campaign are a continuation of its present direction. It is vital to the campaign that it affirms this at this first national conference of school students.

At this stage the future of the student rights campaign cannot be predicted. However, some things are certain. The discontent expressed by students in the streets last September will not gradually drift away. This was assured by the massive involvement of young students. So the previous tactic used by school administrations of dividing the older radical students and the younger apathetic students with minor privileges will no longer quieten down the school revolt.

The opportunities for students to fight the oppressive school system - with its restrictive rules and its pro-wealthy discrimination - are greater now than ever before. The conference should realise and reflect this.

Conference

Sponsored by Education Action Group
January 19-21,
Philosophy Room, Sydney University.
For more information, contact EAG
P.O. Box A444, Sydney South, 2001
or ring Dennis Gamsay - 425007



Sept 20 Demonstration, Sydney

Ireland's Bloody Sunday Anniversary

An Appeal from Bernadette Devlin

Sunday, 28th January 1973, will be the anniversary of Derry's Bloody Sunday.

On January 30th last, British para-commandos murdered thirteen peaceful demonstrators during an attack on a mass civil rights procession in Derry.

The murder of this thirteen, and of all those victims of the British Crown Forces who have died before or since, is part of a calculated policy of the British government to destroy the combativity and confidence of the nationalist population in the North of Ireland. Specifically, it was a last desperate attempt to show up the corrupt Tory-Unionist regime at Stormont.

It failed. Stormont has been suspended.

But British aggression in Ireland continues. Since the abolition of Stormont, the British propaganda service has attempted to give the impression to the world that Britain is playing the role of arbitrator between two warring Irish tribes. White-law, the British Gauleiter, is depicted as a gentle and impartial referee.

The reality is very different.

The essential conflict in Ireland is between the Irish people and British imperialism, supported by native reaction. The specific form it takes is an attempt by Britain to suppress the struggle

of the nationalist population, and to crush its vanguard, the Irish Republican Army.

What this means is the continuation of concentration camps, the imprisonment and torture of thousands of political prisoners, daily harassment and mass intimidation of the total Catholic population - highlighted by the situation in West Belfast, where over half of the total male population has been arrested,

questioned, or had their homes raided by the British Army. When people in this area talk of the British Army of Occupation, it is no idle slogan. It is the literal truth. Andersonstown today is as brutally and effectively occupied as Warsaw was under the Nazis.

But the people have not been cowed. By demonstrations, by armed struggle, by rent and rates strikes, they display their continued combativity.



Bernadette Devlin addressing meeting in Derry

They must not fight alone. The international anti-imperialist movement must rally to the defense of the heroic people of Ireland.

The weekend of 27th-28th January 1973 provides an opportunity for a world wide weekend of activity to focus world attention on this struggle. I appeal to all revolutionary groups, to the student movement, and to the workers' movement throughout the world to organise on that weekend, in every major city in Europe, America, Australia, Asia and Africa, demonstrations, protest meetings, pickets and other activities, to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, self determination for the Irish people, the ending of internment and release of all Irish political prisoners, and to show solidarity with those socialist and republican forces struggling against British imperialism in Ireland.

Demonstrations

Sydney

Sunday, Jan. 28. For details ring 6606672.

Melbourne

Jan 27th. 10 a.m. City Square