

DIRECT ACTION

NO. 37 MARCH 8 1973

10 CENTS

A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

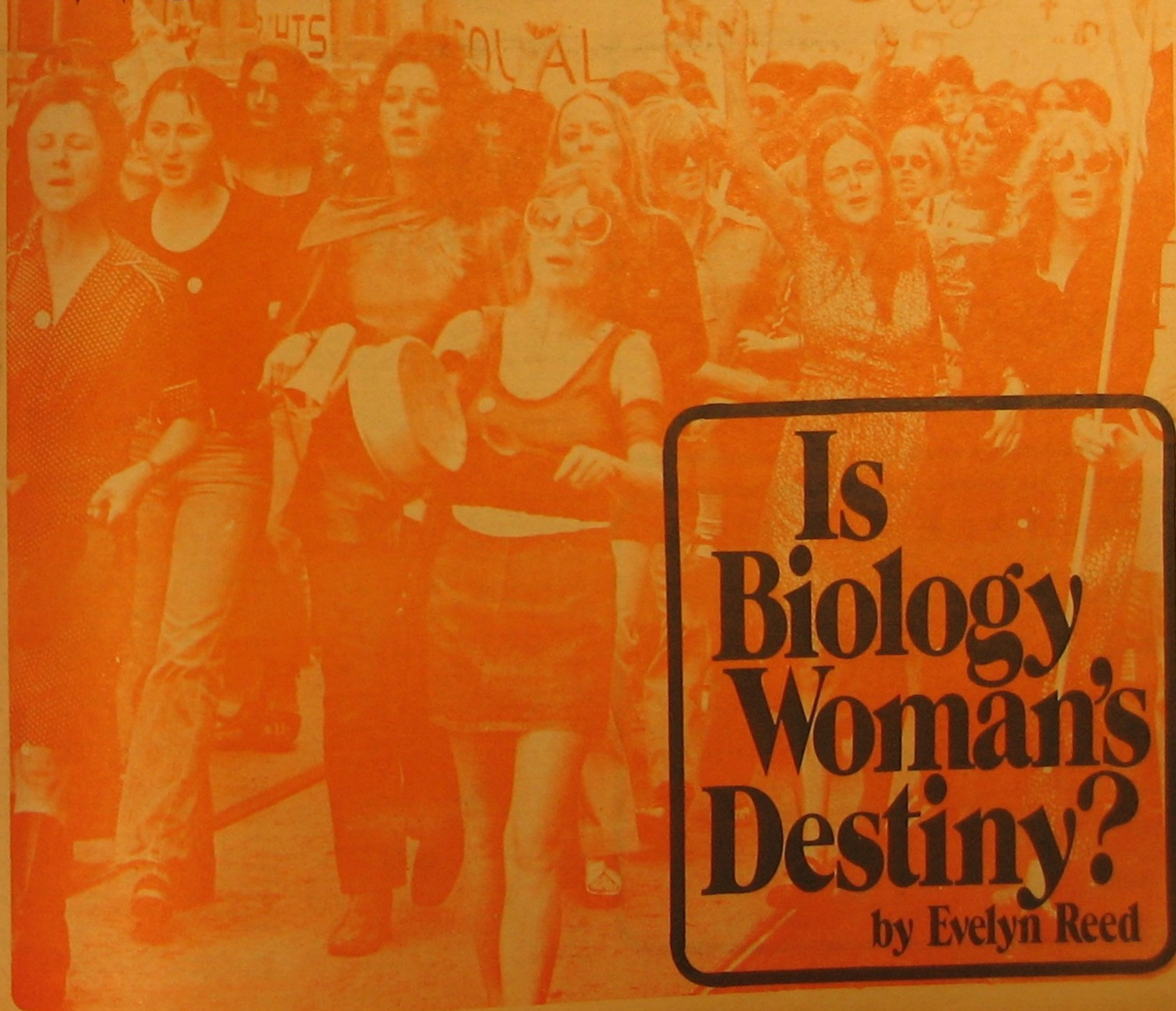


NOW!



UN DEMANDU.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY



Is Biology Woman's Destiny?

by Evelyn Reed

DIRECT ACTION

No. 37 March 8, 1973.

Editor: John Percy. Managing Editor: Nita Keig.
Editorial Board: Nita Keig, Alban Johnson,
Geoff Payne, Jim Percy, John Percy, Sol Salby.

All correspondence to: 139 St John's Rd, Glebe, 2037. Ph. (02)6606672

Registered for transmission by post as a periodical - Category B.
Published by John Percy, 139 St Johns Rd, Glebe, 2037.
Printed by Service Print, James St., Waterloo.

EDITORIAL

THE HYPOCRISY OF THE OPPRESSORS

The recent actions of the Black September group in occupying the Saudi Arabian embassy in Khartoum served as a reminder that the Palestinian people, despite all the set-backs have not given up the struggle. The action, coming eight days after the shooting down of a Libyan airliner with over one hundred people on board and Israel's deepest ever raid into Lebanon, has unfortunately tended to confuse and cloud the real issues. Many people were led off the track by the proximity of the two events.

The embassy raid has shown to the world in general, and to the Arab leaders in particular, that the Palestinians, fighting for their self-determination, will take any action, no matter how desperate, to stop the sell-outs of their national aspirations.

The attack could not have come at a worse time. In recent weeks the Zionist state has demonstrated categorically that it is unwilling to accept any concession offered by the Arab states. Their murderous raid on Lebanon in an area far away from the Israeli border, which resulted in high civilian casualties, served the purpose of forcing the Lebanese government to withdraw whatever democratic rights the Palestinians have in that country. The shooting down of the Libyan airliner was another example of Zionist callousness. We are not interested in any commissions of inquiry, but it is quite clear that the shooting of the plane was intentional mass murder. No warning in either Arabic or English was given, although nearly all Israeli pilots can speak one of these languages. Further, at the time of the shooting, the plane was moving away from the Israeli heartland, back into the United Arab Republic. The crocodile tears of Golda Meir on hearing of the death of the passengers cannot hide the direct complicity of the Israeli leaders, always in direct contact with the air force, in the deaths. (It is also strange that the pilot could see the passengers face, but could not see the passengers in the plane.)

Following the shooting of the foreign

diplomats, plous bourgeois leaders, from Nixon down immediately resumed the talk of "Arab murderers" and demands for justice. It may seem perplexing, but these very same people didn't demand that the Israeli pilots and their superiors be brought to justice for their acts of wanton aggression.

The futility of terror tactics used by Black September, the way terrorist action backfires, has been explained by us on previous occasions, but we have to re-iterate; our criticism of these actions in DIRECT ACTION has nothing to do with the hypocrisy of the leading lights of the bourgeoisie. Our condemnation is based on revolutionary efficacy. Terrorism is a counter-productive way of combatting reaction. One cannot substitute the actions of a few for mass action and organisation. As in the previous occasion at the Munich Olympic Games the counter-productivity of these methods becomes apparent very quickly.

Regardless of our opposition to the tactics used by Black September, we can only endorse their central demand: the immediate release of the Palestinian leader, Abu Daud, and sixteen other guerrillas held in Jordanian jails.

In Australia, the new Labor government has been noted for a more progressive stand than its conservative predecessor. The Middle East, however, is one area of Labor's foreign policy which is no better than the Liberals. The Labor government and the labour movement as a whole must be made to distinguish between the oppressed and the oppressors. Labor must stand squarely on the side of the oppressed, whether their current tactics are right or wrong. Labor must oppose the reactionary violence of the Zionist state and provide whatever help is necessary to further the Palestinian cause.

Whatever action Labor can be forced to take, we cannot let the Palestinians stand alone. While calling on them to change their tactics, we must remain firm in our unconditional defence of their just struggle.

Contact Socialists In Your Area

SYDNEY: SWL, SYA, 139 St. Johns Rd., Glebe 2037. Ph 6606672
MELBOURNE: SWL, SYA, 136 Queensberry St., Carlton 3053. Ph 3473507
ADELAIDE: SWL, SYA, 287 Rundle St., Adelaide 5000.
BRISBANE: SWL, SYA, 40 Union St., Spring Hill 4000.
CANNBERRA: SYA, P.O. Box 1733 Canberra City, ACT 2601. Ph 477306 (John).
HOBART: SYA, P.O. Box 1255N G.P.O., Hobart 7001.

..... I would like to get in touch with the Socialist Workers League
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..... I would like to join the Socialist Youth Alliance

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Vic. YLA Takes Steps Towards Mass Action

BY ANDREW JAMIESON

At a conference held early in February, the Victorian Young Labor Association (YLA) took a positive step toward supporting the mass anti-capitalist movements that have developed during the youth radicalisation of the past decade.

Although the YLA has been to the left of the ALP on most issues, it has only paid lip service to active involvement in these movements - a heritage of the right-wing leadership in the YLA with its approach of maintaining the YLA as a mere appendage of the parliamentary ALP, restricting its outward face to occasional and restrained public statements.

Indicative of this desire for a more active orientation towards building anti-capitalist movements is the motion that was passed seeking to fully support the secondary students rights movement. Recognising the growing strength of the campaign for student rights, the YLA decided to endorse the National Education Action Coalition's decision to hold a national student strike on April 11.

Building the campaign to repeal all abortion laws as one of the main vehicles for the election of a Labor State Government was also endorsed, reflecting the need to force the Holding leadership to take a positive stand on the issue. Secondly, the motion reflects the rising tide of the struggle of women for the right to control their bodies.

These and other motions and policies adopted can be seen as a general shift towards the Socialist Left within the YLA. Active YLA members seeking an answer to the inequalities of capitalism and wanting to further many of the promises and decisions that Whitlam has made, are turning to socialists within the YLA for direction.

Two further examples of this were seen at the conference. Firstly, the conference condemned Whitlam's visit to Indonesia, seeing it as a move to bolster the reactionary Suharto military dictatorship and to increase political, military and economic ties with Indonesia. Secondly, and more importantly, the YLA supported the Socialist Left motion

How Not to Win 35hr Week

BY COL MAYNARD

In January of 1971 a campaign was launched on behalf of 25,000 workers employed by the NSW State Electricity Commission (SEC) for the implementation of a 35hr working week in the power industry. The campaign, which was started on a very militant note with a threatened general strike throughout the industry, but which was finally referred to arbitration, was given a setback last month in the decision of the NSW Industrial Commission to reject the unions' claim altogether. The Commission found that every point in the unions' claim was groundless and the validity of the claim that the power industry has attained a much higher productivity, and therefore was able to grant a 35hr week was most definitely rejected.

This decision is more than just a setback for the workers of this particular industry. It affects the living standards of every worker in this country. Furthermore, the whole case put forward in the SEC claim demonstrates the treachery of their right officials in the NSW Labor Council in their efforts to confine the fight to arbitration. It also shows the bankruptcy of the general strategy put forward by the leadership of the ALP in fighting for the 35hr week and their inability to understand the full implications of this fight.

The strategy put forward by the ALP leadership and their followers in the union officialdom is that a victory in one industry will leave the way open for the granting of a reduced work week in all industries. The wind was taken out of the ALP's sails somewhat when the chief commissioner hearing the SEC case gave as one of the main reasons for refusing the claim the fact that "it would be unfair to workers in other industries". A very quick look at Australian labour history will show that never has a

to State Council calling on Barnard and Whitlam to withdraw the spy-base from Singapore. The two motions indicated the YLA's position in not giving any support to governments which attempt to suppress national struggles for self-determination.

On hearing a report from its anti-war co-ordinator, the YLA also adopted the perspective of building the anti-war movement around the demand to withdraw all troops from Indochina and to support Vietnamese self-determination. Despite the "peace proposals" it was stressed that the US remains firmly entrenched in the region and that there was no hope of peace until they were out completely.

However, the positions adopted by the YLA were not reflected in the election of the new State Executive. The right-wing, defeated time after time in the conference around policies were able to drag thirty or more people along for the voting session only. In doing this they frustrated attempts by active YLA members to implement YLA motions. The bureaucratic manoeuvring by the right again prevents the YLA from taking an active stance on its policies, particularly as the YLA stands to gain a lot of support from concerted political intervention in the coming state elections. As Geoff Collins, a Socialist Left supporter, who was elected as Assistant State Secretary explained in his election speech: "We are not going to grow unless we adopt the perspective of becoming active participants, as youth, in the revolt of youth..."

With increasing numbers of young people turning to the ALP and socialist ideas, the YLA could publicise its policies in the elections, particularly the abortion issue, as a motor force in reelecting a Labor government in Victoria. The active intervention of the YLA in the elections could involve many young people in the Labor campaign. A campaign of this sort, oriented towards students and young workers, supporting such issues as abortion, student rights, the anti-war movement and support for workers' struggles, can introduce many youth to the YLA and to radical ideas.

substantial reduction in the work week been brought about without the full support of all sections of the workforce through strikes and massive demonstrations of solidarity and strength. Obviously this must be the case now. The entire workforce must be drawn into the struggle for a reduced work week. The method of "one industry at a time" has clearly failed as has the strategy of limiting the struggle to arbitration. The ruling class is most determined not to give into this demand. Even Mr J McBean, the Labor Council industrial officer who handled the case, had to admit that workers would now have to seek the 35hr week by "direct negotiation".

The demand for a reduction in the working week with no reduction in pay is an important part of the fight against unemployment and redundancy. The slogan should be "share all the available work". Yet the union officials and the ALP leadership, instead of developing this concept amongst the working class and organizing a fight around it, put the whole question of unemployment in the background and replace it with "the need for greater leisure time in such an age of rapid technological change." The NSW Industrial Commission statement said that "no mention" was made of redundancy or threatened redundancy during the course of the inquiry.

At this time the continuing deterioration of the world capitalist economic system forces the employers to bear down in all respects upon the working class and cut back its standard of living. The use of threatened unemployment as a weapon in combatting the growing militancy of the workers can only be countered by a united campaign of the entire workforce taking massive strike action.

The ALP must stand on a program committed to full support of the coming struggle.

MARXIST SCHOLARS TO TOUR AUSTRALIA



EVELYN REED

BY JIM PERCY

The Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance are sponsoring a speaking tour of Australia by two leading Marxist scholars from the United States. They are Evelyn Reed and George Novack two leading members of the Socialist Workers Party in the US.

As an independent Marxist anthropologist, Evelyn Reed is widely acclaimed as an expert in her field. She is in great demand as a speaker in North America where she has lectured at more than eighty universities. She was a keynote speaker at the Southern Female Rights Union Conference in Mississippi, 1970, and a participant in the Sixth Socialist Scholars Conference in New York, 1970. She has taped an interview for the series

"Men and Ideas" which was distributed to educational radio and T.V. stations around the U.S.

Reed will be in Australia from April 10 - 24 and will address public meetings in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane and Canberra. No one interested in Women's Liberation can afford to miss the tour of this socialist who has been active for over 30 years. Reed was analysing the problem of women's oppression well before the current upsurge of interest. She offers a Marxist view of the problem and its solution and as the American newspaper, the Guardian has stated: "Her anthropological studies are especially acute and knowledgeable, ... documenting a number of new Marxist concepts in the development of prim-

DIRECT ACTION has printed articles by Reed, notably "Women: Caste, Class or Oppressed Sex?" and "Feminism and the Female Eunuch - A reply to Germaine Greer" in which Reed takes up criticisms made in Greer's book "The Female Eunuch" of her approach to the origins of women's oppression in "Problems of

Women's Liberation." In this issue of DIRECT ACTION we are publishing the first of two parts of Reed's "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?"

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itive society in a most convincing and erudite fashion."

George Novack, born in Boston in 1905 and educated at Harvard University, is one of the outstanding socialist scholars in the world today. He has contributed articles to "The Nation", "The New Republic", "The International Socialist Review" and other journals. A former research associate for the Fund for the Republic, he served on the steering committee of the Socialist Scholars Conference. Novack has lectured at major universities in the U.S., Canada and Mexico and has been an active socialist and staunch defender of civil liberties since the 30's.

Novack is an outstanding Marxist philosopher and author of more than 20 books and pamphlets including: "Understanding History", "Marxist Essays", "Democracy and Revolution", "Empiricism and Its Evolution: A Marxist View", "The Origins of Materialism", and "An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism."

Novack was the editor of the popular anthology: "Existentialism versus Marxism: Conflicting Views on Humanism," and was the co-editor with Isaac Deutscher of: "The Age of Permanent Revolution", a well known collection of the writings of Trotsky. "Library Journal" has called Novack's writings: "rewarding for the author's lucid style and fine command of Marxist polemics". "Biography of Philosophy" called Novack: "A man who understands and believes in the spirit of his subject".

Novack will speak in Australian cities from May 21 - June 4 on the topic "The Meaning of Life: A Marxist View".

In this talk Novack raises and suggests answers to the questions: "What shapes human nature? Are socialism and humanism compatible? What is the way forward for humankind?" Novack relates these and other questions to contemporary social problems, discussing various philosophic theories from Epicurus and Kant to Marcuse and Popper.

GEORGE NOVACK



PUBLIC MEETINGS EVELYN REED

Is Biology Woman's Destiny?

Have women always been the second sex? The fascinating, but hidden history of women in pre-history. What accounts for the subordinate position of women in our society today? How did the family arise? The current issues facing anthropologists and the women's liberation movement today are discussed by this internationally-known feminist and author.

SYDNEY Tuesday, April 10, 7.30pm
Teachers Federation Auditorium, 300 Sussex St, Sydney.

BRISBANE Thursday, April 12, 7.30pm
Trades Hall, Wickham Terrace, Brisbane.

CANNBERRA Friday, April 13, 7.30pm
Hughes Community Hall, Hughes, ACT.

ADELAIDE Tuesday, April 17, 7.30pm
SYA Hall, 287 Rundle St, Adelaide.

MELBOURNE Wednesday, April 18, 7.30pm
Assembly Hall, 156 Collins Street, Melbourne.

All meetings \$1 donation, 50c high school students. Questions and discussion will follow talks.

Sub Drive Gains Pace But Still Behind Schedule

In the last two weeks of our drive for 500 new subscriptions to DIRECT ACTION, we were able to obtain 109 new subscribers. This is over the 100 we needed to obtain every two weeks to make our quota of over 500 by Easter. But it goes only a little way to compensate for our poor start in the first two weeks of the drive when only 60 new subscribers were obtained.

But obviously the easiest way for us to complete our drive is for you, our readers to clip and mail the subscription form below. If you mail it now, you can take advantage of our special offer of 15 issues for \$1.

On this page we display some of our recent covers - if you want the next 15 posted to your home at incredibly cheap rates, then send your dollar now.

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Latrobe Valley	2	-	5
General	6	13	15
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DEEPENING POLITICAL CRISIS IN IRELAND

Why Vietnam Treaty Won't Bring Peace

LABOR CHALLENGED ON SPY BASE

WHAT WE CAN EXPECT

The Peace Treaty, the Communist Party and the Antiwar Movement



BY JIM PERCY

Since the signing of the Paris Peace Accords on Vietnam on January 27 this year, many people have started to realise that not much has changed. It is becoming clear that the US has not changed its counter-revolutionary aims in Vietnam. Its continued massive support for the Thieu regime makes the current situation in Vietnam extremely unstable.

Of course, some of the provisions of the Accords are being carried out - at least by the North Vietnamese. With the release of prisoners of war held in the north we could see that, at any rate, the North Vietnamese were prepared to put the Accords into operation. Not so Thieu and the Americans. In fact the "breakdown" in implementation of the Accords seemed so imminent that yet a further treaty had to be signed - this one to guarantee the implementation of the January 27 agreement.

What does this incredible situation mean? Clearly, there is no real peace and nor can there be while opposing class forces with standing armies continue to exist in South Vietnam. It is clear that Thieu and his US backers realise this. "Tribune", the newspaper of the Communist Party of Australia, summarizes the situation in this way in an editorial in their February 27 to March 5 issue.

"The first point is that of the two Vietnamese parties, only one supports the application of the agreement and that is the PRG.

"The position of the Thieu regime was well summed up by the US official in Saigon who told the magazine "Newsweek" (February 19); "Thieu has never accepted the peace agreement in good faith... Vietnamese air force pilots have orders to bomb villages flying Viet Cong flags."

Now of course it is clear that the PRG "supports" the cease-fire. It signed it. Under enormous military pressure from the US, and intense diplomatic blackmail from the Soviet Union and China, the PRG signed the Accords. That is their right - they know the situation they were facing.

"Tribune" continues in the same editorial to say that: "The PRG... has based all its actions since the signing of the peace agreement on its strict implementation and on reconciliation between the different political forces in South Vietnamese society." (Our emphasis.)

We don't know whether the PRG is actually carrying out this policy of peaceful coexistence, approved here by "Tribune". But the lessons of the last 30 years in Vietnam show that the revolutionary consciousness of the peasant and worker masses is not prepared to compromise with the "political forces" represented at present by the Thieu regime which is based on the landlord class in South Vietnam. They know no "reconciliation" is possible. They will not be reconciled to the return of the landlords with demands for back rent and crippling rents in the future.

So whether or not the PRG is well-intentioned vis a vis the Accords, there will be no solution to the problem because Thieu is not stopping fighting and the Vietnamese masses will find that they must either fight Thieu or submit to a return to the past.

So the struggle will decide and the struggle continues. With this in mind the responsibility of progressive forces through

out the world who have supported the Vietnamese continues also. The role of the antiwar movement in our country remains important in this overall fight.

Once again the struggle to build a viable and mass antiwar movement must be taken up. But the illusions apparent in the "Tribune" editorial find their reflection in Communist Party actions in the antiwar movement, and so that we can really build a movement in support of the Vietnamese people we need to discuss and analyse how this can best be done.

In Sydney, to concentrate on the events in one city, it has been difficult to construct an ongoing antiwar coalition since the announcement that an agreement had been reached on October 26, last year. An action which had been called for November 18 was in fact boycotted by the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament, the Communist Party dominated peace group in Sydney.

The strategy that emerged for the CPA and AICD after the elections was to concentrate on building tours for visitors from North Vietnam and the PRG. It was only the massive bombing begun by Nixon on December 18 that shocked the CPA/AICD into a realisation that something more was needed than calls for "Sign Now". But the response of these forces was to call an action in the name of AICD for December 31.

At this meeting a leaflet was handed out urging people to "join the antiwar movement - contact AICD." In fact this desire to pose as the antiwar movement in Sydney has been apparent since the CPA/AICD ditching of the Moratorium in this city over a year ago. To pose AICD as the antiwar movement is to take no account of the many other forces in the movement with different politics to AICD.

AICD, ignoring the need to build an antiwar coalition, decided to call in its own name, an action for January 20. So while elsewhere in the world and especially in the US, the different antiwar forces were uniting in jointly called and sponsored actions, in Sydney the CPA/AICD forces were "doing their own thing". But they were not excluding anyone; all are welcome to attend, even speak at their demonstration, called around their slogans.

But the CPA/AICD like to back several horses at once. A new manoeuvre was to elevate a meeting of "delegates" from different organisations to be the supreme body of the Sydney antiwar movement. Never mind if the overwhelming number of people at the meeting were Communist Party members from different fronts, never mind if this structure excludes any non-affiliated individuals from playing a leading role in the antiwar movement, as long as the CP runs the show.

But they were not even too certain that this would succeed. So they decided (at this stage!) to give authority to a general meeting of the forces that organised the November 18 action and to put as 'recommendations' the motions passed at the 'delegate' meeting. But they got caught. They lost the general meeting and consequently staged a walkout. Why did they do this? Is it anything new?

Outside the Labor Party, the CPA has been the biggest organisation on the Left in Australia - certainly it is the biggest of those claiming to be revolutionary. Its responsibility in organising antiwar action was therefore very important. Yet the CPA has never played a role that corresponded with its influence.

In 1967 it was the CPA, along with the Labor Party right-wing, who was responsible for changing Calwell's 'immediate and unconditional withdrawal' position to 'Stop the bombing, Negotiate'. This position, which did not recognise the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination, went hand-in-hand with bureaucratic methods in organising and dominating the movement.

When the Moratorium campaign was begun, a meeting called to form the campaign in Sydney resulted in defeat for the bureaucratic practices of the CPA/AICD axis. Their response then was to close down the meeting. However, in Sydney a democratic structure was eventually adopted, and general meetings of all activists became recognised as the highest decision-making body of the movement. It was with this structure that the movement achieved its greatest success.

So it is nothing new to see the arrogance of the CPA in action once again. But what is the reason this time? After all, Brian Aarons, a National Committee member of the CPA, did initially second the motion that they found so much fault with. One reason has already been stated: the CPA sees AICD as the antiwar movement in Sydney. Secondly, the CPA is currently engaged in getting all the mileage it can for itself out of visits by Vietnamese liberation fighters, rather than using these tours to build the biggest possible antiwar movement in defence of the Vietnamese.

The proposition that the antiwar movement should sponsor a visit by representatives of the North Vietnamese and PRG has been around for some time. However the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union under the initiative of Laurie Carmichael, a member of the National Committee of the CPA, was first off the mark. The delegates arrived and had copies of "Tribune" under their arms, for the photographs. This was written up in an amazing manner by Malcolm Salmon in "Tribune" February 6-12 p5:

"Suddenly the Vietnamese emerged from the next gateway along. "There they are," said "Tribune" editor Alec Robertson who saw them first. The crowd surged towards them... The visitors were loaded with sheaves of flowers, copies of "Tribune", toy koalas and other impedimenta (sic)."

Here we see the fantastic "fact" that Alec Robertson "saw them first" reported as if it was of some significance. What are we meant to understand from this? Does some revolutionary esteem accrue to the CP on account of this? We don't think that this or anything else will conceal the actual politics and practices of the CPA. All they succeeded in doing was to exclude many of the forces who have struggled to aid the Vietnamese from any part in organising the tour.

Another tour has been projected, this time to be organised by the antiwar movement. But what part of the antiwar movement? By the Sydney Antiwar Action Coalition? No, by AICD, Save Our Sons and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom! The last two organisations are virtually defunct which leaves... AICD, which after all, according to itself, is the antiwar movement in Sydney.

The information about the projected visit was communicated to the Sydney Antiwar Action Coalition general meeting of February 20 by Ken McLeod, a spokesperson for AICD. Then Alf Watts, a member of the Socialist Party of Australia - a rabid

pro-Moscow split-off from the CPA, was quick to move that the meeting 'enthusiastically endorse' the report, Bill Gollan, National Committee member of the CPA, seconded the motion. The meeting indignantly rejected endorsing its own exclusion from the initial sponsorship of the visit, by 47 votes to 30.

The meeting then began discussing its aims and objectives. The following motion was moved by Gordon Adler, a dissident member of the CPA, and seconded by Brian Aarons:

"The ceasefire in the Indochina war has created a new situation for the antiwar movement. The ceasefire has been welcomed by opponents of the war throughout the world. However, the signing of the ceasefire agreement does not mean that the war has ended for all time, or that it has yet been implemented throughout the whole of Indochina.

There is still a need for a coalition of forces opposed to the policies of US imperialism in South-East Asia. Until all the forces are withdrawn from the area and the people of Indochina are allowed to determine their own future, there will be a continuing need for the anti-war movement to organise mass demonstrations in support of the Coalition and to respond to any more acts of aggression by the rapid mobilization of all anti-war forces. For the immediate period ahead the aims of the Coalition should be-

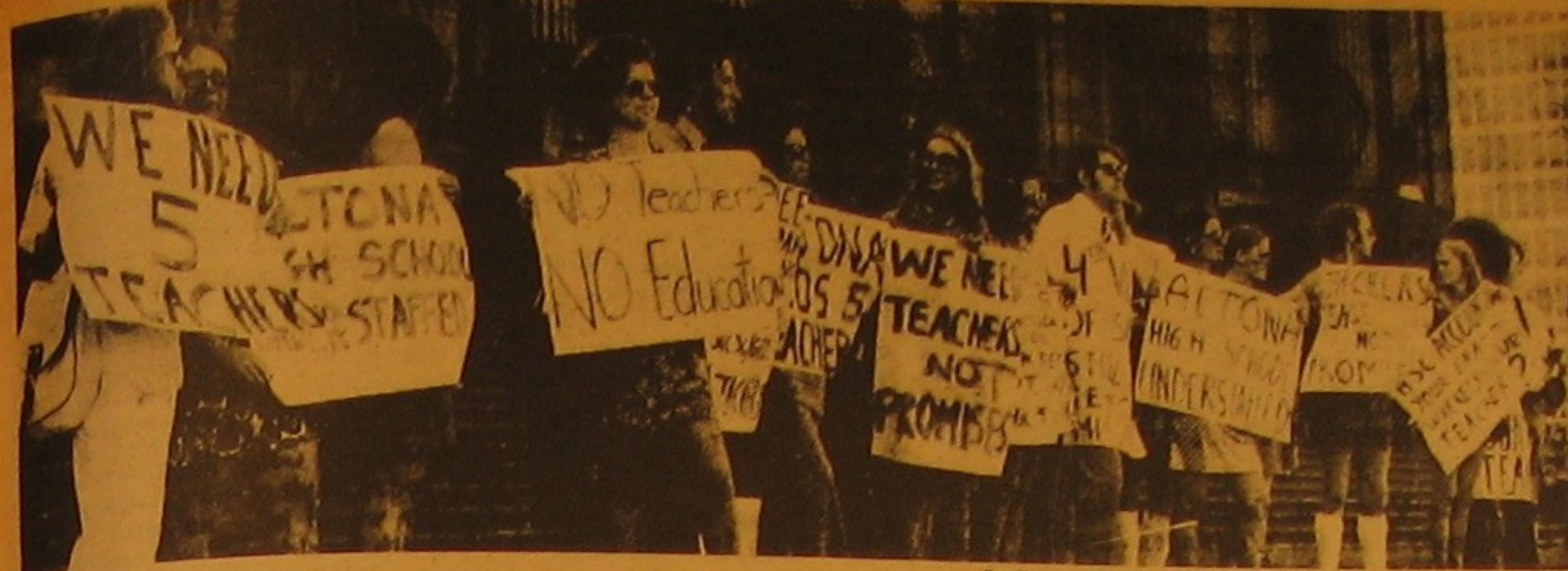
- (i) the immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the Indochina area without any conditions. This must include the removal of U.S. bases from Thailand and the withdrawal of the U.S. fleet from the Indochina area.
- (ii) the withdrawal of all support for and recognition of the Thieu regime and insist that the Australian Government cease all aid to the Saigon regime, recognize the D.R.V. and P.R.G. and provide substantial reparations to them as recompense for Australia's part in the war.
- (iii) the release of all the 200,000 political prisoners held by the Thieu regime.
- (iv) self-determination for the people of Indochina.
- (v) the immediate cessation of all US military operations in Laos and Cambodia.

We support the plans for the visit of the delegates from the D, R, V and P, R, G to Australia but point out that these visits will not reduce the need for mass demonstrations in support of the above aims."

The motion was carried against 'official' CPA opposition (which included Aarons who had been pulled into line!). They walked out, but not before a session of continued disruption, heckling and slander.

The Sydney Antiwar Action Coalition will continue to build opposition to the forces preventing self-determination for the Vietnamese. It will be built on a democratic basis, with general meetings of activists determining its policies. These policies may change from time to time, according to the needs of the antiwar movement and changes in the war situation, and this will be a healthy process which will genuinely reflect the forces involved in the movement and be conducive to the entry of new and active forces. Only such a structure will permit the democracy needed to construct a healthy coalition.

The Sydney Antiwar Action Coalition can be contacted by writing to the above c/- Lindy Decker, Kingswood Road, Engadine Ph. 5208703



Striking Altona High teachers at Parliament House

Victorian Teachers on the Move

BY JIM McILROY

Ferment amongst Victorian secondary teachers is on the rise as the 1973 teaching year gets under way. Despite the optimistic claims of Education Department representatives, the conditions in the schools is far from over. Just recently the announcement was made by various teachers colleges and university education faculties that many university graduates had missed out on places. In other words, many potential teachers have been turned away. At the same time schools all over the state are short-staffed, class sizes are still much too large, and conditions generally are unacceptable to students and staff.

An example of the consequences of this Newpeak by education authorities is the

revelation that teachers trained to teach migrant English are not to be employed for this purpose. Rather, they will be used to cover up officially admitted teacher shortages in many "normal" subjects, Library and special "remedial" teachers were also to be redirected for this purpose. This is just one example of the hypocrisy of education authorities who preserve and defend a system based on oppression and discrimination against migrants, women, and blacks and all working people.

The first direct action in protest has been taken by 30 teachers at Altona High School who struck on February, 27 over the staff shortages at the school.

The same day they demonstrated on the steps of state Parliament demanding

more teachers for their school.

The President of the school's staff association Mr. N.R. Bell was quoted as saying that because of the "critical" staff shortage "We're not really educating the kids we're minding them." ("Herald" February 27 1973) This is merely the most dramatic of recent responses which the general dissatisfaction has produced from teachers over what is called 'education' in our society today. Further action like this can be expected as time goes on.

At the same time the Liberal State government and the Education Department have been trying to attack dissident teachers in the schools by transferral or dismissal (see D.A. No. 33). After the uproar at the end of last year, and

resolute action by the Technical Teachers Association and its members, the case of attempted victimisation of 2 active teachers at Lilydale Technical School has ended in complete victory. They have been completely reinstated.

However, the case of Helen Garner, the teacher sacked for teaching about sex in a free and open manner at Fitzroy High School remains unresolved. Moves are being made at present to build a broad campaign of support for her reinstatement. This campaign stresses both the injustice of her dismissal without democratic procedures and her right to be free to teach as her conscience dictates. These two aspects are related, since it is only progressive minded teachers who are being victimised. The lack of democratic procedures is a means of covering up and maintaining this witch-hunt.

Strong action is being planned and support for Helen Garner is growing throughout the ranks of the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association. As the rank and file journal "Teacher Action" (No. 5, March 1973) put it: "The question of fair procedures and teachers' rights is the most live issue in the VSTA." An important public meeting is being organised around the whole question of victimisation. The purpose of the meeting is: 1. "to find and develop aspects common to the victimisation cases of 1972".

2. "to help develop an action programme for civil rights for teachers."

All those interested in developing a broad movement in defence of the right to teach and the right to democracy should attend. The success of this campaign in mobilising VSTA and TTA and VTU members will determine the future of democracy in the schools and the future of teacher unionism.

Primary Teachers Strike in Melbourne

BY DAVE KERIN

For the first time in thirty years, primary school teachers in Victoria have gone on strike. The cause was the refusal of the Brunswick council to allow Brunswick Central primary school the use of buses to transport 820 students from the Albert St primary school in Brunswick to temporary classrooms in North Brunswick. The staff immediately took action in defence of the students and began to strike for a set period each day.

Les Compte, president of the Brunswick branch of the Victorian Teachers Union, informed DIRECT ACTION that the strike had two purposes. Firstly, the staff wanted to publicise the situation, the bad conditions and the danger to the students. Secondly, they wanted to force the Education Department to take action by either negotiating with the council or supplying transport.

At the moment, the Education Department seems adamant that it will not take action. Teachers at Brunswick are awaiting the decision of the full session of the local council before contemplating further action.

The president of the Brunswick branch of

the union stated that the Melbourne College of Education branch of the VTU was the only branch to offer support so far. The Trainee Teachers branch expressed unconditional support for the striking teachers. All teachers must support the Brunswick VTU members. Their strike is a welcome indication of changes taking place in the union. A recently elected leadership is showing signs of being more progressive than the reactionary bureaucrats who formerly held sway. Don Bulh, the new president of the VTU, stated that the Council's ban was "the last straw for teachers."

Primary teachers are beginning to follow their more militant secondary counterparts in taking direct action in support of demands which the Education Department refuses to grant.

This recent action emphasises the need for the VTU to be able to defend its members and act firmly and decisively in their interests. It must once again take the stance taken by teachers in 1945 when they applied their combined pressure through the union to bring down the conservative coalition under Dunstan.

The new leadership of the VTU makes it possible for teachers to consider such action. No longer do teachers have to

say "Well we could do this, but the union will not stand with us, so we would be ineffective." Now there is the possibility that those who want change can make the union work as a union should.

There are many issues that have to be



Children board buses outside temporary school, Brunswick

SYA 4th Conference Preparations

SYDNEY, APRIL 20-24

Plans for the Fourth National Conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance received a boost this week with the announcement that Evelyn Reed (see page 3) will address an opening rally at the Conference on the Friday night.

The conference will be held over the Easter long weekend from Friday April 20 to Monday April 23. Reed's speech to the opening of the conference will climax several months of intensive activity in which young socialists of SYA have been taking their ideas out to revolutionary-minded youth across the country.

Having a representative of the Trotskyist movement from overseas at our conference will allow us to indicate clearly the importance we put on the building of an international revolutionary movement. The conference will discuss the questions under debate in the world Trotskyist movement leading up to the Tenth World Con-

gress later this year.

Reed, who has had many years of experience in the feminist movement in the United States, will be able to contribute a great deal to the discussion on the women's liberation movement and the way in which socialists can help build it into a powerful force.

As well as these events, our conference will be discussing the secondary students movement, the struggle in the universities, labour youth as well as a political report on the current situation in Australia and overseas.

If you support the movements for social change in this country you belong in SYA. If you want to find out more about us first - you belong at our conference. We want to remove any obstacle you have to getting to our conference so please contact us below for more information and help.

Come to the Conference! Join SYA!

I would like to attend the Socialist Youth Alliance Conference at Easter. Please send me more information.

I would like to join the Socialist Youth Alliance.

NAME

ADDRESS

PHONE POSTCODE

Post to SYA, 139 St Johns Rd, Glebe, NSW, 2037.

How Not to Combat Rising Prices

BY SOL SALBY

The Communist Party of Australia (CPA) has at last discovered the "final solution" to the problem of price rises. No they haven't read Trotsky's "Transitional Programme"; they aren't proposing an escalation clause in all awards tying wages to cost of living index. Neither have they decided to latch onto Labor's Prices Justification Tribunal. Their ideas are much more original and ingenious than that. They are going to keep the price of meat and other products down by banning their export.

The Communist Party's all new plan was outlined in a front page article in its newspaper "Tribune" (Feb 28 - March 5) signed by editor Alec Robertson. Essentially it hailed the actions by four gangs of wharfies in Sydney who last month walked off ships loading mutton for the United States and Japan. Robertson endorsed their action and claimed that the ban was "on the correct grounds that intolerably high meat prices here are, in part, due to the increase in exports that are aggravating shortages of supply on the home market." Similarly the "splendid example" of the wharfies was followed by that of the five from the Campaign Against

Rising Prices who circulated a petition calling on the Federal Government, among other measures, "To ban the export of all red meat to Japan and the USA."

The rightward trend in the CPA's politics has been quite obvious over the last few months. Thus the concern with price rises of spaghetti, Chiko rolls and eggs were only to be expected. In the past we have seen similar material being chucked out by the Socialist Party of Australia and the Maoists. Nowadays Alec Robertson no doubt does not want to be outflanked by those groups in listing price rises, particularly when such "patriotic" foods as the Chiko roll are involved.

The CPA's patriotism is not limited however to the price of Chiko rolls. It endorses the demand to keep all good quality meat in Australia, presumably for the benefit of Australian workers and Australian non-monopolist "patriotic" capitalists.

The chauvinist and racist overtones of the CPA's stand are quite plain. Never mind about American and Japanese workers. So long as there is a plentiful supply of meat in Australia we will be right. While

it is true that Americans are the largest consumers of meat in the world the same thing can't be said of the Japanese workers. On the contrary, up till very recently Japanese workers consumed less meat than fellow workers in other industrialised countries. Now, following the floating of the yen and advances by Japanese capitalism, they are able to consume meat for the first time in sizeable quantities. But not if the CPA has its way and keeps all meat here in Australia.

Regardless of how the Communist Party's chauvinist and racist line succeeds in dividing up the working class and achieving its "aim", neither Australian nor overseas workers will benefit from the use of such a strategy. For all its rhetoric on workers' control and consumers' control, the actions the CPA wants emulated concern a very mild demand indeed. They want "immediate action to ensure that meat prices in Australia are related to the cost of production, not grossly inflated relative to the cost structure of some overseas countries." (emphasis added) The CPA may criticise the Prices Justification Tribunal, but it accepts the same basic principle: the right of the capitalist to make "normal" profits. If prices are to

be tied to cost of production then if the costs of production go up then so should prices. All the rhetoric in the world which follows on the question of public ownership and reduced profits can't hide the acceptance of normal profits by the Communist Party as a major criterion for determination of prices.

True enough, increased exports are partially responsible for the shortage of supply of meat which caused the recent spate of price rises. The reduction of exports, however, can only harm workers in other countries. The capitalists are still able to manipulate the home market to their advantage. A ban on exports does not challenge their right to make a profit or manipulate the market and it shouldn't be supported. Such a ban can only serve capitalism in coopting the workers movement.

The scheme suggested by the CPA is in the worst traditions of Stalinism. It seeks to substitute divisive chauvinist action for revolutionary action. The only way to protect workers from price rises is to fight to insert a clause in every contract and award so that wages are tied in to a meaningful cost of living index to be determined by the ACTU.

MOA Strikes for Wage Justice

BY ANDREW JAMIESON

One of Victoria's largest and most active white collar unions, the Municipal Officers Association, resorted again to industrial action to seek wage increases for its 20,000 strong membership covering officers employed by the Board of Works, the Tramways Board, the County Roads Board and the Harbour Trust. The strike, taking place on February 19 and 20, effectively stopped trams in the Melbourne metropolitan area. Coming after long and futile negotiations carried out through the Arbitration Commission, which is still effectively stalling many wage claims, the action gave a clear indication of the mounting resentment of many unionists to the rising cost of living and the continued erosion of real wages.

The claim before the Arbitrator, Mr Justice Aird, was centred around a 20% (or \$11.50) rise to bring the level of wages to roughly that of the Electricity Commission of NSW. In an effort to shackle the militancy of the MOA, Aird decided to allow a similar claim by the Association of Architects, Engineers, Surveyors and Draughtsmen of Australia to represent the MOA in the SEC, thereby taking the bite out of the MOA wage demands. The SEC branch of the MOA has consistently fought for the right to bargain collectively in the SEC and to avoid having its case heard together with all other sections. Aird's decision resulted in the MOA withdrawing from negotiations and turning to direct action to achieve its demands.

The initial signs of the weariness of the MOA's rank and file with arbitration and its continued stalling came on February 15 when the La Trobe Valley members of the SEC branch of the MOA voted for a 24-hour stoppage. Fully expecting the Melbourne section of the SEC branch to endorse the call, MOA officials authorized the strike call at both State and Federal levels.

However they did not count on the rejection of the SEC officials. In an unprecedented official letter the deputy manager of the SEC urged the union members to call off the proposal. The letter had its desired effects and as it sought to play upon the differences existing with the SEC Melbourne section, the subsequent meeting of Melbourne SEC branch members on February 22, after heated discussion, rejected the strike call. The meeting did, however, unanimously endorse the decision to remain outside arbitration and to call for action in a few weeks if the wage increase was not forthcoming.

With the rejection of the strike call and the confusion that set in due to the letter intervening into the affairs of the union, the La Trobe Valley workers called the stoppage off. But as with their fellow Melbourne workers, the Valley SEC section has set a time limit of three weeks for the Arbitration Committee to come to a decision on their claim.

The strike demonstrates the determination of a newly awakened part of the workforce to struggle by way of industrial action to defend its standard of living. White-collar workers, long associated with privilege and conservatism, find that they cannot escape the attacks of the ruling class in its onslaught against the living standards of the workers. Insurance clerks, teachers and many other sectors have taken strike action in recent months.

This new militancy of the white-collar section of the workforce will enable the development of a much stronger and unified trade union movement in the fight ahead. The question of wages, inflation, high cost of living and working conditions must be approached in a unified way by the whole working class movement, by both the trade unions and the ALP. The demand for a sliding scale of wages, ie, wage rises should flow automatically from any rise in the cost of living, is the only way of combatting the attacks on the standard of living of the working class. The ALP, as the political party of the trade unions, should make this demand central to its campaign in the forthcoming Victorian state elections and it should seek to mobilise the workers of Victoria around this demand, giving full support to such actions as the recent MOA strike.

Women in Revolt



ABORTION LAWS DEFIED IN EUROPE

Over 390 French doctors have now signed a manifesto demanding free abortion and free access to all forms of contraception. The manifesto also condemns the backwardness of existing French legislation on all questions relating to sexuality, contraception and abortion.

The manifesto states:

1. All means of contraception to be made available to everyone, including minors, thanks to a broad informational campaign and to be reimbursed by social security.
2. Abortion to be free.
The decision to have an abortion must be left entirely up to the woman. We reject any commission being set up that forces her to justify her choice, that retains the notion of guilt, and allows secret abortions to continue (as the experience in foreign countries shows that it would).

Abortion, like any other medical and surgical operation, must be reimbursed by social security. Modern methods, which have made abortion into a simple act involving no risks, must be put within reach of everybody so that women can interrupt their pregnancies under the best medical and psychological conditions.

Free abortion means that the decision to have or to perform one must be made on the basis of nothing but one's own moral or religious convictions. The undersigned doctors state that they perform abortions or do what they can to help obtain them outside of any considerations of financial gain; and that they solemnly pledge to answer collectively for their action before all judicial or medical authorities, as well as before public opinion.

By their admission, the doctors make themselves liable to punishment under France's archaic laws which prohibit abortion except to save the life of the woman. But they are undeterred. "We will stand trial together!" they proclaimed defiantly.

The issue has provoked wide controversy throughout France especially in the final weeks leading up to the national elections. Many factors have helped to make abortion one of the most bitterly-debated social questions in France, as well as in other parts of Europe.

The rising feminist movement, which has begun to take up the struggle for women's rights, has had a particular impact in countries dominated by Catholicism and its backward moral code, eg France, Belgium, Italy and Ireland. The recent upsurge of interest and struggle around abortion in France was sparked off by the famous Bobigny trial of a sixteen year old girl, Marie-Claire Chevalier, for having had an abortion, and her mother, Michelle, for having assisted in procuring her daughter the abortion. Demonstrations and other displays of public support for Marie-Claire's case led to her acquittal.

The arrest and prosecution of Belgium gynaecologist, Dr Willy Peers, for allegedly performing over 300 abortions at his Namur Clinic has produced a massive response from thousands of Belgians. This campaign forced the government to free Dr Peers pending trial. He could have been held for up to two years without trial and could be jailed for up to twenty years if convicted.

A defence committee has collected more than 200,000 signatures defending him and other signatures were collected, in-

cluding those of 300 doctors, for statements to the effect that the undersigned had arranged, performed or undergone abortions. There have also been many solidarity actions all over the world, and messages of protest to the Belgian government. This campaign has also given impetus to the movement in France.

On top of this the influence internationally of the US Supreme Court's decision, has been to add weight to the struggle for the right of women to abortion everywhere.

This important feminist issue is coming to the forefront in many countries. By speaking out and refusing to recognise the right of the state to control their bodies and their lives, women everywhere are pushing back oppressive patriarchal laws and inspiring many more women to help in the fights which still lie ahead.

EDUCATION FOR YOUR DAUGHTERS?

A clear example of the way in which women in our society are regarded as socially unproductive and totally irrelevant in the making of history is provided in the advertising material of Encyclopaedia Britannica, a well-known general reference source.

The advertisement reads: "...Where your child is helped with his home and school work by the world's greatest teachers.

Where his questions of the past are answered by the men who made it.
Where his questions of today are answered by the men who live it.

Where his questions of the future are answered by the men who will change it."

It is clear from this advertisement who runs Encyclopaedia Britannica, but this is confirmed when readers are encouraged to fill in a clip-off saying "Gentlemen, please send me free and without obligation your colourful preview...."

This is just one example of the numerous ways in which women, during the course of their lives are disregarded and put down. History books and television shows, pop songs and advertisements, all relentlessly reinforce the message of female inferiority and insignificance.

Women however, are beginning to strike back. What Encyclopaedia Britannica may not realise yet is that before long it will be being forced to revise its interpretation of the past and its vision of the future, or else go out of business.

ARGENTINE SOCIALIST CANDIDATE SPEAKS ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

In the coming general elections in Argentina one of the few women candidates running will be Nora Ciapponi, vice-president and candidate for the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST-Socialist Workers Party). Ciapponi is thirty years old and has a history of militancy in the textile industry.

In an interview printed in the PST's weekly newspaper "Avanzada Socialista" Ciapponi described the position of women in Argentina - their dual oppression as housewives and mothers, and as super-exploited workers, the discrimination they face in all spheres of social and political life. In describing this double exploitation Ciapponi states:

"We women do not enjoy the same rights

as men in this capitalist society. We receive different wages for doing the same work, and the woman who works outside the home also works inside the home. In addition, there are no child-care centres paid for by the state that could lighten the task of bringing up the children of working women. Nor are there free laundries to take some of the load off their backs.

Another example is that of women who do not work outside the home, and thus when they get old they become a burden for their children and other members of their families. This happens because housework is not recognised as productive labour by the governments of the bosses, and thus it merits neither a salary nor a pension. This condemns women to lifelong dependency on the husband and other relatives.

It is common knowledge that in offices and business it is difficult for female employees to reach the post of supervisor or manager. The fact that the overwhelming majority of those involved in education are women does not prevent there being many more directors and superintendents of the male sex. Not to mention the universities (there is not even one female university rector) or technical bodies like the Atomic Energy Commission. It was not too long ago that one



Nora Ciapponi

big daily newspaper in the capital tried to force female journalists to sign their articles with a male pseudonym. It seems that the director thought that the paper would lose prestige if it was known that women wrote for it.

All this means that women are left totally on the fringes of social, trade union and political activity since they lack the means to take part in it. For example, I am a textile worker and in the years in which I have been active in the union I never knew of a female trade union leader - in spite of the fact that eighty percent of the textile workers are women."

Asked whether there were clear proscriptions against women holding union posts, she said: "No, that's not the way it works. Several factors are involved. First, the union limitations, for the reasons that I already mentioned. Second, social education which tries to convince women that they are incapable of doing any such thing. And finally, the bosses and the trade union leaders have distorted the image of women who devote themselves to such activities."

...NITA KEIG

Anti-Nazi Demo

BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

"You lot better be quiet, because one day I'll be your Fuhrer." Thus Cass Young, "Fuhrer" of the National Socialist Party of Australia shouted at a group of about fifty demonstrators in Melbourne protesting the trial of seven people, who, it is alleged, took part in a demonstration against the Nazi headquarters in June of last year. His remarks followed the reaction of those present to the chanting of such slogans as "White power" and "We want dead Reds" by Young and other Nazis attending the hearing.

The hearing at Sunshine Court on Monday February 26 adjourned the trial for one month, to be heard on March 26 at the Melbourne Magistrates Court.

Those on trial, Jim Bacon, Bruce Cornwall, Michael O'Donnell, Nick Butler, Margaret Court, and Phillip Court, who are all members of the Marxist Worker Student Alliance, were charged with "unlawful assembly" and "riotous assembly". These charges could mean heavy penalties and possibly jail. The most important point to note here is the precise nature of the charges which threaten a fundamental civil liberty - the right to demonstrate.

They were not charged with having taken part in the assault and smashing of the Nazi headquarters, which was also the home of Cass Young, but with having taken part in the demonstration itself. This represents an attack on basic democratic rights, a part from the obvious fact that the seven arrested were picked out to be victimised out of a demonstration of over two hundred people.

Prior to the hearing an alarming increase in the number of attacks by the Nazis against the left in Melbourne was recorded. Left-wing and Jewish bookshops have been fire-bombed and as recently as a week ago a bullet was fired through the window of the East Wind bookshop - a popular target for the Nazis. In addition to this, physical attacks have been made upon certain individuals.

On the morning of Saturday February 24, well known Sydney Nazi "the Skull" leapt from a car near the city square wearing a swastika armband and a T-shirt with the slogan "white power" printed on it and assaulted a person handing out leaflets protesting the trial. "The Skull" reportedly told the police: "I am a Nazi and I hate all Reds. You blokes can't do much about them, so I will".

He was later sentenced to two months gaol but not before he had added a few more scalps to his collection on the morning of the hearing at Sunshine Court. As the court adjourned and people began to leave, a demonstrator grabbed the swastika on "the Skull's" arm. He immediately went berserk and attacked the demonstrators, precipitating a wild fracas between protesters, Nazis and police which lasted for about twenty minutes.

The police waded in and arrested a further nineteen people. Of those arrested and charged, only one Nazi appears on the list. It was clear to anyone there that a deliberate distinction was made between National Socialists and the left-wing protesters who were picked off indiscriminately, many being subject to additional beatings at the hands of the police. One had his arms slashed with a steel rule by a member of the police Special Squad.

On the political side, however, it must be pointed out that the recent events greatly over-exaggerate the position of fascism in Australia which nowhere nears the proportions assigned to it by some sections of the left - particularly the WSA. Seeing an imminent fascist threat, adventurist actions have been projected to "smash the fascists" often only serving as a pretext for the ruling class and the state machinery to make attacks against the left.

When attacks are made by the Nazis and other fascist groupings against any of the left, the response of the whole left should be a mass response around democratic rights. Responding to Nazi provocations using their own methods only tends to add fuel to the fire and in the long run is no way to counter a real fascist movement if one arose.



Student Actions for April 11

BY MIKE JONES

Preparations for the national secondary student actions to be held on April 11 are going ahead in all states. The National Education Action Coalition, which is co-ordinating the actions nationally, has received reports from Canberra, Melbourne Adelaide and Sydney on the progress of the campaign.

In Canberra, a meeting of student activists on February 21 formed the Canberra Education Action Group, and voted to affiliate to the NEAC. The meeting discussed the demands which the EAG should put forward. Under the heading of better education conditions, the following demands were suggested: more teachers, wider and freer subject choice, replacement of restrictive and discriminating examinations with assessments arrived at jointly by students and teachers. Other demands raised in discussion were: freedom of student press, political free-

dom in schools, no arbitrary rules and the listing of school rules so that students know their rights, right of immediate appeal against discipline, non-compulsory class attendance.

In Melbourne, the Victorian Education Action Group is now holding weekly meetings on Saturday afternoons. The VEAG has received support from various political groups. The Young Labor Association endorsed the April 11 action at its recent annual conference and the Worker Student Alliance has advertised the campaign in its press.

At a meeting of the South Australian Education Action Group on February 24, a motion was passed on the April 11 action. It was resolved to have a march through Adelaide on April 11 and that build up actions be organised before the march, and that discussions around students' rights be organised after the march.

Demands proposed for the SA EAG were similar to those proposed at the Canberra meeting. The route of the march was planned and the commencing time was set at 11 a.m.

The NEAC has prepared two badges for national sale, one advertising the NEAC itself and the other calling on students to strike on April 11. Both badges are available from the NEAC at the address below. The cost is twenty cents each for both badges and fifteen cents each for an order of ten or more.

In order to facilitate coordination of the campaign on a national scale, the NEAC was instructed by the groups participating in its formation to prepare a regular newsletter for national distribution. The first and second editions of the newsletter are now available and may be purchased by sending 5 cents for each plus 7 cent stamp to any of the local student's rights organisations affiliated to the NEAC or to the National coordinator at P.O. Box A444, Sydney South, N.S.W. 2001.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

SYDNEY

WOMEN'S COMMISSION
TEACHER'S AUDITORIUM,
300 SUSSEX ST.

SAT MARCH 17, 10am to 5pm.
SUN MARCH 18, 10am to 5,30pm.

MELBOURNE

MARCH ON MARCH 10,
CITY SQUARE, 10AM

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

ADELAIDE

MARCH ON MARCH 10
RALLY AT VICTORIA SQUARE

9.45am SAT MARCH 10

MARCH TO WOMEN'S MEMORIAL GARDENS

BRISBANE

RALLY

TO REPEAL ALL ABORTION LAWS

KING GEORGE SQUARE

SATURDAY MARCH 10th, 10.00AM

Is Biology Woman's Destiny? by Evelyn Reed

PART ONE
The second half of this article
will be published next issue

Many women in the liberation movement, especially those who have studied Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, have come to understand that the roots of women's degradation and oppression are lodged in class society. Quite correctly they coined the term "sexism" to describe the capitalist social system, the final stage of class society, which discriminates against women in every sphere of life.

What women remain unsure about, however, is whether or not their biology has played a part in making and keeping them the inferior or "second sex." Such uncertainty is quite understandable in a male-dominated society where not only is history written by those who uphold the status quo but all the sciences are likewise in their hands. Two of these sciences, biology and anthropology, are of prime importance in understanding women and their history. Both are so heavily biased in favor of the male sex that they conceal rather than reveal the true facts about women.

Perhaps the most pernicious pseudoscientific propaganda on female inferiority is that offered in the name of biology. According to the mythmakers in this field, females are biologically handicapped by the organs and functions of motherhood. This handicap is said to go all the way back to the animal world and makes females helpless and dependent upon the superior male sex to provide for them and their young. Nature is held responsible for having condemned females to everlasting inferiority.

It is obvious that females are biologically different from males in that only the female sex possesses the organs and functions of maternity. But it is not true that nature is responsible for the oppression of women; such degradation is exclusively the result of man-made institutions and laws in class-divided patriarchal society. It did not exist in primitive classless society and it does not exist in the animal world.

It is not difficult to see why this falsification of natural and social history has been propagated. It exonerates a sexist society and justifies the oppression of women on the ground of their biological makeup. The implication is obvious: why should women fight against their oppression and seek their liberation when their troubles flow from their genetic makeup? What good will it do to change society if women cannot change their biology? This theme is drummed into our heads by every means available, from the cradle on. To believe the male supremacists who pose as scientists, biology is woman's destiny and she had better recognize and submit to it.

In truth, it is no less false to say that biology is woman's destiny than to say that biology is man's destiny. This reduces humans to the animal level. For if women are nothing but breeders then men must be nothing but studs. Such a reduction leaves out the decisive distinctions between humans and animals. Humans are above all social beings who have long since separated themselves from their animal origin and conditions of life. To understand the differences between the sexes, let us first examine these distinctions between humans and animals which make humanity a totally new and unique species.

Humans a unique species

Ever since Darwin demonstrated that humanity arose out of a branch of the higher apes, numerous studies have been made showing the similarities between humans and animals. But there are all too few studies showing what is even more important—the enormous distinctions between humans and animals that make us a unique species standing above and beyond all forms of animal life.

The central source of this uniqueness has been pointed out by the Marxists. It is the capacity of humans to engage in labor activities and produce the necessities of life. No animal species does that. This "labor theory" of human origins was first set forth by Engels in his essay "The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man."

Today such leading authorities in archaeology and anthropology as Sherwood Washburn, William Howells, Kenneth Oakley, V. Gordon Childe, and others use toolmaking as the criterion that distinguishes humans from animals. As Washburn sums this up, "It was the success of the simplest tools that started the whole trend of human evolution and led to the civilizations of today." (*Scientific American*, September 1960.) Gordon Childe sustained Engels's thesis when he said, "Prehistoric archaeology shows how man became human by labour. . . ." (*What Happened in History*, p. 27.)

Those who downgrade labor activities often contend that apes likewise use natural objects as tools and therefore labor cannot be taken as the basic factor that brought about the humanization of our species. But the point is, no matter how clever a primate is in the use of its hands—and in captivity they can be taught to do quite a number of things—no animal species, including primates, is capable of becoming a toolmaker. There is no division of labor between the sexes among

primates and no prehuman species depends upon systematic labor activities for its survival. "Hands with which to pluck and arms with which to convey the edible plunder to the mouth suffice. This is the technique of our anthropoid relatives," says E. Adamson Hoebel (*Man in the Primitive World*, p. 98).

By contrast, humans are so completely dependent upon labor activities that should this productive capability cease we would soon perish as a species. Labor activities, therefore, have brought about a new mode of survival and development for a unique species: humankind. We are not merely reproducers but producers of the necessities of life.

The importance of production can be seen in the drastic change this brought about in the relations between humans and nature. Fundamentally, animals are the slaves of nature, subject to biological forces and processes over which they have no control. Humans, on the other hand, have reversed this relationship. Through labor activities humans have brought nature under their influence. In other words, one species, humankind, not only became liberated from direct biological control but even became the controller of its former dominator, nature. As this is sometimes put, the history of animals is made for them, but humans alone make their own history.

Along with this mastery over nature, humans also began to cultivate new needs, which is another characteristic absent from the animal world. While animals are limited to satisfying the same old natural needs for food and procreation, humans have developed an endless series of new needs, all of them higher (at least in the sense of being more sophisticated) cultural needs.

To take a few examples from the technical realm: out of the first fist-axe there arose the need for an axe with a handle on it. From the crude digging-stick there came the need for and invention of the plough. The simple loom and spinning wheel led on to the complex textile industry. Construction needs passed beyond thatched huts to the building of factories and skyscrapers. The oxcart was left behind as new needs for rapid transit after the industrial revolution led to the train, the automobile, the jet plane, and the spaceship.

Cultural needs of all types, in education, arts, science, arose as part of the new activities and relations of humans in social life. Even the basic biological needs for food and sex became altered and reshaped in human life. Humans do not eat, mate, or procreate as the animals do, but in accordance with their own changing cultural standards. As Marx wrote, "Hunger is hunger, but the hunger that is satisfied with cooked meat eaten with fork and knife is a different kind of hunger from the one that devours raw meat with the aid of hands, nails, and teeth." (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, p. 279.)

Along with the vast changes made by humans in external nature, their environment, they made equally important changes in their own internal nature. It is often pointed out that in their physical appearance humans shed the hairy coat and other apelike characteristics they started with. Even more important was the shedding of their former animal reactions which were replaced by a humanized social nature. Today we have lost virtually all the animal instincts we started with—these have been displaced by learned behavior.¹

This brief review of some of the vital distinctions between humankind and all other species refutes the thesis that humans are "nothing but" animals with a few extra tricks. It is far more accurate to say that, while we still share certain biological characteristics in common with the animals, we have raised ourselves far above their limited existence. We have been formed and transformed in and through our own productive activities and social forces, so that we are no longer the slaves of our biological makeup.

As the Michigan anthropologist Marshall Sahlins puts it, "The liberation of human society from direct biological control was its great evolutionary strength. . . . Human social life is culturally, not biologically, determined." (*Scientific American*, September 1960, p. 77.) This is the starting point for demolishing the myth that biology is woman's destiny. Beginning with the primary proposition in this propaganda, let us examine what I call—

The "uterus theory" of female inferiority

Biology, like anthropology, is a young science and equally subject to misinterpretations, superficial conclusions, and downright lies in questions that have grave social and political implications. This makes it doubly difficult to uncover the truth about the female sex since so many biologists as well as anthropologists are captives of capitalist ideology. They assume that because woman is born with a uterus she can never liberate herself from direct biological control and must

forever remain enslaved to her procreative functions.

This "uterus theory" of female inferiority is no more valid than its corollary, the "penis theory" of male superiority. For some curious, unexplained reason, these sexual-procreative organs are supposed to determine all the other capacities of the sexes. The female, rendered stupid by the functions of her uterus, was unable to develop her brains, talents, and higher cultural capabilities. Man, on the other hand, with his outstanding sexual muscle instead of the ignominious uterus, could develop his intellect and associated abilities. Both propositions are fiction, not science.

In actuality it is the male that is handicapped in the animal world, not the female. This is due to the disruptive characteristics of male sexuality in nature. The record shows, males are highly competitive and fight other males for access to females. Although this is often called "jealousy," it is not jealousy in our sense of the term, namely, the desire to possess a particular female. Rather, it is a crude, pugnacious instinct, modified by any feelings of individual preference or tenderness, which drives the male animal to seek access to any and all females. In some species the male may fight one another merely for a place in the breeding grounds; in others they may fight even in the absence of females. As Sir Solly Zuckerman says, "The pugnacity of rutting animals is an expression of the physiological condition and not necessarily determined by the presence of females." (*The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes*, p. 69.)

Due to this combative characteristic of male sexuality, male animals are separatistic, individualistic, and unable to band together in mutually cooperative groups. At best, under favorable conditions they are able to tolerate one another's presence in the same feeding or breeding grounds. In some species, as among the large carnivores, they are solitary prowlers. This inability of males in nature to cooperate with one another is a serious handicap so far as the development of groups is concerned.

The females, on the other hand, thanks to their maternal functions, are not handicapped in this manner. They form into broods composed of the mother and offspring in which cooperation exists and filial duty has a chance to develop. In some species, such as primates, or even in a pride of lionesses, a number of females and offspring band together in a large brood.

Moreover, while the male animal has only himself to consider in the struggle for survival, the female through her maternal functions must provide for and protect her offspring as well as herself. Through constant exercise of these group functions, it is normally the female, not the male, that is more intelligent, sagacious, cunning, and capable. This is recognized by hunters who regard the female, particularly that with cubs, as the more dangerous sex and take appropriate precautions. This keener wit in females develops to its highest degree among the higher mammals who maternal functions and the care of offspring are most protracted, reaching its apex with the primates. Even Robert Ardrey, an ardent partisan of male superiority, admits: "As the kingdom of the animal ascends, so likewise ascends the power of the female. . . . Male's woolly-mindedness has been a source of female power for a long way back." (*African Genesis*, p. 128.) Robert Briffault more bluntly calls male animals more stupid than females.

These considerations show that there is no basis in nature for the "uterus theory" of female inferiority. Anything, nature favored the female sex since that the sex upon which the perpetuation of the species pivots. Carrying out their maternal functions gave females an advantage in the struggle for survival, of which our branch of the anthropoids to pass from nature's mode of survival to the human mode of survival through labor activities. In the transition from ape to human it was the female, not the male, that led the way. Already more developed in her capabilities and capacity for cooperation, it was the female who began productive life and thereby founded the new and unique human species.²

That is why, out of the maternal clan system or "matriarchy" in the ancient human world. It is only in patriarchal class society, which came a million years after the birth of the human species, that woman was reduced to an animallike level, forced to preoccupy herself with her maternal functions at the expense of the higher human values developed in the course of social life. In a society founded upon private property, the family institution, and male supremacy, woman's natural endowment—her uterus and maternal functions—were turned into the chains of exploitation and oppression she endures today. But this is a situation made by man, not by nature.

Those who subscribe to the "uterus theory" of female inferiority often try to prop up their false conclusions about women with an equally false theory about the

everlasting superiority of the male sex. Reducing the science of biology to science fiction, they project the image of the patriarchal family of our times back into the animal world. To them the animal "family," like the human family, has a male at its head, providing for and protecting his dependent wife and children, and this is what makes him superior.

This animal hero is usually called the "dominant male." As portrayed by the fiction writers, he is the animal counterpart of the husband and father in patriarchal society. The more fanciful even portray this male animal as a kind of princely potentate, surrounded by a harem of wives, concubines, and female slaves, controlling their lives and destiny. What is the truth behind this fantasy?

The "dominant male": fact and fiction

The phenomenon called the "dominant male" does exist in nature since animal males, as previously stated, are highly competitive and combative against one another. In the sexual realm each strives to gain first place by eliminating rivals. The animal that wins becomes dominant over the other males, at least for a time or until he himself may be displaced by a stronger male.

But the main point about this fight for dominance is usually left out or distorted. It is a struggle among males, each fighting the others. Even after the dominant animal has eliminated his rivals, this does not make him dominant over the female or group of females to which he gains access. So far as the females are concerned they may accept the winning male as their stud but that is all. Even this acceptance ends when the females enter their maternal cycle, at which time they retire from the orbit of all males to preoccupy themselves with giving birth and caring for their offspring. Whatever the outcome of the struggle among males, the females remain entirely self-sufficient and provide for their offspring without assistance from males.

Contrary to all the children's stories on the subject, when written by men who call themselves scientists, there is no such thing as a father-family in the animal world. Among some bird and fish species males may participate in the care of the eggs. This does not make them families but rather a specialized form of procreation. In the great majority of species, above all the mammals which are in the direct line of human ascent, it is the mothers alone who perform all the functions connected with the care of offspring. As Briffault emphasizes, "Every adult animal, male or female, feeds for itself as far as regards its economic needs" and the only exception is the provision made by the mother for her young.

In other words, male sexuality in the animal world does not bring about fatherhood functions; on the contrary, the combativeness connected with male sexuality is a hindrance to the development of such functions. It is only in the human world that we find a fully developed male counterpart to maternity which we call paternity. This came about when males began to emancipate themselves from direct biological control—or instincts—and cultivated new and human traits. It was in and through social life that they learned a new kind of sexual behavior and subsequently acquired paternal functions.

It is sometimes said or implied that, because males are the combative sex, they are the "protectors" of their animal families. This too is a fiction. Among some primate species a periphery of males circles around a central core of females and offspring and in an indirect way furnishes an outer group of "sentinels" who sound an alarm in the event of danger. But male animals do not fight to protect their mates and offspring. They fight in defense of their own lives.

In the animal world every animal defends itself, either by fight or by flight. The sole exception to this rule is the female animal who will fight to defend her offspring. Thus the so-called animal family is no more than a female brood, provided for and protected by the mother. It does not have the slightest resemblance to the patriarchal family in our society where the father provides for and rules over his wife and children.

Another familiar argument supposed to prove the natural superiority and dominance of the male sex over the female sex is based on the fact that in some species (although by no means all) the males are larger than the females or have more developed muscle power. There can be little doubt that the combative traits of males contributed to this extra musculature. As Henry W. Nissen of the Yerkes Laboratories said about primate males: "The bigger animal gets most of the food, the stronger male most of the females." (*Scientific American*, September 1960.)

But it is wrong to assume that this extra musculature represents a superiority of males over females; it is only a superiority of stronger males over weaker males. In nature it is the females who determine whether or not they wish to admit a male into their midst, and this holds true of the stronger males as well. When

such admission takes place it is only during his good behavior and so long as the females find his presence convenient. This is borne out by the fact that when a female retires, as she does when she gives birth, she is left entirely alone by the males.

It is therefore a gross misrepresentation of animal life and behavior to portray the female as a helpless, dependent creature that cannot survive without the provision and protection of a "dominant male" playing the part of a husband and father. The father-family is exclusively a human institution which, moreover, came into existence very late in social history, coincident with the development of private property and class divisions. Thus the myth of the animal "father-family" goes hand in hand with the "uterus theory" of female inferiority. The true facts about biology are distorted and falsified for the sake of concealing the social roots of female oppression.

Let us turn now to examine the way in which anthropology is distorted to buttress a falsified biology. I call this—

The "hunting theory" of female inferiority

This theory bases itself upon the first division of labor between the sexes which is usually described as follows: men were the hunters and warriors while women were the food-gatherers and did the chores around the camp or home. Man's work of hunting is, of course, portrayed as by far the most important work, while woman's labor is considered inferior. Due to the handicaps they suffered from being born with a uterus, they had to stay at the campsite or dwelling place to nurse the children.

This stands the real situation on its head. The most important work in the primitive division of labor was not done by the male hunters but by the so-called stay-at-home women. Let us start with the food supply, the first and most basic requirement since people must eat before they can do anything else. It was the women gatherers and not the male hunters who provided the most stable and ample supplies. During the period when hunting was still precarious and men often returned to camp empty-handed, the community's hunger was satisfied by the food collected by the women. In addition it was the women who gained control over the food supplies, not only by preparing them for today but preserving stocks for tomorrow. Women were the mainstay of the primitive commune.

But this was only the beginning of woman's work. There is no need to dwell here upon the enormous labor record of primitive women which is set forth in detail in my article, "The Myth of Women's Inferiority." While men were occupied in seeking out animals as game food, it was the women who carried out the diverse forms of production from leather-making, pot-making, and handicrafts of all kinds to construction, medicine, and the development of the earliest forms of science.

While one branch of woman's work, soil cultivation with the digging-suck, led to agriculture, another branch, the taming of wild animals, led to the raising of stock animals. These major advances not only laid the foundations for civilization but liberated men from hunting to participate in—and eventually take over—these higher forms of production. Thus it was not the men hunters but the women producers, proto-scientists, nurses, teachers, and transmitters of the social, cultural, and technical heritage who did the most important work in the first sexual division of labor.

The great mistake made by those who are blinded by the assumed superiority of the male sex is to overlook this broad social production of primitive women and view them as mere homebodies serving a little family circle. There were no isolated, shut-in, private family households in the primitive clan system, just as there was no propertied ruling class to reduce women to family servitude as their share of labor. The primitive "households" were the pivot of a communal life and represented the earliest factories, laboratories, medical centers, schools, and social centers. The women local centers, working collectively, had of the matriarchal commune, working collectively, had not the slightest resemblance to their descendants today, each one puttering around in a little stump of a household.

This is not to denigrate the skills and techniques that men developed in their occupation of hunting. It is simply to redress the balance and put men's work in its proper place and perspective. Indeed, not only has woman's work been slighted; even man's work of hunting has not received a fully rounded appreciation. The most important aspect of the human hunting band was not connected with man's capacity for brute force or even with increasing the food supply as such. It was the qualitative advance made by men over the animals in achieving a working collaboration with one another.

It is often pointed out that hunting requires both strength and skill if man is to master the large and dangerous animals, and this is true. What is seldom

mentioned, however, is the even more important aspect, that men had to overcome their former animal nature, their rivalry, separatism, and individualism, to be able to band together in the human hunting group. They had to transform their competitive, combative animal relations into close-knit, cooperative human relations.

The superiority of the human hunting band over any animal pack comes from the unbreakable principle that men hunting together must never under any circumstances hunt or kill one another. This is exclusively a human regulation and relation which does not exist in the animal world. Thus, even in the matter of increasing the food supply of the community, it was only when men learned how to form the cooperative hunting band that this aim could be achieved.

How was such an impressive change brought about? All the evidence points to the collectivist society created by the clan mothers, which assimilated the men as clan brothers. As Robert Briffault writes on this point:

In human societies there always exist means of establishing understandings and guarantees, and there are bonds of fellowship and brotherhood which are absent and impossible among animals. Hence primitive humanity, owing to its social character, is not under the same necessity to secure the satisfaction of its sexual instincts by sheer competitive struggle. . . . Animals tear their closest associates and even their sexual mates to pieces in the struggle for food; the member of the rudest and most primitive social group will starve rather than not share his food with his fellow-members. . . . So likewise in no human society, however primitive, is a lawless scramble for the possession of females to be found. (*The Mothers*, Vol. II, p. 118.)

It required a communistic society, which provided for the needs of all its members on an equal basis, to bring men together as cooperators who had formerly been separated and hostile to one another as animals. In that society men as well as women did their share of the work according to the division of labor that the primitive peoples themselves found to be most practical under the given conditions of life at that stage of their socio-economic development.

It is necessary to bring out the real worth of the work done by the women since so many writers have downgraded it while glorifying man's work of hunting. The archaeologist, Grahame Clark, for example, sees women as lowly beings because "like their simian forebears" they are merely food-gatherers, while he refers to "the resplendent figure of Man the Hunter, prototype of Man the Warrior" as the great and superior sex. (*From Savagery to Civilization*, p. 8.) This is male bias.

Elman R. Service, the Michigan anthropologist, takes a similar although more restrained view of the matter. He thinks males were the hunters not only because they "were probably stronger, swifter, and more combative, but, more importantly, because females are so frequently handicapped by pregnancy and care of offspring." (*Primitive Social Organization*, p. 39.)

We can accept the deduction that the combative characteristics of males made them adaptable to hunting. But we must reject the conclusion that females were incapable of hunting because they were biologically handicapped by their uteruses. One has only to observe the behavior of the carnivores, the hunting animals, to see the fallacy of this argument, since the females are just as swift and skillful hunters as the males. There is no uterus handicap imposing hunting inferiority upon lionesses and tigresses.

To be sure, the human species did not arise out of the hunting carnivores but out of the food-gathering primates. But women who want to challenge the "hunting theory" of female inferiority are not obliged to unravel the whole complex of reasons why women were not the hunters in the first division of labor. It is sufficient to show the vastly superior amount of work and types of work done by the women as compared to the main occupation of men, the hunters. The exclusion of one occupation—for whatever reasons—only signifies that the women left this one out of their multiplicity of labor activities.

In the end, then, the "hunting theory" of female inferiority is just as absurd and untenable as the "uterus theory" from which it is derived. The one is a distortion of anthropology as the other is of biology. Yet these furnish the pseudoscientific plausibility upon the propaganda that women have always been the inferior or second sex.

Since the rise of the women's liberation movement some women writers and even anthropologists have become so influenced by these unscientific propositions that they have drawn a very pessimistic conclusion. Women, they say, have been the oppressed sex not simply under patriarchal society but throughout all human history. According to this view, if women are not subjugated to their husbands and fathers as they are in patriarchal nations, then they were under the thumb of their brothers or uncles in primitive communities. This can be called the "avunculate theory" of female oppression. What is the truth in the matter?

1. For more on this subject, see Evelyn Reed's "Is Man an 'Aggressive Ape'?" in the November 1970 *ISR*. This essay has been republished in pamphlet form by Pathfinder Press under the title *An Answer to "The Naked Ape"*.

2. See "The Myth of Women's Inferiority" in Evelyn Reed's *Problems of Women's Liberation*.

THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

BY PIERRE FRANK

PART 14

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

Chapter 9: Those Who Died So That the International Might Live

We have intentionally devoted this work, above all, to the Trotskyist movement's activity in the area of theory, politics, and organization relative to almost a half-century of great events—and to the problems these events have raised in the course of constructing a revolutionary-Marxist leadership and revolutionary-Marxist parties in every country. We have seen how difficult it is to make progress on the theoretical and political level, how this is possible only at the price of incessant internal debate and discussion, of analysis and reanalysis. But ideas, programs, and organizations are created by people and are kept alive by people. Only in passing have we mentioned the names of the Trotskyist movement's militants.

What books could be written on such a subject! Conditions have been far harsher for Trotskyists than for any other working-class tendency—bourgeois repression being generally a stimulus, while the repression exercised against Trotskyists within their own class, very often by sincerely revolutionary workers misled by bureaucrats who were backed by a powerful workers state, has pushed many able revolutionists into situations where they could not give the best of themselves.

Trotsky's name, to which is inseparably linked that of his companion Natalia, towers over the names of all those who joined the movement he created, and is again beginning to be as celebrated as it was in the heroic days of the revolution. But how many others are there whose names remain stained in the eyes of the workers by the Stalinist slanders, or who remain unknown to the new generations! The Trotskyist movement itself has generally been very modest about those who fought for the victory of its program. History will little by little, internationally and in every country, give them their due.

Another result of Stalinism's implacable persecution of the Trotskyists was the confusion and intimidation it sowed in many people over a long period. This drastically reduced the movement's periphery of friends and sympathizers—a periphery that all vanguard movements need. Thus we also pay homage to those who were our friends in such adversity, as well as to the revolutionary leaders who came out of the Communist International and its parties who, although they did not march with us all the way, or had differences with us, remained faithful to the cause of world revolution to the end of their days.

Among them are:
Alfred and Marguerite Rosmer, in whose home the founding congress of the Fourth International was held.
Maurice Spector, founder of the Canadian Trotskyist movement.

H. Stockfisch (Hersch Mendel), fighter in the 1905 and 1917 Russian revolutions, who founded the Polish Trotskyist movement, to which he won Isaac Deutscher.

Andrés Nin, assassinated by the GPU during the Spanish revolution.

The former leaders of the German Communist party, Paul Fröhlich, Arkadi Maslow, Hugo Urbahns.

André Marty, who established fraternal contacts with us after his expulsion from the French Communist party.
John Baird, Labour party M.P., who was always on our side.

The eminent Ukrainian Marxist, Roman Rosdolsky.
Louis Polk, member of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist party, who participated in founding the Opposition in Belgium and who died in the Neuengamme concentration camp.

Tan Malakka who in 1914 was, with Sneevliet, a founder of the revolutionary socialist movement in Indonesia, missing in action during the guerrilla fighting following the war.

There follows a very incomplete list of those who carried aloft the banner of Trotskyism, and who died in battle:
Nicola di Bartolomeo (Fosco), Italian Communist worker, in exile in France during the fascist regime, participated in the war in Spain. On his return to France, he was turned over to the Italian authorities, who deported him to a concentration camp. Liberated at the end of the war, he rebuilt the Trotskyist organization in Italy. He died in 1946, at the age of forty-four.

Angel Amado Bengochea (1926-1964), a leader of the first student revolts in Argentina in the 1940s, leader of the Socialist Youth. A student at the Faculty of Law in La Plata, he organized a Marxist opposition in the Socialist party, and joined the Trotskyist movement in 1946. In the 1950s he worked in a factory and became a leader in the Peronist unions. Imprisoned for six months in 1957. Linked to the struggle in other Latin American countries, in 1963 he formed a political-military group and was killed during an explosion.

Fernando Bravo, leader of the Bolivian teachers, representative of the Bolivian POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario) to congresses of the International, died in the line of duty.

Josef Frey (1882-1957), prior to 1914 editor of the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung*, president of the Vienna Council of Soldiers in the 1918 revolution, broke with Otto Bauer and Fritz Adler to join the CP, expelled from the latter in 1927 as a Trotskyist.

José Aguirre Gainsborg, Bolivian revolutionist in exile, leading member of the Chilean CP; founder of the Bolivian POR in 1934—which he armed theoretically; for many years lived in exile and in prison; died at the age of thirty-four.

Jules Henin (1882-1964), miner, member of the Parti Ouvrier Belge (Belgian Workers party) from 1905, one of the first Belgian Communists in 1919, founder of the Trotskyist organization in 1927, one of the leaders of the Charleroi miners' strike (1932), as a result of which he was imprisoned; conducted underground activity during the war; member of the Control Commission of the Fourth International for many years.

Marcel Hic, joined the French Trotskyist movement (POI and Jeunesse Léniniste) in 1933 at the age of eighteen; rebuilt the French organization and published *la Vérité* starting in August 1940; secretary of the French section during the occupation, he participated in the founding of the European Secretariat of the Fourth International; arrested in 1943, he was distinguished by his courageous attitude in the Dora concentration camp, where he died.

Joseph Jakobovic (1915-1943), leader of the Austrian group Gegen den Strom (Against the Stream) under the Hitler occupation; tried in October 1943 for high treason and for encouraging disaffection in the armed forces, condemned to death and executed.

Zavis Kalandra, communist historian, denounced the "Moscow trials" in 1936; secretary of the Czechoslovakian section of the Fourth International, he was arrested and executed in 1950 by the Stalinists as a "spy"; was rehabilitated during the "Prague Spring."

Rose Karsner (1890-1968), joined the U.S. Socialist party at the age of eighteen; in 1909 was secretary of the magazine *The Masses*; participated in the founding congress of the U.S. Communist party in 1921, devoted herself to the defense and aid of the victims of repression (notably the Sacco-Vanzetti case); in 1928 participated in founding the Trotskyist organization in the United States, to which she devoted herself completely until the end of her life.

Franz Kascha (1909-1943), leader of the Austrian group Gegen den Strom during the Hitler occupation; tried in October 1943 for high treason and for encouraging disaffection in the armed forces, condemned to death and executed.

Rudolf Klement, young German Trotskyist, secretary to Trotsky, assassinated in France by the GPU in 1938 on the eve of the founding congress of the Fourth International, to the preparation of which he had devoted himself.

Abraham Leon (1918-1944), born in Warsaw, broke with Zionism and wrote *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*; at the beginning of the war joined the Belgian Trotskyist organization, of which he became the main organizer; participated in founding the European Secretariat; arrested in June 1944, he died in the Auschwitz concentration camp in September 1944.

Léon Lesoff (1892-1942), soldier in the Belgian Mission in Russia during the first world war, he came out for the October Revolution; one of the founders of the Belgian Communist party; became a member of its Central Committee in 1923; then prosecuted for "plotting against the security of the state"; founder of the Belgian Trotskyist organization in 1927; leader of the miners' strike in the Charleroi Basin in 1932; delegate to the founding congress of the Fourth International; arrested in 1941, died in the Neuengamme concentration camp in 1942.

César Lora, leader of the Bolivian miners at the Siglo XX mine; assassinated July 19, 1965, by Barrientos's troops.

B. Mallikarjun Rao, participated in the revolutionary movement as a student in Andhra and then in Bombay, and became active in the trade-union movement; one of the founders in 1941 of the Maoist Trotskyist party of India; in 1942 participated in the uprising against British imperialism, went underground, was arrested in 1944 and sentenced to two years in prison; in 1947-48 took part in the guerrilla movement against the Nizam of Hyderabad until this principality was integrated into the Indian Union; elected to a trade-union post in 1949; arrested anew in 1959 for his role in the civil-service strike in Andhra Pradesh; in 1965 was member of the organizing committee of the Socialist Workers party (Indian section of the Fourth International); died in 1966 after more than thirty years of militant activism.

Sherry Mangan (Patrice), American author and journalist; a Trotskyist since 1934; participated in the activity of the French Trotskyist organization under the

occupation, expelled from France by Pétain; maintained liaison among the underground groups during the war; reduced to very difficult living conditions by McCarthyism; participated in clandestine work in France to help the Algerian revolution; member of the International's leadership for many years; died in 1961 at the age of 57.

Jean Melchior, one of the founders of *la Vérité* in 1929; editor of *Unser Wort*, organ of the German Trotskyists in exile; arrested for this and held hostage at the time that France was occupied; one of the first hostages executed; died at the age of 45.

Henri Molinier (Marc Laurent), 1898-1944, engineer, participated in the founding of *la Vérité*; carried out many missions with great discretion; in charge of military matters for the PCI during the war; killed by a shell in the course of the fighting for the liberation of Paris.

Moulin, German Trotskyist, killed by the GPU during the civil war in Spain.

Pantelis Pouliopoulos, prosecuted for his activity in the Greek army in 1922; translated *Das Kapital* into Greek; delegate of the Greek CP to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International; secretary of the CP in 1925, expelled as a Trotskyist in 1927; secretary of the Greek Trotskyist organization; went underground following the Metaxas coup d'état in 1936; arrested in 1939, shot as a hostage by the Italians in 1943 at the age of 43; made a speech to the Italian soldiers while facing the firing squad.

Art Preis (1911-1964), American Trotskyist; a student at the University of Ohio, he founded the *Free Voice*, which was later banned; in 1933 he organized the unemployed in Toledo, then organized employed workers into trade unions and was a member of the Toledo CIO Council; from 1940 on, he was labor editor of *The Militant*; author of *Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO, a history of the American trade-union movement from 1929 to 1955*.

Ignace Relas (Ludwig), Polish communist, hero of the civil war during the Russian Revolution; one of the principal leaders of the Soviet Union's special services; in 1936, following the first "Moscow trial," broke with Stalinism and returned his medals, declaring, "I am joining Trotsky and the Fourth International," assassinated by the GPU a few weeks later near Lausanne.

Wolfgang Salus, young Czechoslovakian communist, participated in founding that country's Trotskyist movement in 1929 at the age of 18; died in exile after having contributed to the reorganization of the Czechoslovakian movement after the war.

Leon Sedoff (1905-1938), Trotsky's son, expelled from the CPSU in 1927; from that time on devoted his life to helping Trotsky in the latter's work; a defendant along with Trotsky in all the "Moscow trials" in which he was sentenced to death; died mysteriously in Paris, most assuredly assassinated by the GPU.

Henri Sneevliet (1883-1942), Dutch working-class leader, founder of the Indonesian socialist movement in 1914, then of the Indonesian CP in 1920; that party's delegate to the Second Congress of the Communist International; representative of the Communist International to the Chinese CP; broke with Stalinism; leader of the Dutch trade-union confederation NAS; imprisoned in 1932 for his support of a sailors' mutiny; founder of the RSAP; arrested during the war; shot by the Nazis on April 13, 1942; his heroic death has been held up as an example in his country.

Chen Tu-hsiu (1879-1942), professor at the University of Peking, one of the leaders of the democratic revolution of 1911; founder of the Chinese CP, of which he was secretary from 1920 to 1927; joined the Trotskyist Opposition; seized by the Kuomintang in 1932 and sentenced to thirteen years in prison, freed on parole in 1937, died in 1942. His memory is still slandered today by the leadership of the Chinese CP.

Tha Thu Thau, founder of the Vietnamese Trotskyist movement, leader of the Saigon workers in the years preceding the war and imprisoned during the war. Freed in 1946, he disappeared mysteriously shortly thereafter, probably assassinated by the Stalinists.

Pierre Tresso (Blasco) (1893-1943), member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Italian CP from 1925, party delegate to congresses of the Communist International; expelled as a Trotskyist in 1930, was active as an exile in France; participated in the leadership of the Ligue Communiste, in the Copenhagen Conference in 1932, and in the founding congress of the Fourth International; condemned to ten years at forced labor during the war by the Marseilles military court; placed in the Puy prison, he was liberated along with all the others by the resistance forces; shortly thereafter, as was the case with other Trotskyists, he disappeared while with the resistance forces, in all likelihood assassinated by the Stalinists.

Joseph Vanzler (John G. Wright), student in chemistry at Harvard University, joined the American Trotskyist organization in 1929, translated numerous works by Trotsky, died in 1956 at the age of 52.

Paul Wentley (Wideln), German Trotskyist, editor in France under the occupation of the paper *Arbeiter und*

Soldat, which called for fraternization; arrested by the Germans and shot.

Erwin Wolff (N. Braun), Trotskyist of Czechoslovakian origin, Trotsky's secretary in Norway, assassinated by the GPU during the civil war in Spain.

Vincent Raymond Dunne (1889-1970), joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) at the age of 17, a founder of the U.S. Communist party in 1919 and, in 1928, participated in the founding of the U.S. Trotskyist movement. At the head of the great Minneapolis teamsters' strike in 1934, which was a forerunner of the mighty trade-union upsurge of the following years. In 1938 participated in discussions with Trotsky preparatory to the founding congress of the Fourth International. Imprisoned in 1941 for sixteen months.

Emile Decoux (1910-1970), Belgian miner and exemplary militant for thirty-seven years. Joined the Jeune Garde Socialiste (Socialist Young Guard) in 1934, then the Belgian section of the Fourth International. Fulfilled important functions during the period of clandestinity.

Libero Villone (1913-1970), became active in the Italian CP under the fascist regime, when it was illegal. Expelled from the CP in 1938 for having criticized the "Moscow trials." Arrested in 1943, he was freed when Mussolini fell. Readmitted to the CP, he was soon expelled for criticizing the policy of class collaboration. Joined the Trotskyist movement in 1945. A teacher, he held various positions in the teachers' union. Editor of *Bandiera Rossa* for several years.

Georg Moltved (1881-1971), Danish doctor; at the turn of the century belonged to a petty-bourgeois party, developed toward Marxism, contributed to intellectual refugees in his country. In 1943, under the occupation, was one of the main leaders of the illegal CP for the region north of Copenhagen. After the war, he was opposed to the CP's accepting ministerial posts in the government and to the CP's reformist policy. Expelled in 1950. Joined the Fourth International in 1955. Translated *The Revolution Betrayed* into Danish, wrote biographies of Lenin and Trotsky, often presented Trotskyist viewpoints on the radio. Recognized in his country as an eminent person, Moltved was a man of great intellectual capacity.

Intellectual capacity.

Charles Marie (1915-1971), railroad worker, joined the Trotskyist movement shortly after the end of the war. Impassioned and indefatigable militant, for a long time he was practically alone in defending Trotskyism in Rouen. During the Algerian war, in legal and extralegal activities, he began to build a resurgence of the movement, recruited young people who, in the aftermath of May 1968, were to make Rouen the largest provincial branch of the Ligue Communiste. A cell of railroad workers in Rouen bears his name. He was named honorary chairman of the second national congress of the Ligue Communiste, held in Rouen.

Luiz Eduardo Merlino (Nicolau) (1947-1971), Brazilian journalist assassinated in July 1971 by the repressive forces in his country. Began his activity as a militant in the student organizations in Santos, then in newspaper circles in São Paulo, constantly filling the role of inspirer and leader. In 1968 joined the Partido Operário Comunista (POC—Workers Communist party), in which he rapidly rose to a leading position. His experiences led him to the positions of the Fourth International. He organized an opposition for which he wrote theses on national and international questions. Shortly after his clandestine return to São Paulo from a visit of several months in France, he was arrested, tortured, and murdered.

Tomás Chambi, member of the Central Committee of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR—Revolutionary Workers party, Bolivian section of the Fourth International), imprisoned during the Barrientos-Ovando dictatorship, freed when the dictatorship ended; he fell in combat while leading a column of poor peasants from the La Paz region in the battle against the Banzer coup d'état. On his body was found a note, written in his own hand, a kind of testament by this militant whose sole possession was his revolutionary conviction: "I am a member of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, which taught me to be brave and to fight in a just cause. For national liberation, and forward to the final victory!"

Peter Graham (1945-1971), young Irish revolutionary; started out as a member of the Connolly Youth, rapidly developed towards Trotskyism, became a member of the

Irish Workers Group and then participated in founding the League for a Workers Republic and the Young Socialists in Dublin. He came to London where he joined the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the Fourth International) and was a member of the editorial staff of *The Red Mole*. Barely returned to Dublin for the purpose of building an Irish section, he was assassinated under circumstances that have not as yet been clarified. The IRA and all the militant organizations of the Irish socialist movement paid homage to his memory.

Luis Pujals (1942-1971), young Argentinian revolutionist, joined the Palabra Obrera group in 1961. A founding member of the PRT in 1964. Elected member of the Central Committee at the Second Congress of the PRT; later elected to its Executive Committee. In charge of political and military affairs for the Buenos Aires region. Arrested September 17, 1971, he was sent by the authorities to Rosario and brought back to Buenos Aires on September 22, at the very moment the authorities were denying that he was in custody. According to all indications, he died under torture.

In ending this most incomplete list at this point with the observation that the losses of the Trotskyists, relative to their number, are probably greater than those of all other tendencies in the working-class movement, let us remember once again the exceptional plea of revolutionists who originated the movement, the Soviet Trotskyists, who stood up against all persecution until the day that Stalin decided on their total extermination. The story of their struggle at Vorkuta, of (among others) the great hunger strike conducted by more than a thousand prisoners for 132 days (from October 1936 to March 1937), in the course of which many perished, has come down to us through eyewitnesses returned from the camps.⁴² Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in the *First Circle* has given their heroic end a suitable place in the great literature of the world.

To their memory, and to the memory of all those who died fighting for the Fourth International, I dedicate this book.

42. See *Quatrième Internationale*, No. 17, December 1962; and I. Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast*, pp. 413-19.

Socialist Books

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Freney's Letter to Himself

BY SOL SALBY

Denis Freney, ex-Trotskyist, now working as an apologist for Stalinism on the staff of the Communist Party of Australia's weekly newspaper "Tribune", has established quite a reputation in his letters to the editor of DIRECT ACTION. As readers of DIRECT ACTION have now become progressively tired of his contributions, he has decided to write them to himself in the columns of "Tribune". In the issue dated February 20 - 26 a letter appeared in their letters column from one F. Dean of Annandale N.S.W. The letter contains a virulent attack on an article I contributed to "Intercontinental Press", a weekly news magazine published in New York, reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

Readers of DIRECT ACTION will be familiar on our stand in favour of immediate withdrawal of all US troops from Indochina as the only principled demand for the

ample evidence to suggest that Freney, who suffers from Trotsky phobia, is the author of the letter - in fact he all but admitted it to me in a personal conversation.

Leaving aside the merits of writing letters for one's own paper under a false name, what did Denis object to so strongly? The actual statement runs as follows: "The unprincipled position of the SPA and CPA, which have a strong influence in the Waterside Workers Federation, led them to accept a US 'right' to maintain a presence in Vietnam. . . . Freney calls this a tissue of lies. If he insists, I may concede that the CPA's influence in the WWF is waning. However I completely stand by the political analysis.

antiwar movement. Freney outlined his defence of his party's opposite stand. It was precisely because the CP had "always fought for the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination, that it supported their demand that Nixon sign the October peace agreement. . ." (emphasis in original.)

The Vietnamese have a gun pointed at their head. When they signed the peace agreement they were forced by military pressure from the US and political pressure from the USSR and China to make concessions. Australian antiwar activists do not have such a gun pointed at their head. They should not support any concessions wrested from the Vietnamese. Freney seems to forget the historical precedent when he piously pleads the consensus of the Vietnamese.

In 1918 when the Soviet republic was forced to sign the Brest-Litovsk agreement

the German Social Democrats use the same grounds as Freney does to defend their support of the agreement. "You swine. We are objectively compelled to negotiate in order not to be annihilated, but as for you - you are politically free to vote for or against, and your vote implies whether or not you place confidence in your own bourgeoisie." Presumably Freney and the CPA place their confidence in the bourgeoisie.

Freney can keep on accusing the Australian Trotskyists of being subservient to big brothers, that is, being apart of a genuinely revolutionary international movement. We are proud of our international affiliations. However, if it's a matter of being really subservient, the boot is on the other foot. It is Denis Freney who is trying to hide his own name when deferring Big Brother in Moscow - not us.

THE WORLD REVOLUTION

Plans for Niugini Army

BY RAY SLOBODNIUK

Michael Somare's National Coalition has now held together for some eleven months and although a little shaky it will probably lead Papua-New Guinea to self government and independence. The politics of this coalition have become extremely clear-heavy commitment to imperialism is beyond doubt. Its attitude to the penetration of Australian, Japanese and US capital into Niugini is well known, as is its open hostility to the secessionist movements in Bougainville, the Gazelle peninsula (East New Britain) and the Highlands. Although the general course of Somare's coalition has been clear for some time, it is only recently that events have thrown the whole concept of independence into public view. For the new Labor government in Australia, committed to a rapid transition towards independence, the recent crisis in the National Coalition, (precipitated by a statement by Mr. Morrison that independence would be a reality by late 1974), was a rude shock. The capitalist press in Australia commented that there was concern in the Labor Government and this reflected itself in Whitlam backing down and extending the date of "formal independence" till late 1975, thus successfully taking some pressure off Somare.

There is good reason for the concern that Whitlam, Barnard and Morrison are showing. The National Coalition is not as strong as they would like and is still divided over a whole number of issues. The border dispute with Queensland is still to be solved. The economy of PNG is still very backward. But potentially the most dangerous issue is that of national unity and the demands for secession currently coming from Bougainville, the Gazelle Peninsula and various regions of the Highlands. Whitlam, Morrison and Somare have continually attacked any idea of secession, it is only recently that we have been given any inkling of how they intended to prevent it. From the press coverage of the recent visits to Niugini by Whitlam, Barnard and Morrison, it is clear that they expect a clash between the secessionist forces and the central government, and want no direct part in it. Barnard has stressed that under no circumstances could the P.I.R. (Pacific Islands Regiment, an extension of the Australian Army) be used in civil conflicts. He also announced that after independence Australia would subsidize any Army that PNG decided to maintain, and that Australian officers would be seconded to it so that it is likely that a similar policy would follow independence.

Already a number of solutions have been advanced to the problems of secession. A Bougainville member of the PNG parliament, Mr. Paul Lapun, has suggested the formation "of a federation of regions with specific powers of their own within PNG". Lapun, who apparently has discussed the idea with the three other Bougainvillian parliamentarians, is firmly committed to Somare, and has attempted to channel the demands of the secessionist forces into a bourgeois parliamentary system, which shall never provide solutions to the problems of national oppression to which the secessionist forces basically address themselves.

Another approach has been proposed by Ulf Sundhausen, a lecturer in politics at the university of PNG. According to a February issue of the "Nation Review", Sundhausen "called for the creation of a strong army in PNG with direct representation in cabinet" - the cabinet representation would be constitutionally guaranteed. The main role of such an army, which Sundhausen attempts to cover with a lot of specious propositions, would be to smash any secessionist movements and forcibly unite the country under threat of military dictatorship.

Since Australia will be heavily committed to maintaining the PNG army (see "Sydney Morning Herald" 27/1/73) under present conditions, Sundhausen's rather blatant integration of the military and government is out of the question. However, the need for a military force to prevent post self-government secession is accepted by the Labor government. There can be no other interpretation of the suggestions made by Barnard and Morrison that a paramilitary unit independent of both the police and

the army be established in PNG.

In the "Australian", dated 21/2/73, Alan Ramsey reported: "The prime role of the new elite force of 1,000 men will be to help bring about an orderly change-over to independent rule during the next three years." According to Ramsey the new unit will be modelled on the Police Field Force operating in Malaysia, and Mr Morrison "insisted that the new force be established by August-September this year." Ramsey continued: "Recruits for the new force will come from the army and police. It will be broken into small units to operate in the villages and major tribal areas and along the border with West Irian."

Ramsey said that Mr Morrison "believes that the new force will act as a buffer between police and army, and prevent either being used in civil disturbances. The power of police will be restricted

to the towns - the army would remain strictly a defence force. The Australian government also feels that this would restrict the likelihood of either the police or army being used in any attempt at military coup."

What will restrain this new elite Ramsey does not mention, but obviously its existence would pose a very serious threat to any type of democracy in the post independence period. Although not happy about not being consulted earlier, Somare has fallen into line since Ramsey claims the idea "has the full backing of the Australian and PNG governments."

Whatever the origins of this scheme, whether a heritage of the Liberal government or a Whitlam brainchild, it is essential that its real purpose be exposed. It presents a dangerous and direct threat to any secessionist movement that exists



Michael Somare

and even more importantly, in the context of Somare's firm adherence to two party bourgeois government, a threat to any future extra-parliamentary left-wing oppositions which might develop in PNG.

Black Strikers Shake Apartheid Regime

Strikes involving more than 50,000 Black and Asian workers swept Durban, South Africa's third largest city, during the first weeks of February. The strikes represented the most significant outburst of protest from South Africa's 15 million Blacks since 1960, when police murdered scores of Black demonstrators at Sharpeville.

According to the February 4 New York Times, "The trouble began... when laborers at a large brickworks walked out and refused to return unless they were paid more. They returned after being promised a weekly increase of \$4 that brought the weekly minimum at the factory to about \$16.

"Meanwhile, other workers - mostly Zulus, men and women, and some Asians - began to walk off the job in textile factories, engineering workshops and other industrial plants. One was the city's biggest bakery. Others affected by stoppages included the Pepsi-Cola bottling company and some of the city's luxury hotels."

The militancy of the Durban workers has been paralleled by strike action in other South African cities. In Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town bus drivers, building labourers and dockworkers have walked out.

On February 5 workers in Durban's drainage, roads, and electricity departments walked off the job. They were joined by almost all the municipality's 16,000 nonwhite workers.



Police club black worker in Durban

Striking Blacks took to the streets in support of their demand. "A procession of strikers, many of the Zulu workers, marched on city hall waving clubs and clenched fists," the February 6 Washington Post reported.

On February 7 the police, bolstered by reinforcements brought in from Pretoria, and armed with clubs and tear gas, attacked a crowd of 200 Blacks in an industrial section of Hammarsdale, about 25 miles from Durban, that had been closed down by strikes. These workers had broken away from a rally of 7,000 Blacks in a residential section of Hammarsdale. Hundreds were arrested for "incitement" and "disturbing the peace."

According to the New York Times, "Policemen armed with riot guns and accompanied by dogs continued to patrol the residential and factory areas."

On February 8, Durban's mayor, Ron Williams, threatened to fire any city employee who did not return to work the following day. Faced with this ultimatum, and with the prospect of a long strike without pay, the municipal workers decided at mass meetings to return to work. The Durban City Council has promised the workers an immediate 15 percent pay increase. This would give the lowest paid workers an increase of \$2.30 a week.

A Reuters despatch quoted a textile worker as saying that the men were going back "because we are hungry, and not because we have accepted the new wages."

The central issue in the strikes was the starvation wages paid to nonwhite workers. The municipal workers, for instance, demanded a \$13 increase to \$30 per week, scarcely more than the poverty line set by the South African government for a family of five. About 80 percent of South Africa's Black industrial workers are paid less than this miserable government standard. According to the February 4 New York Times, "many were being paid a minimum wage of about \$60 per month - half the poverty line figure." White workers, on the average, earn \$475 per month.

Furthermore, spiraling inflation continuously erodes the already abject living standard of nonwhite workers.

The low wages paid Black workers are the foundation of South Africa's capital "prosperity." The apartheid regime has sought to preserve a supply of cheap labor for the ruling class by depriving Blacks of political rights and forcing them onto "reserves," and by making it illegal for them to form unions or to go on strike.

The militant strikes have sharpened the divisions in South Africa's ruling circles. Even Prime Minister Vorster felt it necessary to utter some democratic homilies to placate the strikers. "They (employers) should not view their workers merely as units working so many hours a day, but also as human beings with a soul!"

His underlings, however, took a harder line. Minister of Labor Marais Viljoen blamed the National Union of Students and the all-white Trade Union Council for "agitating" the Black workers. In Viljoen's view, Blacks are a simple folk who are more than satisfied to live on fifteen dollars a week as long as they are not stirred up by subversive whites. He warned that "the Government cannot countenance the use of wage demands to bring about disorderliness prejudicial to the order of the state."

According to the February 6 Washington Post, "Viljoen said that however necessary wage increases in the private sector might be, they could only be made if employers were able to pay. Compulsory increases, he warned, might force factories to close down, creating unemployment."

Critics of the regime, on the other hand, felt that it was time to introduce some reforms into the apartheid system.

Sir de Villiers Graaf, head of the opposition United party, told South Africa's parliament, "Common humanity, common sense, and our very survival itself demand that the plight of these people, and what they are suffering as a result of higher living costs, should be considered with the greatest urgency."

Jock Espie, secretary of the Trade Union Council, said that the strike movement was "gathering momentum of its own and fast developing into an avalanche." And the Rand Daily Mail warned in an editorial, "The Zulus have brought home to employers that they can no longer get away with appallingly low wages."



Slogan on wall calls for committees of support to the Workers Front campaign in factories, unions and neighbourhoods

Workers Struggles in Argentine Elections

At the general elections of March approach, the growing support for the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores - PST) and the Workers Front (Frente Obrero) is causing worry to the Peronist trade union bureaucracy. There are more than 2,300 candidates using the ballot status of the PST, through the formation of the Workers Front, an electoral alliance of working class and socialist candidates, and their supporters.

A thorough and concerted campaign is being waged throughout the country to familiarize thousands of people with the demands that the PST and Workers Front are raising. Speakers are continually addressing factory and neighbourhood meetings, there are leaflets being distributed and posters being pasted up everywhere.

A central focus of the campaign at this time is on the fight for increased wages. In the past year inflation was 65% and the wage increases that the employers are presently offering are around 15%. Since the military coup which removed Argentina's last elected regime in 1966, the military dictatorship has imposed settlements between workers and employers that have cut the workers' buying power by about one fourth in the last ten years.

The PST presidential candidate Juan Carlos Coria has sent an open letter to the Confederacion General del Trabajo (CGT - General Confederation of Labor), the all-inclusive federation of Argentine unions controlled by Peronist labor bureaucrats. The letter was also addressed to Argentine workers in general. It points out that most parties are asking for workers' votes with the claim that they represent workers' interests, but that promises are vague and specific proposals lacking.

Therefore the PST proposed: 1) A general increase in wages of 50 percent and a minimum wage of \$120 per month. (The present minimum is \$64 per month. An auto worker gets about \$75.) 2) Nationalization of all the monopolies and big businesses. (At least half the parties, including the Peronists, claim to be for "socialism.")

The PST letter calls on the workers to demand that the CGT convoke a public assembly where all the parties can be asked to adopt this programme and pledge that if elected they would carry it out. Finally the letter pledges that whatever comes out of this suggestion, the PST will maintain this position before and after the election and will fight alongside the workers for increases of this magnitude in the current contract negotiations.

This letter has been printed in large posters and pasted up all over the country.

The exceptional level of union activity at the moment comes in the middle of

Forum on Palestine

Anniversary of El Karameh 1.30 PM, Sunday March 25

St George Hall, cnr Cooper and Kippax Sts, Surry Hills.

Speakers: John Bechara, Arab student activist, Sol Salby, Israeli born anti-Zionist, International Officer of the Australian Union of Students.

Sponsored by Friends of Palestine.

Argentina's first national election campaign in ten years. It was in an attempt to curb the rising level of mass struggles, that the military dictatorship decided to call the elections. All but one of the nine parties running national campaigns for the elections are assisting in this process by telling the workers to wait for the elections to solve their problems, to redirect their energies from strikes to getting the right party in power, etc. The Peronist party is playing this role particularly vigorously. Only the PST is not breeding these illusions in the elections. Their campaign is not simply intended to get votes or win posts,

but to help mobilize the workers themselves in struggle. It seeks to carry this struggle from the plant level to the political level. So far, they are the only candidates offering concrete support to the wage fight and the PST/Workers' Front is playing a role in all of the major struggles going on at the moment. At the recent 50-hour strike at the Somisa steelworks, where workers formed their own STASA (Sindicato de Trabajadores Siderurgicos de Argentina - Argentine Steelworkers Union) above the heads of the existing union, the UOM (Union Obrera Metalurgica - Metalworkers' Union) whose leaders had consistently sold out the workers' demands, the Workers'

Front played an active role in organizing solidarity actions, and starting to organize committees to collect provisions for the strikers and putting out propaganda supporting and explaining the background to the strike.

This type of activity has earned the members of the PST and the Workers' Front the reputation of being genuine working class leaders. Their growth has reflected this. In Buenos Aires alone there are seven local branches of the PST in the city proper, and twenty in the metropolitan area, and these are steadily growing in numbers and size.

French Communist League in Elections

BY TONY THOMAS

The revolutionary socialists of the Communist League (French section of the Fourth International) have launched an ambitious campaign in the parliamentary elections scheduled for March 4 and 11. The Communist League will run candidates for the French National Assembly in 133 of the 487 election districts. Lutte Ouvriere (Workers' Struggle), another socialist organization, whose candidates the League is supporting, will run candidates in 176 other districts.

These candidates probably will not get sufficient support to participate in the second round runoff elections March 11. In that race the Communist League had decided to call for a vote for candidates of the Union of the Left, an electoral bloc dominated by the Communist and Socialist parties, although the League is critical of its platform and perspective.

The scale of the League's campaign was shown by a rally it held to launch its campaign in the Paris region. Between 6,000 and 7,000 attended the rally, held at the Paris Sports Palace. The rally was covered by French television, radio, and major newspapers. The rally opened with a speech by a representative of Lutte Ouvriere. The Communist League offered Lutte Ouvriere the platform as an act of solidarity against the banning of a Lutte Ouvriere meeting.

Alain Krivine, the Communist League's candidate in the 1969 French presidential elections, and League leaders Andre Fichaut and Daniel Bensaid spoke. Both Krivine and Bensaid attacked the Union of the Left as a blind alley for the struggle for socialism in France.

Andre Fichaut discussed the necessity of democracy in the workers movement, using as an illustration a recent electrical workers' strike in Brest, which he had been leader of. He stressed the importance of democratically controlled strike committees.

A Good Question

An interesting question was raised by a Muscovite at a current events forum held in Moscow in December. The forum, described in the January 11 Christian Science Monitor, consisted of a panel of Soviet newsmen who answered questions from an audience of about 300.

"Wasn't it time to call Mr. Nixon a criminal for deceiving the people?" a questioner demanded, and shouldn't Soviet citizens be demonstrating against the United States? The audience sat hushed...

The final speaker was Ernest Mandel, a Belgian Marxist economist and a leader of the Fourth International. Mandel has been banned from France since 1968. His appearance surprised the crowd, which responded enthusiastically.

The Feb. 10 issue of "Rouge", a weekly newspaper published by the Communist League, carries a special section on the Communist League's campaign in Rouen, an industrial city in northeastern France.

The Rouen campaign started with building Jan. 11 and 20 antiwar mobilizations called by the Indochina Solidarity Front, a French antiwar organization. The Rouen candidates also addressed meetings of hundreds on the campuses. The candidates spoke on the breakdown of the instit-



Ligue Communiste election rally at the Paris Palais des Sports

Worldwide Student Struggles

Over the past month massive student protest actions have erupted in countries around the world. In Egypt - after the government had closed down the universities for three weeks - mass student demonstrations had continued for five consecutive days as of February 16. The main chant of the marching students was "Where is democracy?" Meanwhile Greek students were pressing the first political challenge

to the military regime of General Papadopoulos. Thousands demonstrated in downtown Athens February 16 against a new law permitting the drafting of any dissident students. The Greek military dictatorship passed the law to try to crush a two-week strike of 4,000 students at Athens Polytechnic. The strike called for an end to repression and for student voice in educational policies.

Carrying signs in solidarity with the Greek students, some 20,000 Belgian high school students marched through Brussels January 31 protesting the Belgian defense ministry's plan to abolish draft deferments.

In Canada, on the other hand, the issue presently provoking protests across the country is government cutbacks in student aid and education spending and increases in tuition fees. Mass meetings, building occupations and demonstrations over this issue have occurred throughout English Canada as well as in Quebec. In several places these student actions have been led by the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the revolutionary socialist youth organisation in Canada.

AUSTRALIAN LABOUR HISTORY PART 5 THE SCULLIN GOVERNMENT 1929-32 BY PETER CONRICK



Queuing for food rations during the Depression

This is the fifth part of our series on the history and development of the Australian Labor Party. Previous articles dealt with the origins of the ALP, Labor's first years in office, the war years and the anti-conscription fight, and Labor in the 1920's.

In this instalment of our series we intend to look at the fortunes of Australia's second major Labor administration - the government of James Scullin. The complex changes in the Labor movement that took place during the depression of the thirties cannot be dealt with in this article. Our purpose here is to trace the internal divisions and splits of the Federal Labor Party as they unfolded through the years of the worst crisis Australian capitalism has yet faced. The backdrop to this internal break-up of the ALP, the mass movements of unemployed and striking workers, and the phenomenon of Langism, will be dealt with in the next instalment.

The economic depression which overwhelmed the advanced capitalist world in the early 1930s was of unprecedented magnitude and intensity. Australia, involved in the cataclysm, was to be wracked by the most profound social and economic crisis in its history. It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of the depression for the Australian Labor movement, which proved unable to cope with the formidable challenges it encountered. Workers' interests were not successfully defended by either the trade unions or the Labor governments which were in office in the Commonwealth and three States. Under the impact of the crisis, the effectiveness of the unions as the basic economic organisations of the working class crumbled, and the political labour movement was shattered. On the other hand, the Communist Party was to become a real force in trade union life.

More than any other previous historical example, the fortunes of the Scullin Labor Government offer an unparalleled view of the class contradictions that exist within the ALP. One of the decisive factors in the demise of Scullin was his refusal to take a clear stand on the basic issues of the right to strike, unemployment and welfare which confronted the whole workforce during the depression. Scullin at first opted for the opinions of the conservative bankers against the more radical Lang plan, then under pressure from Labor caucus, adopted a mid-way position. His vacillation resulted in the desertion of Labor's supporters, who had looked to the Party in crisis and ended in splitting the ALP from left to right. In Federal politics, Lyons stepped into the vacuum as the new representative of anti-Labor and from the left of Scullin Lang emerged to lead the NSW Branch of the ALP into direct confrontation with the Federal Labor Party.

Prelude to a Crisis: In 1929 Labor won its most resounding victory ever in Australian politics. From a weak and ineffective opposition of twenty three in the House of Representatives, Labor defeated the ruling Bruce-Page coalition with an enormous majority. The General Elections of 1929 followed the dissolution of the House of Representatives only and Scullin faced considerable limitations on his government's freedom of action. In the Senate, seven Laborites faced twenty-nine Conservative opponents, and bill after bill was thrown out. Timidity and

an irresponsible satisfaction with the newly won "fruits of office" saw the chances of a double dissolution fade. So Labor's office was restricted to negative government rather than effective political power. In the long run it was this timidity that prevented Labor following up on its most resounding victory ever.

One of the first confrontations of the depression was the Hunter Valley coalminers' lock-out. Theodore, as deputy leader of the Labor Party, had promised as part of Labor's election campaign, that the mines would be re-opened on the men's terms within a fortnight of being elected. Pressured by the labour movement at large, Scullin could scarcely disavow this promise. However, upon election, Scullin refused to force the owners to re-open the mines. The only excuse the Prime Minister could make was that there was no "constitutional means" open to him to ensure a workers' victory. Lang advised Scullin to "forget the constitution" but Scullin did not heed this advice and the mine-owners triumphed over the men. The New South Wales industrial working class movement denounced the Labor leader's treachery and cowardice and thus laid the political basis for the organisational split that occurred between the Lang - controlled NSW Branch and the centre faction of the Federal Party headed by Scullin.

On the other hand the Australasian Council of Trade Unions supported Scullin, his Cabinet was undivided and only three members of caucus expressed their opposition to his handling of the coal dispute.

The blatant sell-out of the Hunter valley actions was the prelude to many similar concessions to bourgeois public opinion, the press and conservative financial interests which the Scullin government was prepared to accommodate.

Drift into Depression: Political instability and the intensification of class confrontations highlighted the serious problems of the country. At the same time these immediate conflicts diverted attention away from the worsening international monetary crisis. The more conservative (and politically influential) sections of the bourgeoisie reflected the view that there should be immediate wage cuts. S.M. Bruce's pursuit of this policy had been one of the factors in his crushing defeat in 1929. Although Bruce had departed the new Labor government inherited his specially chosen top civil strategists, including the reactionary head of the Commonwealth Bank Board, Sir Robert Gibson. Scullin's second major blunder after the sell-out of the coal lock-out was to retain Gibson as director. It was Gibson who was behind the move to bring Sir Otto Niemeyer, the British financier, to 'solve' the crisis. Scullin's sponsoring in the Federal Executive of the ALP which resolved that "any such wage reduction propaganda would be at the expense and sacrifice of the workers by reducing their wages and living standards." 1.

By any comparison, the Australian economy fared badly during the depression. Its fate was common to all countries where world conditions had encouraged the rapid development of agricultural and pastoral production, and the prosperity of which, therefore, depended to an unusual degree

upon the maintenance at normal levels of the prices of the products of these industries. Corresponding with this vulnerability was Australia's "newness" to the capitalist system which in times of upswing attracted a considerable flow of capital from abroad. Even if this inflow had been restrained within the most conservative limits, any sharp fall of prices was likely to impose a severe strain if the efforts to keep up interest payments were to be maintained. One of the recurrent problems of the Scullin government was its failure to pay this rapidly mounting external debt. 2.

Labor's Attempt to deal with the Crisis: Scullin's subservience to financial orthodoxy had led him to suggest that Labor drop every plank in its platform in order to find a way out of the depression. Despite the fact that one in three of the workforce was unemployed, despite the creaking welfare and benefits system, Scullin refused to adopt any of the measures of socialisation to which Labor had been committed. A proposal to put into effect the government's election promise to nationalise banking was fobbed off as 'impractical.' The crowning disgrace of Labor's domestic welfare performance in the depression was its decision to cut back pensions and similar payments by 20% in the interests of balanced budgets and reduced costs.

It was the attempt of Labor to come to grips with the crisis that led directly to the development of the three plans of Lang, Theodore and Lyons. All the plans, despite apparent differences of method, worked for economic stability within the confines of capitalism. In practice, the Labor governments of the depression sought to promote what they loosely defined as the interests of the people as a whole. On both a state and federal level they saw their responsibility to 'national interests' transcending any allegiance to class interests, notwithstanding the pressure of the union movement.

Despite emergency measures, Australia continued to slip deeper into depression, so that as the months passed it became increasingly apparent that the government could not, or would not, do much in the way of redeeming its election promises. A hostile Senate and the growing confidence of a right-wing rump in the Federal Labor Party reduced the influence of the union movement to wishful thinking. The prime Minister bluntly dismissed the unemployment insurance scheme drawn up by the 1930 ACTU Congress as "financially impracticable" and at the Victorian ALP Annual Conference of the same year, Scullin did not offer any prospect that the workers' interests would be advanced. Though the governments' records and pronouncements were hardly the basis for optimism, the trade unions throughout 1930 continued to assert that determined action on the part of the Federal government would check the depression. Despite tremendous pressures from all quarters of the labour movement, Scullin remained unmoved.

Divisions within Cabinet: The personalities of Lyons, Scullin and Theodore dominated Labor Cabinet. Theodore resigned in 1930 as Federal Treasurer when the Queensland (non-Labor) government set up a royal commission to inquire into the sale of mines at Mungana. 3. The Commission found that

Theodore, while Queensland Premier in 1919, had conspired with others to defraud the government of £30,000. Theodore asked for a trial, but this was not granted. When, however, the Queensland government took action during the following year to recover money from him and his associates, the jury found in Theodore's favour and he returned to the Treasury. Theodore did not remain in the Labor party for long as he was one of many Labor MPs to go down in the disastrous 1931 elections.

Theodore was a bitter opponent of the extreme conservatism of Lyons as well as an antagonist of the Lang party machine. Since Theodore had entered Federal parliament through a safe Labor seat in Sydney, he had been regarded by Lang as a rival for dominance in NSW Labor. Lang's determination to destroy Theodore had drawn Scullin's Cabinet straight into the centre of another NSW faction fight.

Soon after Theodore became treasurer again, the death occurred of the member for East Sydney, a very safe electorate. The Federal and NSW Labor governments began a fierce contest to gain the affection of the Labor vote in this distressed inner suburban area. This contest sharpened because it coincided with a premier's conference on the economic crisis at which the first battle of the three plans was fought. Theodore and Scullin devised a plan which was intended to placate Lang, and at first the NSW premier seemed ready to accept. Lang was not ready, however, to appear to compromise himself in the eyes of the East Sydney rank and file militants. In response to the Federal plan, Lang concocted an even more radical economic draught, in an effort to stem the rising combativity of the Sydney working class. Lang eventually won the fight to represent Labor in East Sydney - E. J. Ward thus entered the House of Representatives whereupon Scullin ruled that the new member was not eligible to enter Federal ALP caucus. Ward and some sympathisers then left the Party room. All told, two senators and five members of the House broke away, so robbing Scullin of his majority in the Lower House. Eventually a Lang attack on Theodore brought down the Scullin government, the five Langites in the House joining hands with the conservative opposition. 4. Scullin had seriously miscalculated the strength of opposition within the Party to Theodore and at the same time failed to recognise the incipient power of the mass workers' movement that was developing behind Lang.

Lang utilised the militancy of the workers as a bargaining lever on Scullin. Within a few months, the extra-parliamentary movement of unemployed and oppressed workers was making its own impression inside the Cabinet. Whereas a non-Labor government could sit in relative isolation from the demands of the workers movement, Scullin could not. Bereft of a viable alternative, the workers' aspirations remained directly focused upon the Labor government in Canberra. By the end of his office it was not the conservative financiers that dogged Scullin, but the mass movement of workers which had thrust him into power only twenty months previous.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

IN BRIEF:

EXCUSE ME!

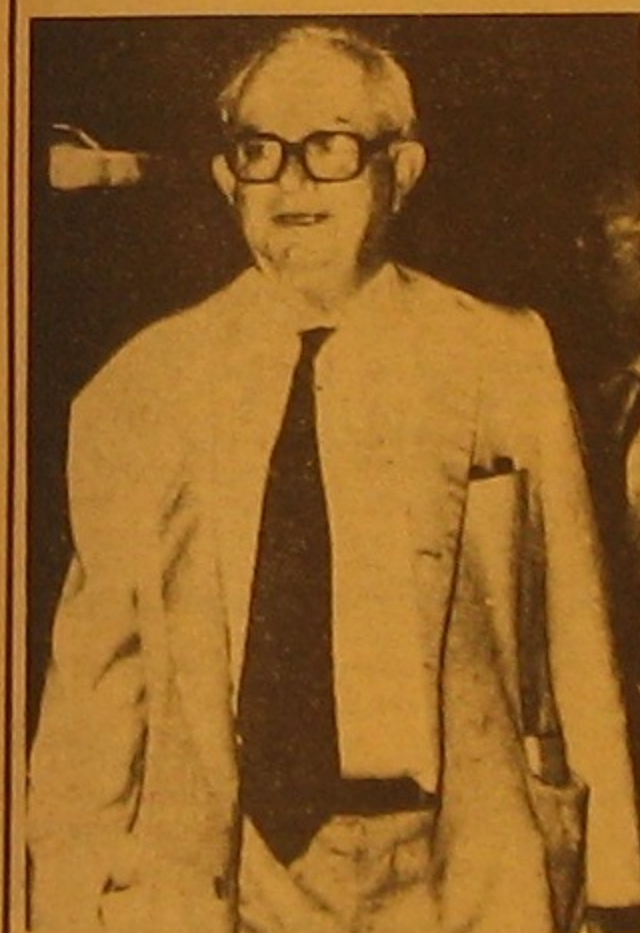
During the Fortieth International Eucharistic Congress which was inflicted upon Melbourne recently, a DIRECT ACTION seller outside Flinders Street station was approached by a Jesuit priest. The priest asked for a copy and was informed that it would cost him ten cents. He replied that since it was a socialist paper it should be given away. The DIRECT ACTION seller commented that he was sure that the priest could afford ten cents, belonging as he did to the second largest money-making organisation in the world. At that the indignant priest burst out "It is not the second largest, it's the largest!"

\$37.80 PER WEEK UTOPIA

Some whites in the Northern Territory are planning a rally in Katherine to protest racial discrimination - against them. One of the organisers of the rally said: "... some of the people say if you could only get a tin of black boot polish and put it all over yourself you could live in Utopia." She went on to say that whites were disgusted with the favouritism shown to black people and the discrimination against whites in the territory. Black stockmen on Northern Territory cattle station are paid \$37.80 per week.

BURCHETT

Left wing journalist Wilfred Burchett has been unable to sell, to Australian television, a half hour documentary film which he made in North Vietnam. He has also been barred from interview programmes on at least some channels. The television companies claim that there is no public interest in Burchett. Could there be some other reason?



Wilfred Burchett arriving in Sydney.

KNOW WHEN TO QUIT

Announcing the Democratic Labor Party's decision not to run in the South Australian state elections, the party's South Australian president G.M. Lockwood said that it would be farcical for the DLP to go into debt to fight a campaign which the Labor Party was sure to win.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

By March 1931 the NSW ALP Executive had been expelled by a special interstate ALP conference and soon there were to be two rival Labor parties in NSW.

The Battle of the Plans: As mid 1931 approached, the Federal government was faced with the prospect of imminent defeat. Workers were being informed by Scullin and other Labor leaders that the bottom had been reached, but the way out was clouded by the bitter differences of opinion over financial policy that were convulsing the movement. As a correspondent in the Labor Call complained, "Despite the desperate position of the nation and the sufferings of hundreds of thousands of unem-

USTASHA

Attorney-General Senator Murphy said on March 1 in Canberra that he had evidence that the right wing terrorist organisation, the Ustasha, exists in this country. Murphy does not seem to be afflicted with the myopia which plagued the previous Attorney-General - the Liberal Party's Senator Greenwood. Greenwood maintained that there was no evidence of the organisation.

BUS COMPANIES INEFFICIENT

A recent report released by the Melbourne Bus Proprietors Association recommends that government backed loans at low interest be made available to small bus companies which, in their view, are being forced out of business by rising costs. The bus proprietors claim that because the companies provide an important public service they should be subsidised. There is another solution which the bus proprietors don't mention - replace the inefficient private buses with government buses.

DEMOCRACY INEFFICIENT

Philippines Foreign Secretary Romulo, speaking in Manila recently, made a few observations on democracy in the Philippines. He said, "Democracy as a form of government is still the best, but in a developing society it must undergo modifications. There can be no substantial democracy in the Philippines when out of 38 million people only 350 families control our national economy." Romulo went on to say that he thought the solution of the problems facing the Philippines lay in "national discipline". "The martial law has shown we can be disciplined". Besides, democracy's no good for protecting the rule of a wealthy few over an impoverished mass.

FOREIGN BASES

On Sunday February 25 about 150 people rallied outside the headquarters of the Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), to protest against the existence of Australian military bases overseas and the existence of foreign military bases in Australia. Speakers at the rally included Victorian ALP Chairman George Crawford, ALP candidate for the Victorian state elections Ian Cathie, Jean Mac Lean a member of the ALP Socialist Left and Ted Bull of the Waterside Workers' Federation.

HEALTH EDUCATION IN QUEENSLAND

The Queensland Health Education Council distributes a series of "Health Education Publications." Pamphlet number 30 in this series offers an interesting insight into the attitudes of the people who run the QHEC. The pamphlet is four pages long and consists mainly of a comic strip with a commentary underneath the frames. The strip runs something like this: the first frame shows a black man digging his garden and the commentary runs "Charlie is working in the garden, away from the house. He is too lazy and careless to walk back to the lavatory." Subsequent frames show Charlie using the garden instead of the lavatory, and Charlie's son contracting hookworm through playing in the garden. Young Tommy (Charlie's son) takes sick and is taken to the good white doctor who gives him some medicine.

Jacky Jacky... sorry, Charlie, learns his lesson and uses the lavatory after that. The QHEC is a government body.

DEBT AT AN EARLY AGE

A credit union in Sydney is planning to lend money to people as young as twelve years old. The scheme has been initiated by the Baulkham Hills Community Credit Union. The chairman of the company, Kevin Gleeson said that the scheme was introduced "... Mainly to teach the children money management" ... how to get used to the idea of being in debt for the rest of their lives.

The attempt by Labor to cope with the 1930's depression produced many strange theories of international monetary plots. More often than not the theories of money power ascribed the world's ills to the 'near-astorians' and "selfish incompetence of financiers". (7) Not only did such beliefs conjure up conspiratorial ideas on the functioning of capitalist society, they also facilitated the rise of a new wave of economic nationalism. Once more high tariff rates and protection became the cornerstone of the ideology and politics of the Labor leadership. But this time, the faith of Labor caucus in its national role was virtually ignored by the thousands of unemployed and starving unionists who now sought the apparently more radical solutions of the Lang Labor Party.

CONCERN FOR THE ISLANDERS

Queensland Premier Bjelke-Petersen has been very vociferous in opposing the proposal to relocate the boundary between Australia and Papua-New Guinea. The present boundary includes almost all of Torres Strait as Australian territory and extends to within a few hundred yards of the Papuan coast. Bjelke-Petersen has claimed that the Torres Strait Islanders want to remain as Australian citizens and has apparently decided that despite the fact that their skins are not white, the Islanders' rights must be protected - which is something of a turn about for Bjelke Petersen whose government has a reputation for racist discrimination.

Labor Party Senator George Georges may have shed some light on Bjelke Petersen's sudden change of heart. In a recent speech in the federal parliament, Georges stated that Bjelke Petersen is a major shareholder in Exoil Australia which has made application for prime leases in the Torres Strait area.



Bjelke-Petersen visiting his subjects.

POVERTY IN MELBOURNE

The head of the national poverty inquiry, Professor Ronald Henderson, revealed recently that the poverty level in Melbourne for a family with two children is \$52 per week, a rise of 57% on similar figures taken seven years ago. Henderson said that aborigines, recently arrived immigrants and people with large families constituted the majority of those living below the poverty level. He also mentioned that donations to some charities were not tax deductible while donations to wealthy private schools were.

TRUE AUSTRALIANS

A Catholic bishop offered his views on aborigines to the section of the Eucharistic Congress on aboriginal affairs. Bishop John O'Loughlin of Darwin opened by saying that he wished people in the south would keep their mouths shut about the aborigines (not quite in those words of course). He went on to say how part-aborigines made trouble for themselves by identifying with full-blooded aborigines. According to O'Loughlin, aborigines would do better to identify themselves as Australians and to stop dividing the nation by pretending to be aborigines. Among other things, he said: "I regard pan-aboriginalism as a backward step. I am inclined to think that part-aboriginals might do better not identifying with full-blooded aboriginals". Which shows the concern and sensitivity with which the Catholic Church regards the problems of the aborigines.

On land rights, police victimisation of blacks, job discrimination, inadequate housing, medical and educational facilities the patriotic bishop was silent.

... STEVE PAINTER

SOME ALSO USE THEM FOR TRANSPORT

Kenji Ekuin, president of the Japanese Industrial Designers Association spoke recently about his experience as a designer of motor bikes. He said that he tried to design the handle-bars, petrol tank and even the exhaust pipe to symbolise women, and that the only limit to erotic design of bikes was safety regulations. He went on to say that motor bike buyers got what they wanted - danger, speed, adventure and masculinity. He also said that some women wanted similar things from a motor bike, but most of the stupid creatures just used them for transport.

EFFLUENT

I.G. Lancaster, general secretary of the NSW Teachers' Federation, said recently that effluent from a septic tank flowed through the grounds of Avilon Primary School. The effluent flows through the playground and lunch area. Students at the school often suffer gastric ailments including gastro-enteritis and hepatitis. Students frequently vomit in the classrooms. A complaint about the situation was made in July last year. So far the government's only action on the situation has been a statement by Minister for Education Willis that "officers responsible have reported no recent complaints from teachers at the school."

ABORIGINES WALK OUT OF EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

A part of the Fortieth International Eucharistic Congress recently held in Melbourne was an all black church congress. During one of the Congress meetings almost a quarter of the members walked out in protest against the running of the affair. One of the delegates from Brisbane said "They picked people for the meeting who would say the right thing. The whole thing was a sham, a window-dressing job for the Catholic Church. Motions were being deleted at the whim of the organisers. Crucial matters such as the spread of VD (Venereal Disease), which is killing off our people were not reported. ... Apparently they only want goody goody stuff out of the conference."

The white section of the Eucharistic Congress passed a motion recognising the aborigines as people - very generous of them.

One of the black people who walked out said "I will certainly have nothing more to do with the Catholic Church after this charade."

DEBT AT AN EARLY AGE

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... STEVE PAINTER

FOOTNOTES

1. Resolution of Federal executive of the ALP adopted October 1930, cited in Louis, L.J. & Turner, I.H. *The Depression in the 1930's*, p.64
2. See Schedvin, C.B., *Australia and the Great Depression*, p.p.108,111.
3. See Denning, W. *Caucus Crisis*, p.105
4. For further details see Robertson, J.R. 'Scullin as Prime Minister', in *The Great Depression in Australia* (ed. Robert Cooksey) p.p.31-32.
5. Labor Call 30 April 1931.
6. Cited, Louis, L.J. *Trade Unions and the Depression*, p.91.
7. *Ibid.*, p.93.

Whitlam's New Asian Policy

BY JIM McILROY

Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's recent forays in a "new" and "independent" foreign policy for Australia reveal quite clearly that the basic aims of that policy are not being changed. These are, in the usual journalistic jargon, to "stabilise" the South East Asia region, politically, economically and militarily. In other words, to prop up the existing "free world" dictatorships and defuse revolutionary developments among the oppressed peoples of the area.

While the long term aims of Whitlam diplomacy have not basically changed from those of the Liberal "forward defense" foreign policy, the methods and tactics have changed quite noticeably. And this is what has caused such a stir in the Australian press, and even among the leaders of the Indonesian, Malaysian and Singapore regimes. For what Whitlam diplomacy represents is the advance guard of a general policy of realignment in Asia, based on the new reality of a world system of "peaceful coexistence." This is clearly the next stage following on the Mao - Nixon detente, and the combined betrayals by Moscow and Peking of the Vietnamese revolution. As a result of the Vietnam experience, imperialism on a world-scale is seeking (and getting) the co-operation of the Soviet and Chinese leaders in holding back the revolt of the colonial peoples. Australian governments have a part to play in this.

Mr Whitlam chose his recent trip to Nuigini and Indonesia to launch his ideas officially. His proposal for a new Asian-Pacific regional alliance, taking in all the countries of the area, is an important sign of the developments to come. In his speech to the Indonesian parliament on February 22, he described this plan as "an organisation genuinely representative of the region. Without ideological overtones, conceived as an initiative to help free the region from the great power rivalries which have bedevilled its progress for so long and which would be designed to insulate the region against ideological interference from the great powers." Its membership would be as diverse as China, Japan, Indonesia, North Vietnam, Australia and New Zealand ("Age", February 26, 1973).

This reference to "without ideological overtones" and "against ideological interference from the great powers" reveals the conservative basis of the Prime Minister's plan, for this is merely a disguised way of saying "No ideas of revolution, thank you." The whole conception is an attempt to solve problems without conflict, without social upheaval, without class struggle - in short, by peaceful co-existence. And this, of course, cannot be done. Only social revolution, only the seizure of the national productive machinery by each people in their own interest, only international co-operation of these peoples in solving the tasks of building socialism will succeed in overcoming the basic subjection of colonial peoples

to a world imperialist system. The talk about "great power interference" is merely demagoguery without a correct understanding of how colonial peoples are oppressed by an international system of political and economic ties.

The Vietnamese have been struggling to break this system's grip on their nation. Nixon having failed to defeat them, and suffering a political upheaval in the US itself as a consequence, can only be pleased to see "progressive" statesmen such as Gough Whitlam beginning the task of "integrating" China into the Asian status quo. There can be little doubt that Whitlam is acting at the same time, consciously or not, as an advocate for the interests of Peking in a stable sphere of influence in SE Asia.

Whitlam's proposal received a mixed reception from Indonesian politicians. President Suharto and Foreign Minister Malik were both reported to have rejected the scheme initially. Later, Suharto relented a little and was prepared to say that the idea had "potential value" but that it was "unlikely to come about in the short term." ("Age", February 26) These leaders of the murderous "New Order" in Indonesia which was established on the bodies of over 500,000 massacred leftists, were more keen to bolster the main existing pact of the pro-capitalist states in Asia, ASEAN (Assoc-

iation of South East Asian Nations). The reasons are made clear by a leading right-wing journalist with close links to SE Asia government sources, Michael Richardson, in the "Age", February 26.

"The ASEAN five want to reach a modus vivendi with Peking. But pending satisfactory assurances on issues like Chinese support of local insurgency movements, they want time to build up their individual and collective capacity to fend for themselves.

"They also want more time to see how China and North Vietnam are going to act in the new stage of the Indo-China struggle and how developments there are likely to affect them.

"In essence, this is 'wait and see' diplomacy in which maximum bargaining power and leverage are brought to bear on States considered to be potential sources of trouble." The ASEAN governments wish stronger guarantees of peaceful co-existence, before they are willing to talk of co-operation, but they clearly see it as a real possibility in the middle future.

Mr Whitlam certainly made sure everyone realised what his real loyalties were, by visiting and sprinkling petals on the graves of the six Indonesian generals killed during the 1965 "attempted coup" which preceded the mass slaughter and imprisonment of the left. He also underlined his continued support for basic mil-

itary alliances during his visit to Malaysia. There, he strongly backed the 5 power defense plan of UK, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore. He said:

"Australia wishes to maintain this close co-operation and will continue to honour the five power defense arrangement in full." ("Australian", February 19). He went on:

"Regional co-operation will be the keystone of Australian foreign policy in the 1970's." Nothing could be more explicit.

At home in Australia vigorous opposition has developed to Whitlam's foreign policies (eg. see D.A. No. 36 on Singapore spy base). The P.M.'s manoeuvres over the spy base caused a lot of dissent in the Labor Party, and the conflict has shown that nowhere did Mr. Whitlam challenge the reasons for the existence of the base, only the tactical necessity of it.

The most recent controversy has surrounded the U.S. secret military installations in Australia. Defence Minister Barnard's statement to Parliament revealed very little new about the bases. Once again, the previous foundation of defence and foreign policy has not been challenged by the Government. This was quite insufficient for the ALP Socialist Left who have played a considerable role in tackling the Government on these questions and raising them in the party and publicly. Victorian ALP Chairman and prominent S.L. figure George Crawford said he was "disappointed that Mr. Barnard's statement had not gone far enough." "I don't think there should be any reason for any other nation to have bases in Australia", he said. ("Herald", March 1, 1973).

A.L.P. Federal policy states that: "The ALP is opposed to the existence of foreign owned, controlled, or operated bases and facilities in Australian territory, especially if such bases involve a derogation from Australian sovereignty."

"The tenure of these bases and facilities by other powers should not exclude properly - accredited access by authorised Australians charged with the evaluation of Australian defence policy, whether members of the Australian Parliament, or armed services."

Whatever the internal contradiction in this statement, it is clear that another challenge to Government policy is brewing inside the ALP for the implementation of Party policy. As Federal Conference approaches, and the Socialist Left organises itself for battle, the clear alternative of a socialist position is being increasingly posed before ALP members and the Australian people. The great social movement which put Labor into power is now reflected in the pressures which continually and relentlessly seek to push Labor leftwards, and buffet Mr. Whitlam and his colleagues.

The aims of Whitlam's foreign policy will not be easily accepted by the labour movement as a whole. Recent controversies only give a hint of the basic conflict of views which must come.



"The Australian Prime Minister (Mr. Whitlam) sprinkles petals on the graves of six Indonesian generals killed during the 1965 coup attempt. Behind him, officials strain to shelter him from torrential rain during the ceremony at the Heroes Cemetery in Kalibata. Mr. Whitlam also struggled with an enormous wreath before placing it under a flagpole in a solemn ceremony." (the "Age")

DIRECT ACTION FORUMS

Sydney at 139 ST JOHNS ROAD, GLEBE.

Friday, March 16, 8pm.

"RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE"

Sol Salby analyses recent developments in the struggle for national liberation in Palestine.

Friday, March 30, 8pm.

"THE REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION"

Nita Kelg discusses why the problems of women cannot be resolved under capitalism.

Friday, April 13, 8pm.

"WHICH WAY FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL MOVEMENT?"

Manda Lenane and Mike Jones discuss the role of the National Education Action Coalition and its struggle for student rights.

A new series of public forums will begin shortly in Melbourne and Sydney and later on in other major cities. These forums are being sponsored and organized by the Socialist Workers League in collaboration with DIRECT ACTION.

From this platform speakers will discuss current events and issues from the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism. Militants from the labor movement and activists from the movements of social protest will speak about their struggles.

The format of the forums will include talks, panels, debates, and so on. The Socialist Workers League hopes that these forums will present in a lively, stimulating and concrete manner the revolutionary socialist alternative to capitalism. Such a vehicle has hitherto been badly lacking on the left. We hope you, the reader, will help build these forums into a lively and informative discussion night.

Melbourne at 140 QUEENSBERRY STREET, CARLTON.

Thursday, March 15, 8pm

"VIETNAM: WHY THE TREATY WON'T BRING PEACE"

Jamie Doughney analyses the nature of the recent "peace" accords on Vietnam and discusses the role of the antiwar movement in this context.

Thursday, March 29, 8pm

"A HISTORY OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION"

Jenny Ferguson and Dot Turnney discuss the struggle of women against their oppression in history and as it has emerged today.

Thursday, April 12, 8pm

"WHICH WAY FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL MOVEMENT?"

Dave Deutschman and Ted Murphy discuss the role of the National Education Action Coalition and its struggle for student rights.