

DIRECT ACTION

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Introducing Direct Action

"Direct Action" is not a paper "for the whole Left". It is the paper of a particular segment of the Left, with a distinct and defined political position, and will attempt to present the position of the Socialist Youth Alliance in a clear and coherent way.

To publish a paper without an organisation to build and be built by is political irresponsibility. It is to play with politics. Only when a paper has an organisation to build, and that organisation has a programme to guide it, does a little left-wing venture such as ours take on any meaning. Viewed from a commercial viewpoint alone, the bourgeoisie is able to outclass its opponents, even in the sphere of "underground" newspapers, with their far greater resources.

We can't hope (as yet) to compete on the same terms as the capitalist press, and in that sense we are not a news paper. At the moment we can only manage to appear monthly and leaving aside the rubbish most of the bourgeois press contains, we can't hope to cover even their range of political news. What we can report on however, are the struggles in which our organisation is engaged.

We still aim to be popular and interesting of course, but only to a select audience. By reporting the ongoing struggles and analysing the issues confronting our movement, we hope that the large numbers of young people who are radicalising under the impact of events like the war in Vietnam will turn in our direction. Thus, with our limited resources, we'll make every effort to be interesting but never compromising on our politics and losing sight of our goal of winning people over to our socialist viewpoint.

WHICH PAPER DO YOU SUPPORT?

Industrial Worker, July 25, 1970



Direct Action? It's not a new name for a paper. Fifty years ago the IWW in Australia published a newspaper by that name, which at one stage had a circulation of 50,000. The Industrial Workers of the World (wobblies) occupy an important place in Australian history for the militant struggles they waged during WW1.

We hope to carry on that wobbly tradition at least in part. Although we are a youth organisation, we don't therefore reject the past. The past history of the labour and socialist movements is a valuable

guide to present action.

We respect the IWW tradition of constant struggle and agitation, their rejection of parliamentary solutions, of piecemeal reforms.

On the other hand, we reject their use of terrorist tactics, of sabotage. The whole history of the working class movement reveals the false-ness of such tactics.

Thus Direct Action, series two, intends to continue the positive aspects of the IWW tradition, one of the few inspiring chapters in Australia's history.

High Schools:

Greg Adamson

As in the university students' and workers' struggles, the high school movement periodically suffers setbacks. These may be due to one of a number of reasons: the sudden loss of a leader, the collapse of a fraternal organisation or disinterest among the members, can and has over the past several years caused the collapse of a number of high school organisations.

The most recent collapse was that of Student Underground, an organisation affiliated with Resistance. Student Underground having been red-baited in Parliament, got off to a good start, but for want of specific aims, diversified, and attempting to become a general left-wing news service to all high school students, collapsed after a run of two years. This diversification has been a common symptom of several defunct organisations and should be seen by high school students wishing to build a radical movement, as a pitfall to be avoided.

However, whether or not there exists a high school group to which students can be recruited, there is a continual radicalisation of a small number of students who, through the knowledge of the facts of the Vietnam war or lack of freedom in high schools or by some other factor, see the second side of the government's face. These people tend to polarise around any force on the Left which they can find. For this reason, any organisation wishing to recruit cadres from the high school movement should attempt to build a high school group. With the success of the Moratorium on such a massive scale, plus the rowdy argument over the issue of students wearing Moratorium badges, a quickly growing number of students are coming to a new awareness of this society. Thus a golden opportunity exists for the recruitment of many new people from the anti-war movement.

Those students remaining after the collapse of Student Underground felt the need for a new organisation which could learn from the mistakes of the old. A meeting was advertised at a high schools' moratorium activity. The outcome of this meeting, which was attended by 21 people, was

the general realisation of the necessity for an organisation and the need for certain specific demands to fight for.

At a meeting of this group a week later, the name Secondary Students Action Committee was adopted and the demands were finalised as follows:

1. Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Indo China.
2. Immediate repeal of the National Service Act.
3. Democratic rights for high school students.

These are envisaged as basic demands around which high school students can be mobilised. They encompass the most prominent radicalising factors existing in high schools and should be seen as a guide to be understood and fought for.



Andrew Pulley, speaking in Sydney

N.Z. TOUR BY S.Y.A. ACTIVIST

(The Socialist Youth Alliance representative at the New Zealand Socialist Action League Conference was Sol Salby, a NSW University activist).

During the August vacation I travelled to New Zealand as an observer at the Socialist Action League Conference. As secretary of the Arab-Hebrew Joint Action Committee and member of ISRAHA (Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad) I was able to conduct a speaking tour on the Middle East question.

The topic chosen was "Zionism and the Arab Revolution"; the tour being quite successful and the level of discussion in all three centres fairly high. The points concentrated on in my talk were:

1. destroying the myth that Israel is a democratic, progressive and peace-loving country; and
2. the need to promote a social and political revolution in the whole of the Middle East as the only possible solution to the conflict.

Persons attending these forums ranged from socialists and Maoists to Zionists and anti-war Semites, and some of the more interesting discussion took place informally after the forums. Amongst the people I was able to speak to was one of New Zealand's very few Arab residents who explained to the audience his absolute agreement with the viewpoint I was representing and who later joined the SAL, along with a group of left-wing Zionists who were having grave doubts about their position.

The Press reaction proved interesting. Through their ignorance of the whole question they saw fit to create a fairly prominent news article out of my visit, while at the same time being quite unsuccessful in their attempts to distort my comments, due to this lack of knowledge.

In Christchurch, for example, the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation made the visit their main news item, whilst the right-wing "Star" quoted me quite accurately.

om the only anti-Zionist Israeli in the southern Hemisphere to "the only true Jew in Australia and New Zealand, actively opposed to the present Israeli government". The visit also created a controversy about my right to return to Israel. (It has since been confirmed that a new Bill in the Israeli Parliament is intended to take away citizenship rights from such people).

The most educational events attended were the Radical Activists Congress and the Socialist Action League Conference.

The RAC was extremely disappointing, and proved, predictably, to be a shouting match between the various tendencies. The degree of bedlam at the Congress was commensurate with the political level and seriousness of many of the groups present. The Communist Party of New Zealand, which had another split just before the Congress, provided ample entertainment with quotes like, "the most important duty of a woman is to stand behind her husband when he is on strike".

During the Congress a group of "militants" provided an interesting sidelight by staging a fifty-person demonstration outside the south Vietnamese Embassy because they wanted "action", and there wasn't any at the Congress.

The SAL Conference was a complete contrast. As a revolutionary socialist organisation recognising the basic requirements of democracy, it gave everyone speaking a quiet hearing. Such important topics as the international situation in general, women's liberation, the Maori movement and the Labor Party, were discussed in a way which lent itself reasonable polemics. As such, all observers at the Conference were impressed with its progress and outcome in general.

At this same meeting of SSAC, the idea of an organisation was formalised, the alternative being a group of the High School Moratorium Group type which arranges, at uneven intervals, occurrences among whose patrons there is no continuity of action. SSAC now holds regular weekly meetings and plans to bring out a news-sheet in the near future. This news-sheet will direct all its efforts to fighting for its three main aims, the job of a news service having been taken over by "Direct Action".

If SSAC succeeds, where others have failed in the immediate task of making substantial political gains from the Moratorium, which we believe is an imminent possibility, it could easily find itself in a very favourable position in relation to other forces on the Left in Sydney and could in fact, strengthen the position of the SYA in Sydney.

PULLEY TOUR A SUCCESS

The tour of Australia by Andrew Pulley, black anti-war activist from the US, proved to be a great success, both in terms of attendance at the public meetings and in terms of the overall publicity Andrew received. The TV coverage was extensive and nearly all university or left-wing papers carried an interview or a long report.

The Australian section of Andrew's tour was organised by Resistance (now SYA), and he addressed well attended meetings in Adelaide, Melbourne, Canberra and Sydney. Andrew is running in the US congressional elections this year for the Socialist Workers' Party. An ex-GI who was court-martialed out of the US Army for his anti-war activities, he spoke on the Black Liberation struggle and the anti-war upsurge in the US.

He is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, our counterpart organisation in the US. John Percy, formerly secretary of Resistance attended the SYA national conference in December last year as a fraternal delegate from Resistance. In the light of the government's recent decision to ban comedian Dick Gregory from attending the September Moratorium, it is difficult to make sense of their policy on these questions. Andrew Pulley spent 60 days in the stockade for his anti-war activities in the army and was eventually given a dishonourable discharge. He has spoken at many anti-war rallies and holds the same political views as Ernest Mandel, who was denied entry to Australia in May. Ernest Mandel was to have spoken at the Socialist Scholars Conference and at public meetings organised by Resistance.

However, for those who didn't manage to hear Andrew Pulley, we do have a tape of one of his addresses that may be borrowed. Amongst other tapes available from us is a set of speeches of Malcolm X.

For those who would have liked to have heard Ernest Mandel, we have three of his pamphlets for sale - An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory (40 cents); The Revolutionary Student Movement (25 cents); and The Marxist Theory of the State (20 cents).

SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

Sol Salby

The existence of Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is an undeniable fact. Despite statements to the contrary by so-called socialists, Anti-Semitism has not been eradicated in the Soviet Union as yet. There is ample evidence to prove this statement. The discrimination against the Jews does not have a particularly religious nature. Lenin recognised them as a national minority in Russia. Furthermore, those who are being discriminated against, suffer the same fate regardless of religious affiliation. The Socialist Youth Alliance writes to PROTEST against the Soviet bureaucracy's oppression of Russian Jewry.

Anti-Semitism and other forms of racism have been in existence for a long time. They are not, however, inevitable. Racism is a direct product of the existing society.

Capitalist society creates and encourages all forms of division between the people it controls. The Black vs. Whites in the USA, and the Catholics vs. Protestants in Northern Ireland, are two classic examples of this process. In each case a clear cut economic reasoning exists, which is beneficial to the capitalists. A society which is based upon competition

ABORTION CAMPAIGN

Sue Andrews

"In the case of female education, the main stress should be laid on bodily training, and after that on development of character, and last of all on development of intellect. But the one absolute aim of female education must be with a view to the future mother". Adolph Hitler, Mein Kampf.

This is the most brutal expression of the whole type of argument raised to keep women in the roles of wife/mother/property. The gentler ones, the women's magazine ones, waffle on about the "great fulfilment", achieving femininity and intellectual discovery of the decade, "ultimate satisfaction of creativity".

No one was quite as blatant at the public meeting held on Friday, September 4, by the Campaign for the Abolition of All Abortion Laws. But the majority of speakers from the floor, members of the Society in the Defence of the Union, came very close to it. The SDU from their composition, appearance and expression were Catholic to the core. On the other hand, the CAAL speakers represented everything from christian liberalism to a socialist view.

This meeting was part of a campaign being carried on in Sydney to get the NSW abortion laws completely repealed. The laws at present are ambiguous to say the

least, and although doctors who perform abortions are brought before the courts, it is the women who have the abortions that are put on trial. This view was emphasised by some of the participants in a demonstration staged by the campaign the following Monday outside Central Criminal Courts, where a group of doctors appeared to face charges of carrying out illegal abortions.

Abortion, and the right of women to decide to have one, is one of the demands for Women's Liberation that arises from the condition of women in capitalist society.

The illusion of a "happy family" is one which is hard to break. From early childhood girls are given dolls to play with to satisfy their natural maternal instincts. When they grow up, the most important ambition for them is to get married, produce children and look after a man.

It is in the interests of capitalist society to perpetuate this myth. The woman is the property of her husband with no life of her own, and he works solely to support her and their children. This myth is now being challenged by the necessity of working class women to take jobs in order to maintain the family. It's a pretty vicious circle.

At all times, household work is the responsibility of women. When they are

working outside the home they must somehow manage to get both jobs done. Women, particularly married women with children, who work outside the home, simply do two jobs; their participation in the labour force is only allowed if they continue to fulfil their first responsibility in the home. In a society based on commodity production, household work is not considered "real work"; money determines value - women are a group who work outside this money economy - their work is not work money - and is therefore valueless.

The ability of a woman to decide whether or not she needs an abortion challenges the whole concept of being satisfied to stay at home rearing children and that she has no other interests than those of a domestic nature. The very fact that the most reliable contraceptives are only available on prescription with a luxury tax of 27% is an indication of the attitude that denies women the freedom to obtain contraceptives how and when they like. Obviously agitation for wide education and research into the safest methods of contraception is necessary to facilitate this.

Abortion should be available on request because every woman has the right to control her own body and her own life. The illegality of abortions causes much suffering, as well as limiting the availability of abortion to those middle and upper class women who can afford to pay - it is the working class women, to whom another child would be an economic burden, who cannot pay.

The choice of whether or not to have an abortion must be a real one. Abortions are necessary because in our society, children often constitute an economic burden and a limitation to women who are restricted to the home to care for them. Low child endowment payments and general economic inequality force them into this situation. The social and psychological pressures on unmarried mothers are also quite considerable.

The demand for not only abolition of the present abortion laws, but also free availability of contraceptives, free and well-equipped child care centres, is a necessary plank for Women's Liberation. Abortion on request will only begin to change woman's role in the family, necessary for her liberation.

PIG

One of the main SYA activities leading up to the Moratorium has been centred around the screening and distribution of the film "In The Year Of The Pig". This excellent antiwar film has been bought by the SYA and has proved an excellent medium for getting across to large numbers of people, both about our own organisation and mobilising them for the September Moratorium.

So far it has had a screening in Canberra, three in Adelaide, six in Melbourne and about fifteen in Sydney. The overall response has been very favourable. The film gives an excellent historical documentation of that lays bare the nature of the Vietnam war. Using official US films, and old newsreel footage, and letting the actors in the events speak for themselves rather than using commentary, De Antonio paints a devastating picture.

The film is biased - it does take sides. De Antonio doesn't hide that. Neither does he allow the film to be a mere generalized comment on the brutality of war. The film points a finger at the US as aggressors, but its often their own finger that's pointing, their own mouths condemning them.

We hope to be able to show the film as widely as possible - it certainly deserves it. It will definitely be re-screened in Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne and Adelaide after the Moratorium, so don't miss it this time. All enquiries about the film should be addressed to 105 Reservoir St., Sunny Hills, Sydney.

Don't miss the Revolution.



GENOCIDE? OR BUSINESS AS USUAL

John Hammat

The following acts, or any of them, are crimes coming within the jurisdiction of the tribunal for which there shall be individual responsibility:

- ... ill-treatment of civilian population ... murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war ... wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages ... inhumane acts committed against any civilian population". Charter of the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg Trials).

The mounting fury of the richest and most powerful country is today being directed against one of the smallest and poorest countries in the world. All over the world people are watching the sheer brutality of the war that the US is waging in Vietnam. What, even her best friends are asking, is happening to the American people we once respected?

The evidence is overwhelming and undeniable. No one now even attempts to deny it. Torture, the shooting of prisoners, the use of phosporous and napalm against civilians, the burning of defenceless villages - all these are now matters of public record.

"Our people suffered under the French", one veteran of Dien Bien Phu told a writer in Hanoi, "we suffered terribly, terribly ...". He hesitated and then went on, "but you must know that it was as nothing compared with the suffering inflicted on us today by the Americans".

We do not need to rely on Vietnamese accounts of corroboration in order to be convinced that the US is engaging in the dirtiest war in its history. We can turn to the reports of experienced correspondents in the pages of the most respectable newspapers published in the US.

"Anyone who has spent much time with Government units in the field has seen the heads of prisoners held under water and bayonet blades pressed against their throats ... in more extreme cases victims have had bamboo slivers run under their fingernails or wires from a field telephone connected to arms, nipples or testicles". New York Times Magazine, November 28, 1965.

Malcolm Browne the AP correspondent who won the Pulitzer Prize for his reporting of the war, gives some vivid accounts of what goes on, in his book "The New Face of War".

"Many a news correspondent or US military adviser has seen the hands whacked off prisoners with machetes. Prisoners are sometimes castrated or blinded.

In more than one case a Vietcong suspect has been towed after interrogation behind an armoured personnel carrier across the rice fields. This always results in death in one of its most painful forms".

On October 21, 1965, the New York Times reported that Senator Stephen Young, who had just returned from a fact-finding mission to Vietnam said:

... that he had learned that the Central Intelligence Agency hired persons to disguise as Vietcong and discredit Communists in Vietnam by committing atrocities ..."

Senator Young tonight said that he got (the report) from an American military officer ...

"I confirmed through the CIA today that it employed some South Vietnamese nationalists to pose as Vietcong - and I take a dim view of that", Mr. Young said.

War by its very nature is a cruel business. This war, however, differs from all others in which the US and Australia have ever been involved. Never before has such a fearful and barbaric concentration of power been deployed against so small a country. Never before have the young men of America and Australia been thrust into such a conflict or ordered to fight with methods that outrage both international law and the more general laws of our common humanity.

What kind of war?

What are the reasons for this brutal confrontation? What kind of war is going on?

The US still insists - against all available evidence and contrary to reports by all foreign observers - that what is going on is "aggression from the north"; that the National Liberation Front was initiated

and is controlled by Hanoi. The US role it is said, is merely to give a helping hand to the south, which is the victim of this aggression. The whole public justification for US intervention in south Vietnam and for the bombing of north Vietnam, rests on this case and enormous efforts have been made to make the case sound plausible. Spokesmen for the US Government have conceded that if indeed, the struggle in Vietnam is a civil war, the US has no right whatever to be there. "If it was an indigenous rebellion", said G. Ball, Under Secretary of State, "the United States would have no business taking sides in the conflict and helping one side to defeat the other by force of arms".

Those who oppose US intervention in Vietnam realise the absurdity of the "aggression from the north" theory. They know that the facts simply do not support it. Many of them see this as a struggle that began as a legitimate revolt against a cruel and repressive regime, and that has, they believe, since developed into a civil war.

However, when the historic sequence of events is examined, it will be seen that the struggle in Vietnam is no more a "civil war" than it is a war against "aggression from the north".

When the French were in occupation of what is now Vietnam, though a number of Vietnamese supported the French, and acted as their agents, the Vietnamese resistance against the French was never considered a civil war. It did not become a civil war because it was now the US and not the French who became the occupying force.

The presence in Vietnam of a local, US-supported, US-financed, US-armed regime cannot obscure the central fact that the main objective of the liberation struggle, from the beginning and at every stage



Sydney Demonstration

GURINDJIS vs VESTEYS

Russ Grayson

There are at least 123 known Vestey subsidiaries, and at least another 20 associated companies. The group controls one of the major meat empires in the western world. In the period immediately preceding World War I, Vestey Bros. began acquiring pastoral leases in Northern Australia. Between 1914 and 1916 they had purchased some 36,000 square miles of the Northern Territory and the East Kimberleys. The extent to which the government supported their activities can be gauged from the industrial and constitutional dispute which developed around Vestey's in 1918, the government actually backing the company in its conflict with workers.

The oppressive "rule" of Vestey's caused the third and last constitutional uprising in Australian history. Meatworkers revolted and demanded the dismissal of government bureaucrats. The government sent the navy to maintain order but soon found it necessary to withdraw it when signs of sympathy for the workers appeared amongst the sailors.

The event was unimportant in itself, but the basic nature of the dispute was significant. Workers selling their labour to Vestey's, and being dissatisfied with conditions imposed upon them by the company, revolted against the government, a government which they saw as being in collusion with foreign, imperialist forces. Three years prior to the revolt, in 1915, the Queensland Labor Party was elected on a platform of limiting the power of foreign landowners and partially nationalising the meat industry in that state. This, white workers realised what was going on and fought to free themselves. Unfortunately, the Aborigines were for-

since, has been the removal of foreign military force.

In 1965 the pro-US government of Japan sent one of their most experienced diplomats, Shunichi Matsumoto, to survey the situation. His report infuriated official Washington, Matsumoto did not believe that the National Liberation Front was predominantly a "Communist movement"; he did not think the conflict could be won by military means; he thought the insurgent forces could be called "a movement somewhat similar to the resistance of the French underground during World War II" - in other words, a patriotic resistance against a foreign invader.

It was to wage a struggle against a foreign-appointed regime that the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam was formed in the first place. There is no war as such between north and south Vietnam precisely because the struggle is neither the result of "aggression from the north" nor a "civil war" but a war against foreign military invasion. It remains - despite every effort to conceal it - essentially a war by the Vietnamese people against the military invasion of their country by the United States.

Imperialism

What then is the real reason for the presence of US and allied troops in Vietnam?

"Now let us assume that we lost Indo-China ... the tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease coming ... so when the United States votes \$400 million to help that war, we are not voting a give-away programme. We are voting for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States of America, our

security, our power and ability to get certain things that we need from the riches of the Indo Chinese territory and from South East Asia". President Eisenhower.

"Geographically, Vietnam stands at the hub of a vast area of the world - South East Asia - an area with a population of 249 million persons ... he who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the south ... Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum - from it large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined". Henry Cabot Lodge.

America has attained and maintained the position of the strongest world power largely by its domination of almost every country in the Third World. This involves the exploitation of the natural resources of these countries and the denial of economic and political independence.

America cannot maintain this high level of capitalist development unless it can acquire cheaply the raw materials necessary to maintain its industrial surplus profits at high returns and find markets for the surplus products it produces. As these requirements cannot be fulfilled within the United States, America has utilised a policy of imperialism and the Vietnam war is merely an extension by military means of imperialism's strategy - the subordination of foreign economies to its own interests.

The Vietnam war is of such importance to the U.S. because it realizes that were the Vietnamese people to win independence, other countries might be encouraged to strengthen even further their struggles for national liberation. America could not continue in its position as supreme capitalist power if "two, three, many Vietnams flowered on the face of the globe." (Che Guevara). So it must hold on to Vietnam at all costs.

Withdrawing the troops from Vietnam will not end the struggle or change America's imperialist policy, but if the Vietnamese can win, all nations of the Third World will be encouraged to fight imperialism in their own countries with new hopes of successful liberation.

Today, while Vestey's continue to draw profits from aboriginal land, the rightful owners still remain landless. This is in direct contrast even to other capitalist countries such as US, NZ and Canada, where the original inhabitants have at least some land rights. It is also counter to the UN Human Rights Declaration.

A couple of years ago a "Save the Gurindji" campaign was inaugurated in Sydney by Frank Hardy. The movement has picked up momentum, holding successful public meetings and recruiting new people who were sympathetic to the cause of the Gurindjis.

To apply political pressure, demonstrations of varying militancy have been mounted, as well as propaganda work in busy suburban shopping centres. This usually consisted of leafletting and disruption of supermarket trading where Vestey's goods were still being sold. Partial success has been achieved in that a number of supermarkets have ceased to sell the products. Arrangements have also been made in the way of a trade union boycott of the appropriate products.

Attempting to secure land rights for Aborigines involves uniting as many people as possible who are concerned with this issue, around a demand or demands which hit at the exploiting company's whole economic base of exploitation. Such demands should be ones which the exploiters themselves, find impossible to concede without serious threat to their economic base, given the necessity of their needing a continuous supply of ridiculously cheap land and Aboriginal labour. They should also be ones which reinstate the Aborigines' land rights and which grant them equal rights in society.

The satisfying of these demands immediately and seriously threatens the ability of such monopolies as Vestey's to function as part of an expropriating capitalist economic system, and in turn weakens this system as a whole. A concrete objective step would thus be taken towards the removal of what socialists recognise as being a decaying economic and social system, and one in which monopolies such as Vestey's become increasingly cruel in attempting to maintain their rate of profit.

THE BUDGET

3/4 million on strike!

Col Maynard

This year's Federal budget raised more than just the usual moans and groans, it raised quite an impressive demonstration in the form of a 3-hour general strike with large rallies in several cities around the country. The strike and rallies were called by the ACTU Executive shortly after the budget was released, and of course the usual red-baiting was vigorously carried on by the press and right-wing unions. They both appealed to the "sensitivity" of the Australian worker to boycott the proposed strikes and rallies. Nevertheless, three-quarters of a million workers all around Australia, feeling hard-hit by the budget and war and profit induced inflation, came out at midday on August 25 and massed at the various rallying points in their tens of thousands, leaving "sensitivity" up to the newspaper editors and union bureaucrats who can well afford it. The top ALP and ACTU bureaucrats responded in the usual way to the red-baiting by each blaming the other for responsibility in calling for strike action until finally all were rather unsure whether a strike had actually been called or not. It

seemed though, that the rank and file workers were sure of what action should be taken and they took it.

Never to miss an opportunity though, the union bosses and parliamentarians left their offices and desks to address the meetings, brushing aside all threats of being called "commo" or "would-be dictator" for the interests of providing "leadership" to the working masses, assuring us that if re-elected again, inflation would be a thing of the past. This explanation provided by our union "leaders" on how bad budgets are caused by bad men and not bad systems, satisfied most, but I'm sure left them feeling more than a little empty and bewildered, particularly when 3 o'clock came and we were told, "OK boys, you can go back to work now" (see you next election).

The following is a leaflet produced by SYA and distributed at the rally at Wynyard Park, Sydney. It attempts to provide a socialist clarification of the present economic situation and put forward suggestions for ensuring that wage-earners can get justice, and relief from the increasing economic burden placed upon them to finance unpopular wars and uncontrolled, unplanned, capitalist expansion.

NURSING IN S.A.

Mary Mitchell

In recent months, nurses at Canberra hospital have been much in the news in their struggle for better pay and working conditions. They had tried all the "legal" means of asking politely through all the right channels, etc., but eventually realised that they would have to take direct action to get any improvements. They decided on a strike as the best means to press their demands. The Canberra nurses had to sustain the strike for three weeks before they were successful, but in the end were granted substantial pay rises.

This article concerns the situation in South Australia where there are special difficulties to be reckoned with before we can hope to win any of our wage struggles.

Here, the nurses are covered by two bodies, the Public Service Association and the Royal Australian Nursing Federation. The PSA covers many workers throughout the state. The RANF states that it is "a professional body instituted to promote the standard and working conditions of nurses and is registered in the State Arbitration Court", but that it is definitely not a union. Only fully trained nurses can join the RANF - student nurses can apply for associate membership only. The student nurses unit, which is quite active in the hospital in which I work, while stating that it is completely in support of the struggle for better conditions and wages, will do nothing to assist in the struggle. Instead it concerns itself with balls and revues and consciously attempts to divert the nurses from any political or industrial action at all. At present the PSA has applied for a wage rise of 25% for all of the nurses. It's claiming that it has represented the nurses for 30 years, and therefore should be the only body representing them. The RANF is asking for a rise of 15%. They say we shouldn't ask for more than it is practical for the government to give us. They say

that any money we get will have to be taken from the patients in the form of fees for treatment, etc. They also like to believe that things are pretty easy now - compared to when they trained. This is hardly the point in any case, but rising living costs have meant that it is essential to have a rising scale of wages to meet these costs.

Naturally, on the above information the nurses will follow the PSA as being the best way of getting their money. The PSA has now started proceedings to the effect that the RANF be de-registered as the official body representing the nurses.

Some nurses say that public opinion is with us and this is what counts. Sure, the people in South Australia agree that \$24.25 for 40 hours' hard labour is not enough to cover today's living costs, but public opinion is not going to win our struggles for us. Public opinion can be so easily reversed.

During this publicity for the nurses' case, the capitalist press printed an article on one aspect of the effects of any pay rise. It is said that any money the nurses get in a wage rise would cripple private hospitals and the old folks' homes. It gave a few choice figures concerning the cost to put an old person in a home now, and the cost if the nurses got a small rise. So the capitalist press is not too happy about nurses receiving any pay rises and public opinion was considerably swung by that little piece of rubbish.

The main obstacle in our path is the futile division between the PSA and the RANF. The PSA claims it has been looking after the interests of nurses for 30 years. Well what have they been doing? Nurses in SA are the lowest paid in Australia, in about the lowest paid "profession" existing. Are they going to continue "looking after the interests of the nurses" in this fashion? Why does the RANF say it isn't a union? Is it so they can shirk the responsibilities of a union? Why does it give priority to building a new centre for their offices instead of fighting for nurses' wages and conditions?

The ideal situation is to scrap both these organisations and form a Hospital Employee's Union, covering all workers in the hospitals, because in this present muddled situation the nurses' position is unlikely to improve.

Feeling the pinch? Aren't we all? Once again the time of year has come around when we're told we must take in our belts a little more to save the economy. How many times has the Australian worker been asked to sacrifice greater and greater proportions of his all-too-hard-to-get income to "save the economy"? Two world wars and seven other campaigns, two major depressions and numerous recessions and "credit squeezes", all in the space of a mere one hundred years, make up an impressive record of sacrifice on the part of the Australian worker. But still it goes on - wages that just never seem to be enough to catch up with the spiralling cost of head above water. Now, with the release of the federal budget for the forthcoming year, there has been a tremendous amount of indignation amongst the workers and pensioners, who are the groups hardest hit by the budget, with calls by the union leaders to come out on strike for a few hours in protest, and a considerable amount of the rank and file calling for greater actions lasting for days, to show that we're not as entirely satisfied with our lot as they expect us to be. We're starting to ask whether the sacrifices have been really worth it or not, whether we should submit more, by the stroke of Mr. Bury's pen, deemed "luxuries" and therefore made increasingly inaccessible to the average worker and pensioner.

To submit once again to tightening our belts to save the economy presupposes that there is no alternative, that there is just no getting away from inflation. Inflation is in fact the result of an unplanned economy, that is, an economy that is not planned to meet the needs of the whole community, but one which follows the logic of individual profit. Our economy is made up of individual capitalists and capitalist corporations, all of which are driven forward by the one motive force - the desire for personal accumulation of the country's wealth. Accordingly, all the mechanics of the nation's economy are geared to facilitate the profit-making process. Inflation is a situation where there is what economists call an "excess demand", either in the private sector of the economy or the government sector. "Excess demand" is a clever trick phrase to make it sound as though all the blame rests with us, the consumers. It's all our fault - we're just wanting more than the economy can produce, and the capitalists, who have our interests at heart, raise the prices of commodities and services so that there won't be a "drain" on supplies of consumer goods until the economy can "stabilise" itself. They enact on our behalf what they call "forced saving". What this means in actual fact is that we, the workers, pensioners, small farmers and shop-keepers, are forced to go without, or pay through the neck for, those things that make life worth living. "Excess demand" is made to sound like an unavoidable fact of life. In actual fact, the productivity that a country like Australia is capable of is enough to ensure that there is plenty for all, but it has to be planned that way. What happens in times like these is that the capitalists slow down their commodity production by investing their money in capital goods, that is, machinery, tools, factory extensions etc., instead of consumer goods, thereby making it possible to both raise the price to consumers so they won't lose anything by the slowdown in production, and at the same time increase their profit-making potential by their machinery and factory extensions. So, in actuality, inflations are just a device by which the capitalists can again further their own ends while the working class foots the bill. They are able to do this as the whole economy is geared to serving the interests of the employing class and not the interests of the community as a whole. As far as the government's concerned, no government in the world exists without a debt. Governments borrow heavily from finance companies and banks, and to help offset this burden we have taxes and duties. This budget, as all preceding budgets have done, has increased taxes on many essential consumer products, while allowing for "tax concessions" for lower income groups, which we all realise is practically negligible due to the overall increase in the cost of living. To see new schools and hospitals rising before our eyes, and to see our grandparents, the people who built this country, get a decent pension, would make us forget about the rising sales taxes etc., but no, what we see is our involvement in a war that the majority of Australians don't support, just to curry favour with the American bloodsuckers who are trying to strangle the efforts of the Asian workers and peasants to free themselves from the tyranny of world finance capital. And wars are expensive items. At times like these there is a constant battle being waged between the employer and the wage-earner. The worker demands increased wages so he can afford to live, while after all doesn't seem too much to ask for, and the employer refuses, asking for "restraint" on the part of the worker in "our" time of trouble, saying how we must all do our bit to save the economy. This, all from the ones who are the perpetrators of this "time of trouble", and who have the most to gain from it. It's like a thief, robbing your house of all its furniture, sending you a bill for the cost of the taxi-truck to them it merely gives them an excuse to raise prices still further because of "increased labour costs". So it becomes like a dog chasing its tail, with the employers always getting the upper hand. After all, they have the resources to carry on a propaganda of the economy on their side. So what are we to do? The president of the A.C.T.U., Mr. Hawke, has recently been waging a campaign on behalf of the oil industry workers on the principle of basing wage claims on the profits of a company. A lot of people think that this is something new and that it will solve everything. The fact is that it is merely the same thing that we have always been doing, claiming a greater proportion of the employer's profits. It has just been put in a new "radical" sounding terminology. But we have learnt from bitter experience that just demanding more pay without any assurance that doesn't just keep giving him drugs to dull his senses if he knows that he can cure the sickness. Likewise we must strive for an economy that is designed for the enrichment and benefit of the community as a whole. Steps in this direction would be gearing our demands in the current struggle towards having a perspective of a future struggle, on a higher level, that of establishing a planned economy. Two very relevant examples of this would be: (a) Establishment of a sliding scale of wages. This would solve the problem of continually chasing our tail if prices were fixed according to an index of the cost of living, ie. the prices of commodities and services. (b) Establishment of an economic enquiry commission within the organised trade union movement, to investigate on behalf of the Australian worker, all the mechanics of capitalist economy, with special regard to the way heavy industry, transport and finance companies and banks conduct their business and juggle the economy to suit their own needs.

Both these demands, if instituted, would cut down the capitalist's playing area, giving him less room in which to move about, by firstly fixing our wages in accordance with prices, thereby both eliminating the incentive for inflationary measures and protecting our money's spending power, and secondly by opening the capitalist's books to show just what manouvering and juggling goes on, and showing just how anarchal the capitalist system really is. We have the best organised body of men and women at our disposal - the Australian working class. Let's not waste all our organization and our past sacrifices. Let's cure the disease, not just dope the patient.

The strike rally, Wynyard Park, Sydney

THE NEED FOR A SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANISATION

The Worldwide Youth Radicalisation

One of the main new features to emerge in the 60's in advanced capitalist countries was the radicalisation of large sectors of young people. This is a fundamental fact that revolutionaries in these countries must consider in determining their guiding strategy in the coming period. Several factors have contributed to this radicalisation which has expressed itself in a number of ways. Because of the economic growth in almost all advanced capitalist countries during the 50's and 60's, the conditions of economic insecurity are no longer a primary part of the consciousness of the youth in these countries. Instead better paid, better educated with more leisure, they tend to rebel against the restrictions and limitations imposed upon them by the existing society. This in fact led to a cultural rebellion amongst the youth, in the form of a rapid and through-going change in the values and style of the youth in these countries, a change which, centred in a large and growing segment of the population, has an effect on the society as a whole.

On the other hand and more importantly, this radicalisation took the form of political revolt. Starting in different countries in the late 50's and early 60's around questions such as Algeria in France, CND in Great Britain, solidarity with the Cuban Revolution in some countries and finally culminating in an international defence of the Vietnamese Revolution. The nature of the Vietnam war made this radicalisation international and led to a politicisation of the upsurge.

Youth Revolt in Australia

In Australia the upsurge first became apparent in 1965 when opposition to the Vietnam war took the form of mass street demonstrations. Here the new layers of the youth vanguard began to be assembled and they were forced to an analysis of the ideological trends current on the Left. With instinctive good sense they rejected Stalinism as a blind alley and there was always an intense interest amongst leading sectors of the youth in the problems of the revolutionary movement during the last fifty years.

The growth of the mass activity around the anti-war movement has had an important effect in rolling back the anti-communist hysteria, allowing left-wing ideas to be advanced more publicly. However, because the radicalisation was felt first among the middle class students, they by and large tended to reject Marxist concepts and looked for a new theory of social change. Opportunists for action abandoned, and thus theory was initially scorned and all emphasis placed on activity - any activity. When any theory at all was considered, it was usually a new left, essentially reformist variety, or a spontaneist outlook on revolutionary change. The fundamental spring for this sort of ideology is the petty-bourgeois social origins of the new radicals.

In spite of these drawbacks however, it is important to understand the vanguard role that the radicalising young people can play in breaking the weak points of the control of the establishment and allowing opportunities for revolutionary socialists to gain experience in leading mass movements and for increasing their own forces. The question arises of how this can be done most effectively. How can revolutionaries most effectively build the mass struggles and their own political organisation at the same time?

The experience of revolutionary marxists over the last three years points to the necessity for clear delineation from the merely culturally rebellious.

Consistently we have waged struggles against people who have been interested solely in the cultural rebellion which our organisation has offered them. These people are usually uninterested in any of the more routine aspects of revolutionary activity. They are continuing their social differentiation from bourgeois society into the political sphere without being capable of understanding the potential or methods for changing this society. Where any political content is given to this outlook at all, anarchism and spontaneity are the ideas favoured. We have fought politically and organisationally against these tendencies but have not always drawn lessons for ourselves. The lesson is obvious - serious revolutionaries cannot hope to lead the cultural rebellion, they can only hope to use a revolutionary analysis of it to extend the political awareness of those whose disaffection from the society has its main expression in these spheres.

Without the injection of such a revolutionary analysis, the natural organisational expression of such a movement is the Yippies, and our attempt to mirror even partially this outlook has been time-consuming and frustrating quite apart from the organisational looseness it has occasioned. This looseness has meant the loss of many serious (less socially rebellious) recruits because of the low political level of our organisation. It is time to end the ambiguity of our approach and create a properly functioning political organisation.

An abundance of organisations exist in which our activists can work - the anti-war bodies, the Labour Party youth, student groups, high schools and so on. Our activists can play leading roles in all these spheres but their efforts are hampered and often wasted by the failings of the socialist organisation to which they should recruit.

Lessons from Abroad

Experience on an international scale indicates that this movement of radicalising youth can best be organised by means of a socialist youth group of a specific type.

In France, the JCR proved to be the organisation most capable of giving a lead to the student movement in the 1968 May upsurge, of giving it a revolutionary direction, capable of linking up with the working class and directing a movement capable of overthrowing capitalism.

In the US, the Young Socialist Alliance has now become the most influential youth movement on the Left. Their members are the leading activists and spokesmen of the Student Mobilisation Committee, the organisation that has mobilised hundreds of thousands of young people in protest against US aggression in Vietnam. Their success over the last few years has been a vindication of their political programme and their organisational principles.

Likewise in Canada and Belgium a revolutionary socialist youth organisation has proved to be the best vehicle for mobilising, winning and educating the radicalising youth. More recently this year, in Germany and England, revolutionary socialist youth organisations have been established along similar lines.

These are positive examples. There are many negative ones as well. The failures of movements that have come and existed for a couple of years, done some useful work and then collapsed completely without a single permanent gain, are common.

What we must build is an organisation that has some permanence, that can provide a lead in all circumstances, not just an occasional campaign, and not be consistently opportunist and contradictory. Thus in America, SDS became an enormously large organisation in terms of numbers and influence and yet this disappeared in only a year.

Australian Organisations

At the beginning of the period of radicalisation in Australia, the only organisations that existed to cater for the coming upsurge were the university labour clubs and off campus, the CP youth organisations, the Eureka Youth League (later Young Socialist League). These labour clubs were run either by the EYL, Labor Party reformists or occasionally revolutionary socialists. They were able to lead the first phase of the new upsurge and in this period, the influence of the EYL declined drastically. The clubs were led by revolutionary socialists of various ideologies. The only national organisation was a once a year meeting of the Australian Student Labor Federation, the body to which all these clubs sent representatives. This effectively folded in 1967.

The second phase of the radicalisation went beyond the confines of these Left clubs and created new organisations such as Students for a Democratic Society and Society for Democratic Action. These organisations were the classic new left types, with SDA leading to an anti-Stalinist Marxist ideology influenced by all the current gurus and essentially spontaneist in its organisational approach. This current was largely responsible for the Revolutionary Socialist Alliance, a stillborn national organisation. This current generally adopted an ultraleft line in the anti-war movement, the Labor movement and made a mockery of their newly-found Marxist outlook. Currently, both Adelaide and Brisbane SDS's have suffered splits and are seemingly declining further.

SDS had the most meteoric rise and fall and it is here we can see completely the vices that spring from the bourgeois ideologies and origins of SDS. SDS took much longer to come to an anti-imperialist outlook than SDA. They have not reached any sort of Marxist position at all. Strongly influenced by their American namesake, they were doomed to make the same mistakes and learned nothing from the American SDS. Its organisational form was participatory democracy and depended on the heroic and dashing actions of leading lights to make the pace for the organisation. Their activity went through all the same phases as their American counterparts. Starting with the Port Huron statement of New Left moral awareness, the draft resistance, community organising to anti-imperialism, and finally Weathermanism. Sydney SDS has in fact, quite burnt itself out.

This organisation had no programme, but existed pragmatically on a day to day basis, in an unprincipled and opportunist way. Their attitude towards the CP, for instance, fluctuated from red-baiting to unprincipled blocs. Because they remain a student elitist organisation with no understanding of Marxist theory and with a spontaneist organisational procedure, they are vanishing.

Meanwhile, the labour clubs had a chequered history. Where no SDS or similar organisation emerged as in Monash, they continued to be large and active organisations and here they were under a predominantly Maoist leadership. The Maoists at least had the foresight to break out of the narrow student confines. But their politics remained at one with the student politics from which they emerged. Theory for

them is sloganising and quotes from Mao. Their followers seem attracted not to a clear programme, but to the youth culture paraphernalia of Mao buttons, red books and cheer squads. For many other youth, the Stalinist apologies of the Maoists are repellent and a fatal flaw in their efforts to build a national movement.

In many other centres the labour clubs disappeared in this period. In Sydney University, with the demise of SDS, the Labor Club gathered new strength and was a leading force in the organisation this year. However, the club remained a collection of radicals with the discussion of theory omitted, and little attempt made to work out a coherent strategy for either society or even for campus struggles. After hectic activity in the first term, the club declined further during a period of lull in the mass movement, with some of the activists starting up a newspaper, the "Old Mole". Off campus, the EYL changed its name to the YSL and rapidly began to disappear. A split in Sydney put paid to the myth that it was still a national organisation. In most cities the once strong organisation does not even exist in name.

Resistance as a Socialist Youth Organisation

Resistance started initially with the name "Screw" (Society for Cultivation of Rebellion Everywhere). From the start we emphasised our all-inclusiveness (university students, high school students, young workers). However, our organisation left a lot to be desired. The most politically developed people made the decisions and settled the political line.

We became leaders in the anti-war movement, and gained most of our recruits from this sphere. However, our lack of programme did not allow us to intervene effectively in any other spheres where we would hope to recruit on the basis of our socialism.

Inevitably our organisation caught the same disease as the other new left organisations. Led by university activists, a spontaneist approach was advocated for our organisation. Latterly, as they became more isolated, these spontaneists were forced to advocate no organisation at all, but only a club centre.

This was a testing time for our organisation and led us to understand our needs and possibilities far better. In fact this struggle, because we fought around a programme, meant a strengthening, not a weakening, of our forces.

The forms necessary to the socialist youth organisation spring from the fact that it recognises itself as such. It is a socialist organisation which develops a comprehensive programme, not for intellectual satisfaction, but for the purpose of implementing it. A programme is of fundamental importance in the further development of the socialist youth and especially of the activist members in it. It is impossible to expect young people to develop to the position of revolutionary socialism only to be told that they must limit themselves to specific parts of the socialist programme and that socialism is not a part of this.

If the socialist programme is seen as the province of only a select few, then there is no incentive to understand it or implement it.

To deprive the youth organisation of the fundamental weapon it has against capitalism - its programme - is bad enough, but this mistake is often compounded by depriving the youth organisation of the means to carry out even part of the programme. It is no good fulminating against the organisational

forms of the new left groups such as SDS and their concept of participatory democracy if we are not prepared to insure our own organisation against these faults. The development of a leadership that can carry out the line of the organisation and act as a team is as vital to success as the correct revolutionary programme. An organisation will be successful when it is known for its activities - not the activities of its leading members. So the concept of developing a team leadership - not a collection of individual stars - is vital to recruiting the best youth to our programme. The educational programme of the youth organisation is essential also. This can take place around the main planks of the programme but must also educate the youth in the history of our movement, with an understanding of the main struggles and themes of the working class movement.

We are not creating a revolutionary party but an organisation of socialist youth who are developing in a revolutionary socialist direction, who are struggling against the system, and can't find the answers in any of the other Stalinist - student elitist ultraleft groups, and who are repelled by the morass of spontaneism. But a youth organisation must be able to survive in its own right, as such as any party. It therefore needs a programme, organisation and democratically elected leadership. With these vital weapons it can survive temporary setbacks and make lasting and important contributions to the struggle for socialism. Without such weapons any political organisation is disarmed, crippled.

The last three years have been invaluable experience for us. We have learned from our own mistakes on some occasions, and have avoided mistakes by looking to overseas experiences on others. We are now free from several heavy millstones previously around the neck of our organisation, and the experience of recent struggles has educated and matured the organisation tremendously. We can now move forward to the construction of a socialist youth organisation on a national scale.

Part of a poster display at the conference showing 3 years of activities of Sydney Resistance



S.Y.A. CONFERENCE

Socialist Youth Alliance Formed

Although this was our first and founding conference, we are not a completely "new" organisation. As a group we can be traced back to the starting up of Resistance in Sydney three years ago, and in Adelaide, Melbourne and Canberra more recently. This history has, if nothing else, been eventful and colourful. We have made many mistakes, as well as doing valuable political work, but we hope that our organisation can learn and profit from those mistakes. Our history then is something that is important to us. We value it as a guide for future action just as we try to learn from the whole past history of the world labour and socialist movements.

The main document adopted at the conference, "The need for a Socialist Youth Organisation" is printed on the opposite page. It briefly outlines our past history and experience, and the conditions prevailing in Australia and the world today that point towards the need for an organisation such as the S.Y.A. It embodies also the main political lessons that we have learnt during the organisational struggles in Resistance over the last eight months.

Perhaps some of the conclusions may seem trite and pure commonsense. The

invariable comment from outsiders is that they wonder why we didn't wake up to such a clown and opportunist as Gould long ago. However, just to come to this realisation is not good enough in itself. A common reaction after contact with such a character is to become inactive and disillusioned with revolutionary socialist politics. It is necessary to make a political analysis, and to actively construct an organisation capable of putting principles into practice.

The second major document adopted was on "A Socialist Strategy for the Anti-war Movement." This is an area where our organisation has been most active. In fact it is the issue through which most of our present members got involved in politics in the first place. Thus it was possible to draw up and agree upon a fairly comprehensive statement of position on this question. In other spheres of work - the labour, high school, university and women's liberation movements - we have had nothing like the experience or the history of continuous activity. There has not yet been a serious discussion of strategy for these areas, and thus a definitive document was not adopted. The process of elaborating a strategy was assisted by means of workshop sessions at the conference. In these small groups it was attempted to clarify the theoretical position, to assess past experience, and to come up with a few brief pointers for future action. The reports from these workshops are printed on page 9.

The third political document adopted at the conference was a set of aims. These had been put forward in a draft form in February and the expanded form that was adopted appears on page 8.

The fourth session of the conference was devoted to an organisational report and a



Sol Sabby, speaking at SYA conference

discussion of future activities. The most important decision made was to publish Direct Action as a national paper. We also adopted a new constitution, suitable for a national organisation, elected a national committee, and tentatively set the date for the next national conference in February. It was also decided to hold a national educational camp for the first ten days of February on an island "somewhere off the coast of South Australia."

Although it was only a small conference, (45 people registered), it succeeded in laying the basis for a strong national organisation. A step was made in the direction of formulating a comprehensive political programme and putting into practice the principles of organisation that had been painstakingly learnt over the last three years. Our political prospects have never looked brighter. Even though for the Sydney branch the dispute over ownership of the Third World Bookshop still continues and even though a minority has walked out of our organisation, we are considerably stronger. The S.Y.A. is now an organisation with a clear political perspective, an organisation of politically homogenous activists, and for the coming period we can look forward to a steady growth in the organisation and the influence of its ideas.

A SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Vietnam's Revolutionary Impact

The movement against the Vietnam war in Australia has been under way since early 1965. Five years of struggle has led to the exhaustion of many antiwar fighters and organizations. However, when the struggle against the war was only beginning here the Vietnamese had already been fighting for many years for national liberation. The last five years have been their hardest yet as the U.S. intervened massively to block the victory that the Vietnamese were on the point of achieving in 1965.

The present document is written with the aim that the determination of antiwar fighters here can match the courage and determination of the revolutionary fighters in Vietnam. We must prepare a struggle as longlasting as theirs, for 1965 they were on the point of victory. It is only obstacle is the presence of U.S. troops. We must see our task as the removal of this obstacle. Our struggle around this war and that of the fighters in Vietnam won't be over till all imperialist troops are withdrawn

extreme sharpness."

Later, "This is the painful reality. Vietnam, nation representing the aspirations and hopes of the disinherited is tragically alone. This nation must endure the pounding of North American technique operating almost scot-free in the south, with some possibilities of defence in the north, but always alone.

The solidarity of the progressive world for the Vietnamese people has something of the bitter irony faced by the gladiators of the Roman Circus when they won the applause of the plebeians. To wish the victims success is not enough. The thing is to share their fate - to join them in death or victory.

When we analyse the isolation of the Vietnamese we feel anguished over the logic of its meaning for humanity. North American imperialism is guilty of aggression."

Yet it has been an unsuccessful aggression

In spite of the greatest military machine ever created, in spite of every weapon short of nuclear weapons, Vietnam still stands on the point of victory. The fact that the U.S. has not been able to gain a victory has had far-reaching repercussions.

Their failure to halt the Vietnamese revolution has had an effect on revolutionary struggles throughout the colonial world and especially in the whole region of south-east Asia. Vietnam was meant to be a test case - a case that would demonstrate to the colonial world that it had no hope of struggling against imperialism, and that it would be destroyed as a society if it dared resist.

Further than this, though, it has led to the revival of revolutionary struggles in the imperialist countries themselves. May 1968 in France showed the way for struggles in these countries and the new possibilities that were opening up.

... continued p. 8

S.Y.A. AIMS



1. SYA stands for socialism with workers' control. It holds the perspective that socialism can and will be achieved in Australia and other advanced capitalist countries. The mass upsurge in France in May/June of 1968 shows that this goal is not only theoretically desirable but practically possible. The working class will lead the struggle for socialism which will be achieved by the direct implementation of such transitional demands as workers' control. Workers' control of the factories, and similarly control of the schools by the staff and students, will be fundamental to the new socialist society. Thus SYA must endeavour to intervene wherever it can in workers' struggles. While recognising that the initial upsurge amongst youth in capitalist countries today occurs first amongst student layers, we recognise that it is only the working class that has the social weight and the ability to bring about a socialist society. However, in Australia it is a fact that the majority of the workers still support the ALP. They still have illusions about parliamentary democracy and the existence of a reformist party like the ALP with electoral support from the working class and structural links with the trade unions, remains one of the main obstacles to the working class achieving consciousness amongst rank and file workers. SYA, as a socialist youth organisation, can participate in this activity, being an organisation encompassing university students, high school students and young workers.

2. SYA stands for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and the immediate repeal of the National Service Act. Since its formation in 1967, Resistance, now SYA, has been at the

forefront of the struggle to have all troops withdrawn from Vietnam immediately. While other sections of the left vacillated with demands, such as "Stop the Bombing Negotiate", Resistance pointed out that the only demand which would mean an end to the war was immediate withdrawal. With Johnson's "peace offensive" the anti-war movement was caught off balance because it mistook "negotiations" for a ceasefire. Nixon is trying further manoeuvres with his "Vietnamisation" plan. This only means a prolonged war and as in the past, SYA will be leading the struggle against this stalling by demanding that all troops be withdrawn now.

3. SYA supports the Vietnamese Revolution and all national liberation struggles against imperialism throughout the world. We support the Cuban and Vietnamese Revolutions because these are justifiably the main inspirations for socialists throughout the world. Cuba has shown that revolutions in the colonial world are able to achieve national liberation only to the extent that they lead uninterrupted into a socialist revolution against both foreign imperialism and domestic capitalism. The Vietnamese Revolution is showing that the people of a small colonial nation, fighting for national liberation, can stand up in years of struggle against the most powerful imperialist country in the world.

4. SYA is against the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China and supports the struggle for socialist democracy in these countries. These states which have abolished capitalism and should be supported for it, are nevertheless dominated by privileged bureaucratic groupings which must be removed before socialism can be a reality. Socialism

means not only the abolition of capitalism but the full flowering of workers' democracy, the elimination of special privileges for the few, and a society of abundance for all. We condemn the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia which trampled on that country's right to self-determination and put a temporary halt to the development of political democratisation there.

5. SYA supports the struggle for women's liberation. The movement for women's liberation which has emerged so rapidly, constitutes an extremely important addition to the other social struggles going on today, and represents an historic opportunity for the socialist youth movement. The oppression of women as a sex is inextricably tied to class society and its institution the family. Private ownership of the means of production and the right of property inheritance provide the foundation for the oppressed status of women class society. In addition, under capitalism, women are used as a "reserve of labour" to be hired when needed and returned to the home when the economy slows down.

6. SYA supports the struggles of oppressed national minorities. The oppression of national minorities in capitalist societies takes many forms - social, economic and political. Full freedom of expression has been eliminated but even then, the possibilities for the social, political and economic oppression of national minorities can, and does exist. It is the duty of socialists to support all struggles of national minorities, not only so we may link them up with, and thus strengthen, the anti-capitalist struggle, but to support the basic right of minorities for self-determination as a principle.

WOMENS LIBERATION WORKSHOP

Most spheres which occupy socialists have a long history of socialist thought and action. The labour movement has a long history of struggle and is the sphere that has occupied socialists for over a century. The anti-war movement similarly has a history of large mass action initiated by socialists over many decades. So, because Women's Liberation is a relatively new sphere for socialists, we have very little history, as yet no mass action has been built and we are still engaged in working out some of the theoretical basis. Thus our workshop did not take the same form as other workshops.

In considering SYA activity, the workshop was necessary to examine the development of Women's Liberation groups in Australia. Women's Liberation started late in '69 in Sydney, its first action and its first independent action was marching as a contingent in a 3,000 strong anti-war mobilisation on December 15. Even at its initial stages the socialist orientation of Women's Liberation enabled it to link up the struggle of the Vietnamese people with its own struggle.

Already at least one group exists in Melbourne, Adelaide, Canberra, Newcastle, Brisbane and Sydney. Women's Liberation has actively intervened in many areas - the anti-war movement, the labour movement, universities and in particular, the abortion campaign. Spurred on by the tremendous upsurge of women's groups in other countries, especially in the United States, Women's Liberation has not died out but built tremendously. The very nature of its formation makes it a viable movement - not just a piffly liberal campaign involving solely "equal pay" or "legalised abortion" but a whole series of demands, demands that hit at the whole system.

Extensive classes of different aspects of Women's Liberation would function as threefold educational tasks.

1. They would serve as an introduction for women who come into SYA and would encourage them to join and work in the Women's Liberation movement.
2. They would educate the whole of the SYA, men in particular, and attempt to give a deeper understanding of the history and aspects of women's oppression.
3. They would give a clearer perspective of what demands were the correct ones in building a movement around Women's Liberation.

As socialists we concluded that we must be able to link up the demand for Women's Liberation with socialism, we must attempt to bring women who join Women's Liberation to see that they are not going to be liberated under capitalism, that it means a complete revolution, to also help us build a socialist youth organisation, as a means of forwarding the struggle against all aspects of the capitalist system.

LABOR MOVEMENT WORKSHOP

For socialists, the working class remains the only force capable of overthrowing capitalism and instituting socialism. The "new-left" critics who had despaired of the revolutionary potential of the working class have been decisively refuted in recent years, most spectacularly by the French events of May, 1968.

What has been lacking has been an effective working class leadership. With the defeats and setbacks of the first half of this century, with the post-war industrial boom, with the increased exploitation of the Third World and an increased standard of living of the workers in the imperialist countries, the class consciousness of workers in Australia has to a degree been dulled.

However, in developing and sustaining this industrial boom in their endless drive for profits, capitalism has brought into play new forces that are objectively anti-capitalist and do in fact make for a much more revolutionary and volatile situation than has existed previously.

Firstly, the struggle for national liberation

and independence in the Third World has been stepped up and forced onto the world political arena - such struggles as the Vietnamese Revolution and the desperate attempts to suppress it by the United States and its allies. This struggle has laid bare the nature of imperialism on a world scale, and has led to the radicalisation of vast numbers of people, especially youth, around the world.

Secondly, the technological revolution in the advanced capitalist countries has "proletarianised" greater layers of the working masses, including many who would have once been considered "professionals", "intellectuals" etc., and given rise to a new generation of workers and students, unstrained by all the previous setbacks and betrayals of the working class, with a much higher cultural and educational level than their fathers, who are increasingly taking up revolutionary positions.

It is here, in the Australian context, that the socialist youth group assumes immense importance. In the current upsurge amongst youth in defence of the Vietnamese Revolution, there exists the need for an organisation which can attract radicalising youth to it, commit them and educate them around a socialist programme, and graduate those who are suitable to a revolutionary Marxist party, for it is the building of such a party that remains the primary task for Australian Marxists. Realising that for numerous specific reasons students are the fastest radicalising sector of the advanced capitalist countries, a socialist youth organisation must nevertheless devote part of its overall orientation towards working class struggles with the view of recruiting working class

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The courage shown by the Vietnamese in their resistance to U.S. aggression led to the formation of new youth vanguards in the imperialist countries which are the spearhead of the antiwar movement and will be the key force in the eventual revolutionary upsurge in these countries.

Also economic and financial effects of the war for the U.S. have led to economic difficulties and monetary crises which in turn lead to reviving workers' struggles.

The Vietnam war was the culminating point of the attack on the colonial revolution which erupted after WWII. Its high points were the Chinese Revolution in 1949 and the Cuban victory 10 years later. However, in the 60s imperialism launched a series of successful attacks against the colonial revolution - Indonesia, Ghana, the Mideast. But Vietnam was the turning point in this process and here the imperialist adventure foundered and yet a new wave of struggle was unleashed both in the colonial world and the imperialist countries, as well as playing a role in Poland for instance in the development of political struggles in the Socialist bloc.

What is clearly at stake in Vietnam is the right of nations to self-determination. This is a right which imperialism refuses to recognise because it knows that the logic of events lead the exploited countries to leave the capitalist orbit and economic backwardness that this entails. So when nationalist struggles are begun as in Cuba and Vietnam and many countries in the third world, imperialism knows that it cannot even accept bourgeois democratic gains made by these revolutions. Always it seeks to impose military dictatorships for fear that the nationalist governments, as in the case of Cuba, will recognise that to advance they must implement socialism and totally reject their exploited relationships with imperialism.

We must lead our full support and solidarity to this movement for national liberation that is going on throughout the world, in Vietnam, and the rest of Indochina, in Latin America, Africa and the Mideast, and where we are able, wage campaigns against imperialism's ability to stop this process. Because of our close involvement with Vietnam, we are offered a real opportunity to add our blows to the blows of the Vietnamese and by building an effective antiwar movement, materially help their struggle.

Defense of the Vietnamese Revolution

we must be clear and unequivocal about what the antiwar movement's aims

are. No less than the immediate withdrawal of all troops is acceptable. As socialists we have fought against all attempts to sell out on this demand. It is now accepted (on paper) by the movement. However to struggle effectively around the demand requires the ability to take a lead in the mass movement. If we see the revolutionaries' place as a prophet on the sidelines of the mass movement then it is certain that the liberals who lead the movement will see that "withdrawal" does not become the central demand around which the struggle is waged but rather a sop to the left at meetings.

It is wrong for the left to limit its participation in the mass mobilizations to propaganda work on behalf of the NLF. This is part of our task but only part. The creation of a specifically "anti-imperialist" consciousness is best done by engaging in objectively "anti-imperialist" action. And mass actions around the demand for immediate withdrawal has proved to be the formula that offers the best chance in defending the Vietnamese Revolution and thus dealing blows to imperialism.

This sort of action is "anti-imperialist" regardless of the consciousness of the individual participants. It is in the course of mobilizing them and acting with them that the left has a chance to reach them and implant a better understanding of the nature of imperialism and the Vietnamese Revolution.

So that this programme of defence of the Vietnamese Revolution can be implemented, the SYA has advocated the organizational form of United Fronts. Within these coalitions of all the antiwar forces, the SYA urges the mass mobilizations of all those opposed to the war. We feel that only in these organisations can an effective job be done in having the opposition to the war expressed on the streets where it can be felt and seen by everyone.

Non-exclusion should be the keynote of such united fronts. No organisation or individual should be excluded for his political views on other issues providing support is given for the aims of the coalition. In fact we must actively resist any attempts at red-baiting within the movement either by ignorant activists or by opportunists hoping to gain political advantage because of it. We must recognise that this weapon is one of the ruling class's weapons and should be left for their use. Throughout the rise of the antiwar movement they have hoped to split the ranks by attacks on one section.

Our resistance to these attacks have been an important factor in making an effective antiwar movement. This resistance and determination to reject the witch hunt has made this tactic much less effective and materially altered the political climate over the last five years. Non-exclusion is fundamental to continued success against the witch hunt.

Within united fronts we should

advocate democratic forms of procedure. No one tendency should hope for domination nor to impose its political line on issues other than the demands around which the organisation is constructed. We should not expect to impose a multi issue programme - one which is in fact suitable to a reformist party. This is not the aim of the antiwar movement.

What we must remember is that we limit the numbers of people that will come out on the streets because people must now agree with a whole series of demands before they can participate. Some even argue that this is engaging in revolutionary politics. If people see the need for a revolutionary programme then they need an organisation for revolutionaries, not a reformist mish-mash of demands pushed by an antiwar body.

The A.L.P. and the War

The position of the ALP and its attitude towards the war has always been a key question for the movement. In the early stages it took up the principled position of immediate withdrawal. This was perhaps largely accidental and due to the particular traditions of Arthur Calwell, the leader at the time. It did not reflect the consciousness of a massive number of forces in the ALP. However it was an extremely important boost to the antiwar movement, legalizing to some extent the protest. For the antiwar movement at that early stage to be associated with the opposition party was an important factor in mobilizing forces. However, because the ALP was stunningly defeated at the 1966 elections, and because all political observers put this down to its foreign policy, right-wing forces in the party were able to use this issue as a weapon in the struggle for leadership, and they soon proved successful in early 1967. An attack was made on the anti-war policy that had been adopted by the party beforehand. In the end the foreign policy put forward was one that condemned the war but nevertheless was unclear about the political solution and ambiguous about our foreign policy as a whole. This greatly strengthened the forces in the antiwar movement who also advocated a position less than withdrawal, - "negotiate" "stop the bombing" etc. This became the demand for many sections of the movement. Lately, as it has become so widespread, antiwar sentiment in 1969 was obviously a winner for the Labour Party rather than a handicap and the ALP forces have re-entered the antiwar movement in large numbers. The same leadership which had led a retreat on the policy in 1967 now advanced around the same issue by advocating "withdrawal in six months". This actually gained them votes and this fact was conceded by Gorton himself.

In the past six months the "left" wing leader in the ALP, Calms, has gone ever further and made himself the leading figure in the antiwar movement in Victoria. We must note here that Calms also, in 1967, retreated on the

antiwar position of Calwell and voted for the new foreign policy. However in current circumstances Calms also realises that because the majority of the population are against the war, he can gain politically by identifying with the mass movement. We must understand that intervention by the ALP has been of enormous benefit in mobilizing the numbers at demonstrations. This is the main reason for the differing size of the moratorium in Sydney and in Melbourne, 70,000 against 20,000.

However the movement should never become identical with the ALP. The ALP can be a significant section, which at times, because of its social weight, will tend to assume leadership of the movement. While they struggle around the same demands as ourselves, this is not disastrous because of its ability to mobilize people. However, because of the history and the interests of the ALP and because they are tied primarily to electoral activity, we must be on guard against its tendency to retreat and limit the movement. The movement cannot rely on the ALP to carry on a consistent campaign irrespective of electoral considerations. Also, we as socialists should be aware of the attempts of politicians to channel the new layers into reformist political channels.

The main ways we can prevent retreat and the diversion of the movement into mere parliamentary politics is to continue the policy of more mobilizations around the demand of immediate withdrawal. No organization can co-opt this form of street action. Even with the limitations of consciousness inherent in such a gathering, "peace now" slogans etc., it still does not allow a diversion of this form of action. They remain the most effective showing of strength and culmination of political propaganda campaigns against the war. These massive manifestations cannot be ignored. For the thousands who come and take the first step along the road of political consciousness there are many thousands more who are also opposed to the war but restrained from demonstrating by the prevailing social norms. The breaking down of these norms is important and means the introduction of a new style of politics that cannot be readily diverted by the traditional political framework of the political parties. Of course, this does not prevent us from working for an ALP government, realising that this could be an important factor in ending the war in Vietnam. The ALP standing on a platform of withdrawal helps to demoralize the allied war effort also. However, even without a Labour government we must continue our pressure and remember also that to remove this pressure from a Labour government once in power could be fatal. There are many ways of equivocating on previous positions once a party is in power. So the antiwar movement should not adopt the perspective of tying itself to any one political organisation and hoping for its success to bring about an end to the war, but should continue its

pressure and remember also that to remove this pressure from a Labour government once in power could be fatal. There are many ways of equivocating on previous positions once a party is in power. So the antiwar movement should not adopt the perspective of tying itself to any one political organisation and hoping for its success to bring about an end to the war, but should continue its

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independent mass campaigns involving all antiwar forces.

Conscription

Our policy is and always has been the immediate repeal of the National Service Act. However, we consider that the ending of the Vietnam war to be of far greater importance than the ending of conscription. This is because of the strategic position of Vietnam in the relationship of forces in the world today but also because the brutality of conscripting youth here is infinitesimal when compared with the daily slaughter in Vietnam.

Conscription in Australia is of course related to the Vietnam war and was introduced so Australia could equip a task force there. This was deemed the easiest and cheapest way by the Menzies government. So in this way conscription is indirectly related to the war.

If we are to be successful in campaigning against conscription we must apply the same criteria that we apply to the war in Vietnam. That is we should seek to mobilize massive forces around a clear cut demand - in this case the immediate repeal of the National Service Act.

Campaigns to urge young men not to register are effective in dramatising the issues but so far have involved only a tiny number of the young men eligible to be conscripted.

So we must seek to develop an approach that allows us to effectively contact all conscripts both before and after they join the army. We must recognise that the majority of young men will in fact go in and therefore not direct the weight of our propaganda towards the immorality of this act. This cuts us off from the forces we should be trying to organise. Obviously the key to the problem lies through mobilizing these forces against the war itself and pointing out the reason for conscription, rather than an abstract campaign against militarism and state authoritarianism as such.

The antiwar movement should keep its central focus on the war, otherwise the lawmakers have successfully gained the time they need.

What Role for Socialists?

This question is of immediate concern because of the complex variety of positions currently held by different tendencies. Let us first examine some of these positions. Some take an ultra-left position on the demands for mass antiwar work, others concentrate more on ultra-militant forms of action.

The Melbourne Maoists advocate a line for the antiwar movement centred round

the policy and desirability of confrontations with state authority. They argue

that peaceful marches are self-defeating. We believe in the need for militant demonstrations. By this we mean demonstrations which seek to march down the street as a right, but which do not have as their aim a punch-up with the police. Tactics should be flexible but an emphasis should be placed on mobility and the skirting of police traps. The militant tone must also come across in the politics of the demonstration by the banners, placards and slogans, as well as by the style of action. We are not impressed by an emphasis on candle carrying and names of our dead, etc. This obscures the real victims of the war and the political nature of it. The march should not be a funeral procession but a militant extension of the continuing struggle of the Vietnamese and a place where our political demands are pushed clearly.

The ultraleft, "new left" currents which argue that the central demand for the whole movement should be "support the NLF" and refuse to accept the fact that mass antiwar action, organized around the demand for immediate withdrawal of troops is, in fact, anti-imperialist action. For sections who have practised this in the past it has meant isolation and made the seizing of leadership of the mass movement by liberals all the easier.

Another tendency in Sydney, centred around the remnants of SDS, glorify karate and urge people to attend demonstrations wearing crash helmets. This sort of lunacy must be avoided and refuted, pointing out that the only way we can be effective here is mass action, not guerilla heroics, and shock tactics. These plate glass revolutionaries merely repeat old errors and refuse to learn from history.

The Communist Party has played a dual role in the antiwar movement. On the one hand there is their official position as communists, stating their support for the NLF. In this context they sometimes advocate the calling of demonstrations, specifically around "anti-imperialist" slogans.

We are not opposed to organizing demonstrations which have as their main focus propaganda for the NLF and Vietnamese revolution. We point out however, that this is not the most effective way to end the war. It may be effective in certain circumstances to gather the people with a supposedly anti-imperialist consciousness. On the other hand it adds little to the mobilisation of the enormous forces that will be necessary to end the war and the main line of the movement should remain the mass mobilization around withdrawal.

However, the CP chooses to "support the NLF" when organizations besides their own attempt to organise mass antiwar actions. At other times the policy is kept very much in mothballs. In the broad organizations where communist party members work, specifically in the Sydney AICD and in Melbourne CID and so on, a line is pushed which is little different from that of the liberals

and pacifists. So we saw that when the period of "stop the bombing - negotiate" was at its height, the CPA supported this policy for the movement. If they had been prepared to throw their weight behind the withdrawal demand, the result would have been a much healthier movement now. The same dual role emerged over the Moratorium period and before when Resistance was organizing the December 15th demonstration. The CPA, through their now defunct youth league advocated that the slogan should be "support the NLF". However, came the time to organize the Moratorium and there was no hint of this at all, in fact CPers voted with the liberals and pacifists all along the line. To understand their role we must see not only their official publications and CP declarations, but also the mass organizations where their activists work, to aid the most backward sentiments of the liberals and pacifists.

The latter are a motley collection of churchmen, small pacifists' groups and representatives of the Australia Party, Humanist Society and so on. Their support to the antiwar movement is vital but we should not allow the politics they bring with them to dominate the movement. We must struggle against the tendency of their lack of real understanding of the political scene and the nature of the Vietnam war to translate into false and misleading appraisals of the war. These mistakes lead to the "peace now" level of consciousness instead of clear political demands. For them the overwhelming fact about the war is often the atrocities committed, not the importance of the right of self-determination and the nature of imperialism. Often to them the war is just a mistake in US foreign policy.

From all this emerges what our position in the antiwar movement should be. Firstly, we should seek to organize mass antiwar actions around the demand for immediate withdrawal of all troops from Vietnam. It is important to note in this context that this is the form of action advocated by NLF representatives. This is the activity they feel to be the most effective in helping their cause.

Militant demonstrations are necessary for the movement to grow. More attention must be paid to the demonstration itself and the activity happening on it. A clear line explaining the history and the realities of the war in Vietnam must be put during the organization of the campaign. One should stress not only the atrocities and the genocide in Vietnam, but also the purpose that the US has in doing all this. Otherwise consciousness will remain at the level of thinking that the war can be stopped with vague sentiments for peace now, and make it more difficult to fundamentally change this society, as well as the need of the Vietnamese to change theirs.

To make sure that this is done the SYA must play a part in the leadership of the antiwar movement. This cannot be left to liberals, pacifists and CPers. Rather, socialists should play a leading role or there will be a

retreat in practice on the demand for immediate withdrawal, and the whole style and tone of the actions. Also, once liberals gain control of the movement they tend to drop the idea of non-exclusion in practice by making sure that their own apparatus benefits solely from the activity.

As well as being a part of the leadership of the movement, revolutionaries should also be its conscious left-wing. With the increasing weight of ALP forces and the increasing trade union support this brings, the role of the left-wing will become critical in defending the norms and positions of the movement.

As the conscious left-wing of the movement we must stress that what we are doing now is not an occasional campaign, but one that will have to be extended and repeated for many years. In the words of Che: "This means a long war. And we repeat it once again, a cruel war". He is referring to the world-wide struggle against imperialism - to wars other than Vietnam which are in fact part of the same war. We must see our efforts in the same light. Although of a different nature their meaning is the same, Vietnam has meant for thousands of youth the beginning of political struggle here. In that sense we are an extension of Vietnam and its fight and working towards a brighter future. To quote Che once again: "How close and bright would the future appear if two, three, many Vietnams flowered on the face of the globe, with their quota of death and immense tragedies, with their daily heroism, with their repeated blows against imperialism, obliging it to disperse its forces under the lash of the growing hate of the peoples of the world!"

And if we were capable of uniting so as to give our blows greater solidity and certainty, so that the effectiveness of aid of all kinds to the people locked in combat were increased - how great the future would be, and how near!"

What is clearly at stake in Vietnam is the right of nations to self-determination. Imperialism, specifically in the form of the US Government, refuses to recognise this right, and as in Cuba and many countries in the third world, it seeks to impose military dictatorships for fear that the nationalist governments will recognise that to advance they must implement socialism and totally reject their exploited relationships with imperialism.

Our aims in the anti-war movement are immediate withdrawal of all allied troops, and education of the masses so that further battles against imperialism can be waged. Our aims can best be achieved by mass mobilization of all those opposed to the war around a demand for immediate withdrawal - this means that no one should be excluded for his political views, providing he supports the minimum aims. Propaganda should stress not only the atrocities of the Vietnam war, but also the reasons for US and Australian involvement. This achieves most effectively the primary duty of revolutionary socialists - defence of the Vietnamese Revolution.

Terrorism or Marxism?

The problem of terrorism today presents two main facets. One is the attitude to be taken by revolutionaries toward this method of attack upon the status quo. The other concerns the reasons why certain ultralefts have been impelled to advocate or resort to individual terrorism. Marxism has a consistent tradition and a crystal-clear position on this question. It is unequivocally opposed to the policy of individual terror. Its condemnation is not based upon moralistic or pacifist considerations and has nothing in common with the hypocritical outcries of liberal or conservative defenders of the status quo against such actions. The Marxist attitude is based on grounds of revolutionary efficacy. Experience and reason alike have shown that this is a counter-productive way of combating the grip of reaction. Why is this so?

Individual terror scorns the masses and disqualifies their capacities by substituting the deeds of a "chosen few" for mass action and organisation. It seeks to disrupt or overthrow capitalism through the detonation of explosives, the destruction of buildings, or the death of a hated official rather than through the political and industrial activities of the working class and its allies among the oppressed.

It is anti-democratic and elitist because its reliance upon the conspiratorial methods of a tiny minority excludes the oppressed masses from conscious participation in the struggle for their liberation. A self-appointed band of savourous arrogates to itself the rights of decision-making in the revolutionary process without submitting the course of action to the tests of approval and adoption by the toilers. Moreover, the secrecy, solitude and separateness demanded by their acts of violence divides and disrupts rather than unifies the revolutionary forces.

Individual terror turns its back on the real class struggle by seeking to replace the independent class and political activities of the workers with a duel in the dark between a handful of conspirators and the authorities in which the advantages are on the side of reaction. It demoralises and disorients the revolutionary movement by concentrating attention upon the pre-occupations of a handful of terrorists rather than meeting the needs of the specific stage of the class struggle for power.

Instead of raising the consciousness of the masses, enhancing their energies and galvanising them into action, as it claims claims, individual terror reinforces their passivity and widens the gulf between the vanguard and the masses. It is adventurist because it tries to compensate for the backwardness of the mass movement and the temporary weakness of its vanguard by artificial means. It is illusory because it seeks to substitute the explosive force of dynamite for realistic and effective means of mass action. It is self-defeating because it plays into the hands of the rulers and their agencies of repression. Individual terror renders a service to the bourgeoisie by enabling it to shift the onus for practicing violence from itself as the guilty party to its revolutionary opponents and thereby to step up its efforts at repression. Whatever its immediate effect, terrorism of this type aids the maintenance of the existing system in the long run.

Elitist

Terrorism is a product of subjectivism and impatience, of frustration and desperation. Despite the loud noises made by its intermittent chemical warfare, it is an expression of political and social defeatism arising from a fundamental lack of confidence in the potential of the working people to recognise the need to get rid of the capitalist regime, engage it in struggle, and overcome it.

The preparation of terrorist acts provides a happy hunting ground for informers and provocateurs to frame up victims and discredit the revolutionary cause and movement.

In social terms, individual terrorism is not a proletarian but a petty-bourgeois, individualist and elitist mode of action. It is based upon the exaltation of personal heroism and readiness for individual self-sacrifice rather than the collective disciplined action involved in the working class movement for emancipation. Its recipe for a short-cut to salvation excludes propaganda, agitation and organisation among the masses and thus the prolonged, tedious and difficult tasks involved in assembling, educating and organizing a revolutionary party and a class-conscious workers' movement.

For these general reasons Marxists have invariably maintained an irreconcilable opposition toward individual terror as a means of political struggle. However much they may sympathise with the good

intentions and courage of the perpetrators, they have categorically condemned terrorist acts because of their disastrous political consequences. Such a terrorist policy runs counter to the methods of mass action and conscious political struggle against capitalism advocated by scientific socialism.

Numerous recruits to the New Left or ultraleft who profess admiration for Lenin are unfamiliar with the Bolshevik attitude toward terrorism. They make a caricature of Leninism by reducing it to the practice of "revolutionary violence". What is the real history of this question?

The Marxist movement originated in the Czarist Russia of the 1880s through the separation of the Liberation of Labor Group headed by Plekhanov from the populist terrorists of their generation. Even under the conditions of severe illegality and underground activity these pioneers deliberately repudiated terrorist adventurism in favour of the organisation of mass struggles led by the workers to overthrow the autocracy.

Lenin & the Bolsheviks

Lenin fought for this same position, even though his elder brother had been hung by the Czar for participating in a terrorist attempt. Lenin came to Marxism after having been convinced that terrorist tactics had to be abandoned if a mass movement with enough power to overturn the monarchy, landlordism and capitalism was to be built. He never wavered in his opposition to individual terror and he and his associates waged many polemical battles against the Social Revolutionaries and anarchists around this issue.

MARXISM VERSUS NEO-ANARCHIST TERRORISM

by George Novack

A lone black flag lost amongst 25,000 people at Sydney's May Moratorium



Throughout Lenin's career the revolutionary movement of Russia was divided into two opposing camps: one headed by the Social Revolutionaries and the anarchists, which proposed and carried out terrorist reprisals against the oppressive authorities, and the other to which all Marxists, right, centre and left, adhered and which decisively opposed these methods.

During the years 1899-1901 there was a vast and varied student movement in the principal cities of Russia which culminated in street battles between the students and cossacks. These confrontations were followed by terrorist reprisals on the part of small combat groups composed of students. However, the autocracy was able to isolate and crush the student insurgents because these actions cut them off from the workers and provided no com-

mon platform or points of connection between the two forces. It was only in 1905 when the students and workers joined forces in open mass struggle against the regime that their actions had significant revolutionary effects.

Revolutionary Marxism attained the highest expression of its practice in Lenin's Bolshevism, and the road of mass political struggle and vanguard party organisation it took led to the historic victory of 1917.

Leon Trotsky summarised the attitude of the Russian revolutionists toward terrorism in an article he wrote in 1911 for "Der Kampf", the theoretical organ of the Austrian Social Democracy:

"Whether or not a terrorist attempt, even if 'successful', introduces confusion in the ruling circles, depends upon the concrete political circumstances. In any case, this confusion can only be of short duration. The capitalist state does not rest upon Ministers, and cannot be destroyed together with them. The classes whom the state serves will always find new men - the mechanism remains intact and continues to function. But much deeper is that confusion which the terrorist attempts to introduce into the ranks of the working masses. If it is enough to arm oneself with a revolver to reach the goal, then to what end are the endeavours of the class struggle? If a pinch of powder and a slug of lead are ample to shoot the enemy through the neck, where is the need of a class organisation? If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled personages with the noise of an ex-

have subsequently disclosed that his secret police contrived the assassination on orders from Stalin himself.

In his comments on that assassination, which was laid at his door, Trotsky wrote:

"... If Marxists have categorically condemned individual terrorism ... even when the shots were directed against the agents of the Tsarist government and of capitalist exploitation, then all the more relentlessly will they condemn and reject the criminal vandalism of terrorist acts directed against the bureaucratic representatives of the first workers' state in history ... The terrorist organisation of the Communist youth is fostered not by the Left Opposition but by the bureaucracy, by its internal decomposition. Individual terrorism, in its very essence, is bureaucracy turned inside out. For Marxists this law was not discovered yesterday. Bureaucratism has no confidence in the masses, and endeavours to substitute itself for the masses. Terrorism works in the same manner; it seeks to make the masses happy without asking for their participation."

As a sharply distinguished terrorist adventurist from acts undertaken in self-defence against reactionary assaults, or from violence integrally connected with the progressive side in a civil war or the national liberation struggle of an oppressed people. However, it is the former policy, and not the latter forms of struggle, that is at issue in radical circles today.

If Lenin and the Bolsheviks considered individual terror to be inadmissible and harmful in the struggle against Tsarist dictatorship, it is certainly far more out of order under the conditions of struggle for a new society today.

Individualist Cop-out

The ultraleftists fail to assess at its proper value one of the most important sides of the present situation. This is the fact that radicalism has been mounting step by step over the past few years and continues to widen, deepen and intensify.

What is really going on is a polarisation of forces in which the possessors of power and property are trying to halt further advances by the discontented but in which the critics and opponents of capitalism keep gaining new ground and gathering fresh forces. It is ironic that the panicky ultraleft sees fascism triumphing just when the scope of resistance to reaction is greater than at any time since the 1930's and even the organised workers are beginning to stir from their prolonged lethargy.

The misconceived choice of tactics like wise conforms to the subsidiary role the ultraleftists assign themselves in the revolutionary process. Imperialism, they maintain, is primarily threatened and besieged by the colonial peoples and the insurgent Blacks in America. The working class is not only conservative but counter-revolutionary and in the camp of the class enemy. This rules out the possibility of political action or any successful mass struggles against the power structure. Therefore the only available channel of revolutionary action is guerrilla warfare reduced to acts of individual terror.

Thus they regard themselves, not as leaders and organisers of any class or mass force, as Marxists must do, but as an auxiliary arm of the struggles being carried on by the Third World peoples abroad or at home. All this facilitates and justifies in their eyes giving a terrorist twist to their mechanical and misunderstanding mimicry of the colonial revolutionaries.

So it is that in a few years certain bitterly frustrated youth have taken off on a terrorist trip, in rhetoric or in reality, and traversed a paradoxical political trajectory from liberalism to neo-anarchism. But the metamorphosis is no more than skin-deep.

Marxism long ago disclosed the underlying kinship between liberalism and anarchist terrorism. Both liberalism and terrorism repudiate reliance upon the independent and revolutionary organisation and activity of the working masses which is the essence of Marxist politics. Liberalism looks to "progressive, peace-loving" politicians among capitalist ruling circles to lead the way to the solution of the problems of society. The erstwhile liberals turned terrorist, though thoroughly disillusioned with the old methods, are nevertheless still contemptuous of the masses and rely upon conspiracy and dynamite to do the job. Terrorism is petty-bourgeois liberalism temporarily gone berserk. Both are equally injurious to the promotion of a genuinely proletarian revolutionary movement.

He quoted these words in a pamphlet he wrote 23 years later, four weeks after the assassination of Kirov, leader of the Leningrad organisation of the Russian CP. This act provided Stalin with a pretext for framing up and executing hundreds of innocent victims. High Soviet sources

Emma Goldman once defined anarchism as "the philosophy of the sovereignty of the individual". More precisely, it is the theory of individualism carried to its extreme limits. Anarchism in practice comes down to "doing your own thing" regardless of the concrete conditions of the struggle for emancipation. This method is lodged at the heart of the neo-anarchist approach to politics. Its latest disciples subordinate the objective necessities which determine the development of collective action to their subjective wishes and arbitrary decisions.

While most liberals, like the fake "humanists" of the Max Lerner stripe, recoil in greater horror from the bank-burnings and building explosions than they ever did against the infinitely more horrible destructiveness of the Washington warmakers, one small contingent of left liberals, who participate in revolution by proxy, take an indulgent, if ambivalent, attitude towards the Weathermen. Their superficial romanticism is doubled with a sly calculation that the threat of terror can be turned to their advantage. See, they argue, this is what Nixon's repression produces. If only a Kennedy or a Lindsay were put in office, all this could be reversed. Let the kids pay the price and put the pressure on the establishment. We'll come out the beneficiaries.

Masses do not share such indulgence toward the policy of individual terror because it harms instead of helping the anti-capitalist cause and is a dangerous diversion from the real tasks at hand. As David Geber aptly observed in the March 26 "Village Voice", the Weatherman solution has misfired; it has now become part of the problem.

The Weathermen go wrong even on the most urgent immediate issues. They profess to be setting an heroic example, whereas they are really trying to save their souls. For example, they talk about aiding the Vietnamese; however both Hanoi and the NLF have made it perfectly similar to the others with the same mistakes made and the same conclusions to be drawn.

The demonstration was preceded by a teach-in on 27th June which was largely a failure, perhaps because of the cold, drizzly weather. Only about 100 people turned up, nearly all political of one shade or another. A string of speakers representing most tendencies (and a few academics) presented papers on various aspects of imperialism but good as most of the papers were, they were largely wasted on an already converted audience.

The stage was also set for July 4th by a demonstration against the local branch of Honeywell held a few days before on Wednesday 1st July.

This demo. started from the Adelaide Uni. during the lunch hour and was

Mass Action

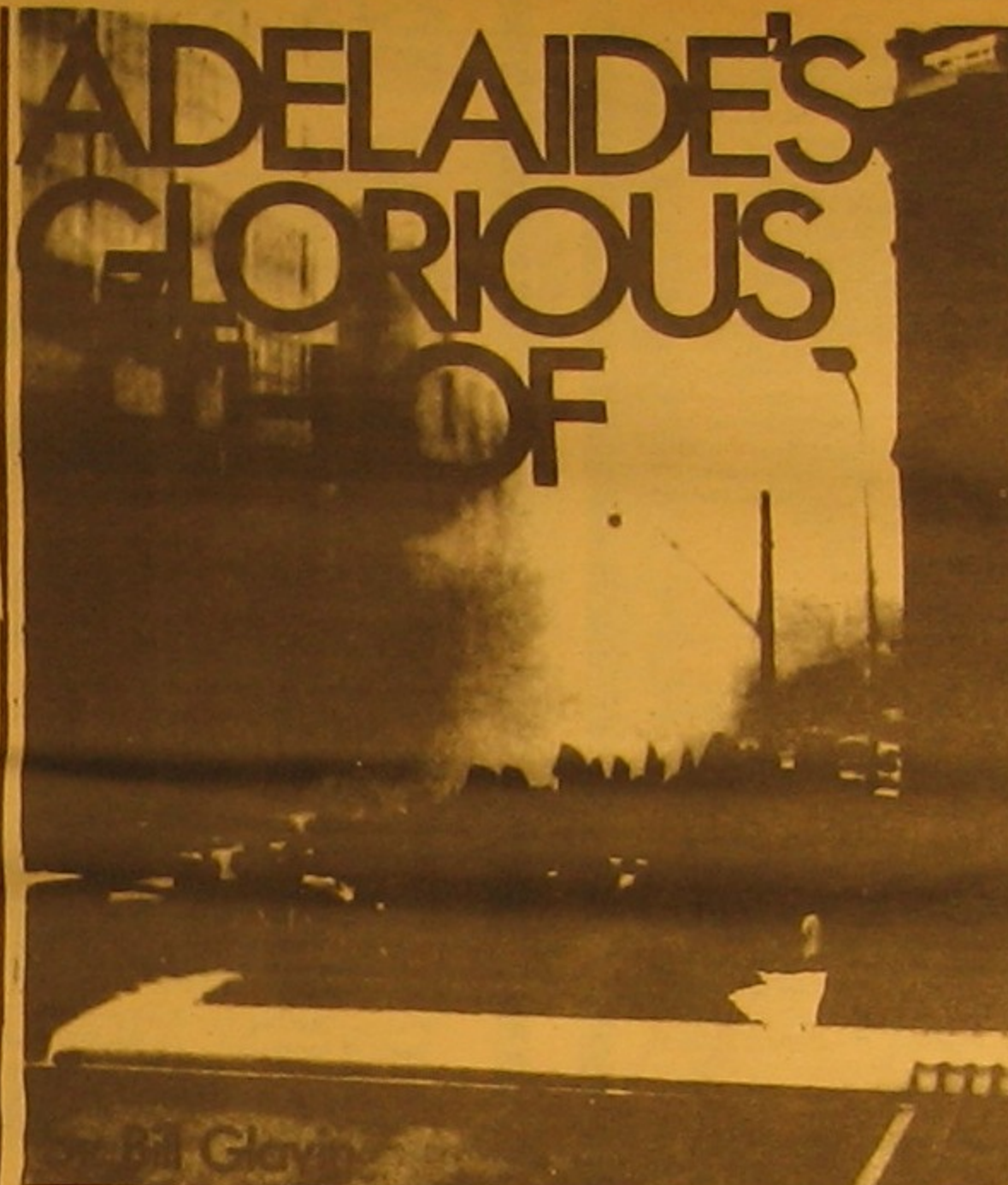
Rennie Davis has reportedly said: "The 1970's will be the time for burning banks". We Trotskyists are no friends of bankers, or protectors of their strong boxes; we prefer to see more housing for the poor and fewer magnificent mausoleums for the glorification of the transactions of the financiers. Yet it must be recognised that the burning or blowing up of a few banks will hardly inspire terror in the hearts of the bankers or bosses. Such acts can only aid them in utilising the repressive machinery of the state apparatus.

American revolutionists have much more important things to do. Their job is to create a movement that can expropriate the banking power and place their monetary and credit resources in the hands of working people. A vast political movement with a socialist programme, led by a Marxist vanguard party, is required for that.

...WORKSHOP

Anyone interested in the difference between the mock warfare of the neo-anarchist terrorists, which may unfortunately end with serious personal consequences for some individuals, and a genuinely revolutionary perspective should contrast their tactics and objectives with the 1968 May-June events in France and the lessons to be learned from them. There ten million workers went out on strike, occupied the factories, hoisted the red flag. They had been preceded by the student struggles and joined by discontented peasants, shopkeepers, technicians and intellectuals. This unprecedented mobilisation had the potential of ousting French capital from power. But that chance was betrayed by independent of capitalist parties, educated

Guidelines for Action:
1. Every working member of SYA to join their respective unions and play an active



July 4th demonstrations were fiascos in all Australian capital cities this year, but Adelaide's experience was probably fairly similar to the others with the same mistakes made and the same conclusions to be drawn.

The demonstration was preceded by a teach-in on 27th June which was largely a failure, perhaps because of the cold, drizzly weather. Only about 100 people turned up, nearly all political of one shade or another. A string of speakers representing most tendencies (and a few academics) presented papers on various aspects of imperialism but good as most of the papers were, they were largely wasted on an already converted audience.

The stage was also set for July 4th by a demonstration against the local branch of Honeywell held a few days before on Wednesday 1st July.

This demo. started from the Adelaide Uni. during the lunch hour and was

composed of about 60 students who marched a short mile through the centre of the city to Honeywell in Franklin St. At Honeywell the cops had taken up defensive positions, 20 bikes on one side of the road, a dozen mounted cops on the other, numerous strategically parked wagons and the usual swarm of incognitos and photographers.

So after a few minutes of chanting and fist waving the demo turned around and, coinciding slogans for each citadel of capitalism it passed, trudged back to the Uni. by a different route. This had the effect of keeping the cops on their toes, they had to race ahead, line up their bikes and stand at ease in front of every possible target (Australian-American Friendship Soc., Recruiting Office, etc.) until the ragged mob had passed, then repeat the manoeuvre.

The Resistance (now Socialist Youth Alliance - Ed.) preparations for the July 4th demo. entailed making up a few red flags, a Resistance banner and quite a few

- attendance at union meetings;
- taking positions of responsibility, e.g., union rep., delegate, shop steward etc.;
- a concentration on gaining rank and file support rather than engaging in isolated actions.
- Comrades should try to recruit young workers to SYA by:
 - advertising and discussing SYA activities and programme;
 - selling and distributing SYA publications and other socialist literature.
- If individuals can gain enough support or if a base of militant support exists (e.g. rank and file committees, workers' control committees etc.) bringing out newsletters, leaflets and engaging in other agitational work.
- SYA as a whole should take a more active interest in working class struggles with the view of directing their energies

placards and armbands. We managed to take up a dozen or so members and sympathisers and intended to march under our own banner for the first time in Adelaide. Some other groups and individuals turned up wearing helmets and carrying wooden shields (generally faced with a picture of Chairman Mao) some carried short handled flags and a couple carried gas masks as well.

On Saturday July 4th the demo. began with a performance by a street theatre group at Elder Park, usual starting place for off campus demos. The crowd of about 350 moved off towards the city, marched up Rumble St., and occupied the Rumble St., Gowler Place intersection.

The marchers occupied the intersection for about 15 minutes during which the centre of the city ground to a halt and the Saturday morning shoppers were treated to a performance of a short play with an anti-imperialist theme. Then the cops made their first appearance, arrested two of the actors and one other person and succeeded in moving the demonstration on.

For the next 45 minutes the crowd trudged about the city in a confused mass lacking any leadership or plan whatsoever. A smoke bomb was thrown, a couple more people were arrested and some half hearted attempts to rescue those arrested were made.

In Flinders St. a big cop with a megaphone appeared and demanded that the demonstration disappear forthwith. The demo. was not disposed to disappear so the cops attempted to barricade the street with motor cycles but failed dismally. They disentangled themselves from the marchers and tried again, and failed. Deliberately ignoring the fact that the demo. was on the way back to the Uni., they threw up a third partial barricade of bikes and this time, helped by the prevailing enthusiastic confusion among the marchers, managed to force some of the demonstration into a small side street running at right angles to Flinders St. and then rode their bikes into the crowd.

Some fool tapped a cop on the helmet and triggered off a series of random arrests in which three Resistance members Bill Glavin, Craig Hill, Brent Hill and their father Mr Hill, a sympathiser, were busted and dragged off to the local watchhouse.

A good example of the haphazard fashion in which most people were arrested was the case of a T.V. cameraman who was filming the events with a small hand camera and who happened to be wearing "student type" casual clothes. The fearless fuz pounced, dragged him to the wagon and threw him in. Thirty seconds later one of his more respectable looking mates identified him and he was released by some rather embarrassed cops. The other inmates of the wagon had no such luck.

After this spate of nastiness by the cops the demo. regrouped and was allowed to make its way back to the Uni. under police escort.

At the Uni. gates the cops halted, so a small band of Maoists seized the opportunity, slammed shut the large iron gates, and under the partial cover of a smoke bomb, started pelting the cops with rocks. By now, however, most of the cops had already dispersed, as had most of the demonstrators. The adventure was completed the following day when the cops identified one of the rock throwers from a photograph and picked him up.

On the whole July 4th was a fiasco. It highlighted the utter inability of the Radical Alliance to provide leadership for even a small demo. which they largely organised. They recognised this fact in the subsequent post-mortems (which were mainly mutual criticism sessions) and it served to consolidate the existing division which led to the later split between SDA and the Maoists.

The ultra-leftist tactics of the Maoists in their battle dress (the helmets and shields really weren't needed, none of the cops threw any rocks back), served only to isolate them further from the people on the streets and most of the people in the demo. The whole experience reinforces once more the validity of our approach to the anti-war movement, that what is needed is mass action, not isolated actions by a handful of people, no matter how high sounding their rhetoric or heroic their actions.

Because of lack of space, the reports from the high school and university workshops have been held over until next issue.

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IMPERIALISM

INTERVENTION . . . 160 since 1789, according to the June 23 Congressional Record, including 1899 - the Philippines - "to protect American interests, and to conquer the islands by defeating the Filipinos in their war for independence." That 160 doesn't count CIA activities either.

MILITARY . . . Besides making interventions possible, the military provides an excuse to put \$70 billion a year into the pockets of the corporate rich and keep it from the people.

Military contracts are negotiated on a "cost plus" basis. "Cost plus" means the company's cost . . . usually twice initial estimates . . . are automatically covered by the government. "plus" a generous profit margin is added. This selective suspension of the so-called "open market" checks and balances is designed to maintain "socialism for the rich, free enterprise for the poor."

PROFITS . . . tell the story of imperialism. From 1950 to 1964 the percentage of U.S. corporate profits increased from 10 to 22%. Domestic profits during those years increased 66% and foreign profits increased 271%. Less than half of overseas trade and investment is in the Third World, but more than half of the overseas profits come from there. And, if the imperialists have their way, this is only a beginning.

EXPLOITATION . . . "I believe that if we had and would keep our dirty, bloody, dollar-soaked fingers out of the business of these nations so full of depressed, exploited people, they will arrive at a solution of their own." (Gen. Shoup) . . . American imperialists keep other people down . . . they support landlords against peasants, their overseas business pay workers pennies; they use Americans to produce the weapons to control the Third World. Other countries and other people are useful if they contribute to profits.

RAW MATERIALS . . . "The United States," John Foster Dulles once said, "does not have friends, it has interests." The United States is very interested in Jamaica, the world's leading supplier of bauxite, from which aluminium is made. 93% of Jamaica's people earn less than \$450 per year while Alcan, Alcoa, Kaiser and Reynolds rip off the bauxite which they, not the Jamaicans, "own"

IDEOLOGY . . . Woodrow Wilson, 1912: "If America is not to have free enterprise then she can have freedom of no sort whatever." Woodrow Wilson, 1917: "The world must be made safe for democracy." And so we are taught that democracy equals free enterprise, that communism equals totalitarianism. The businessmen want to preserve a free world for American business and that's why somehow, we should all be anti-communist, logical?!

AID . . . Nixon once said that foreign aid was simply an instrument "to reward our friends and punish our enemies". All U.S. aid has "strings attached" . . . strings which usually pull more money out of the country than aid puts in. Some times that's because aid is really a loan, which has to be paid back with interests, sometimes it's a grant to buy goods and services that American corporations need to sell. Often "grants", whether in the form of money, technical assistance, or commodities (food) end up being paid for by the receiving country, under the disguise of letting the country keep the money but forcing it to use it to buy American goods, especially arms.

LOCAL ALLIES . . . like the infamous Francois Duvalier of Haiti . . . are in charge of keeping the natives down. After his Latin American tour, Nelson Rockefeller, according to the nationally syndicated Evans and Novak Inside Report, "strongly proposed full U.S. support for emerging military regimes throughout the continent to prevent chaos (read: revolution) and possible communist takeovers (read: an end to Rockefeller profits)."

INVESTMENT . . . American capitalism produces more profits than the capitalists can invest profitably in America. So they invest in foreign countries, in the Third World where they can get three times as much money out as they put in. Because they only want good return on their investment, they build up the industries most profitable to them, often a single agricultural crop or luxury goods, not the basic industries the economy needs. They also concentrate on countries they can politically control. The National Industrial Conference Board noted that the seizure of power by the Greek military junta brought about "an improvement in the investment".

SURPLUS . . . "We could argue for quite a while that under a different system in this country you could get the entire production of the country in the United States. Nobody contemplates that. Therefore you find you must look to other markets and those markets are abroad" (Dean Acheson, Truman's Secretary of State). Yes, as long as we're stuck with good old Capitalism, it processes more than people can afford to buy (since they aren't paid enough). But business still needs profits, so it has to find foreign markets. Things go better with Coke, and only friendly governments drink Coke.

MOVEMENT . . . What we're building is to stop imperialism and start liberation.

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S.Y.A. BRANCHES:

Canberra: Louise King, P.O. Box 51, Kingston, A.C.T.

Adelaide: SYA, 240, Rundle Street, Adelaide, S.A. Ph. 23-3339

Melbourne: Rod Quinn, 16, Argyle Street, Fitzroy, Vic.

Sydney: SYA, 105, Reservoir Street, Surry Hills, N.S.W. Ph. 211-2748

COMING EVENTS: CANBERRA

Sunday, October 4 at 8.00 p.m., ANU, Canberra, film showing "In The Year Of The Pig".

ADELAIDE

Friday, October 9, 8.00 p.m., Sol Salby "Zionism and the Palestinian Revolution", 240, Rundle Street, Adelaide.

October 6, 7 and 8 at 8.00 p.m., Union Theatre, Adelaide University, "In The Year Of The Pig".

SYDNEY

General meetings every Saturday at 2.00 p.m. . . . Every Saturday night at 8.00 p.m., a varied cultural happening.

Camp, long weekend in October - 3rd, 4th and 5th. Relaxation in the Blue Mountains combined with a series of classes.

Sunday Educationals at 2.00 p.m.:

September 20: "Philosophical Basis of Socialist Thought", Col Maynard

September 27: "Capitalism, A Contradiction", Paul Keig

October 11 and October 18: "The Long View of History", Tony Kelly

Friday, October 2 at 7.30 p.m.: "The History of the Communist Party of Australia". On the 50th anniversary of its formation; what it has been through; where it stands now. With Dion Giles, Steve Cooper, Mavis Robertson,

Films every Sunday at 7.00 p.m.

September 20

THE COMANCHEROS by Michael Curtiz. Starring John Wayne and Lee Marvin.

September 27

IN THE YEAR OF THE PIG by Emile De Antonio. Brilliant documentary on the war in Vietnam.

October 4

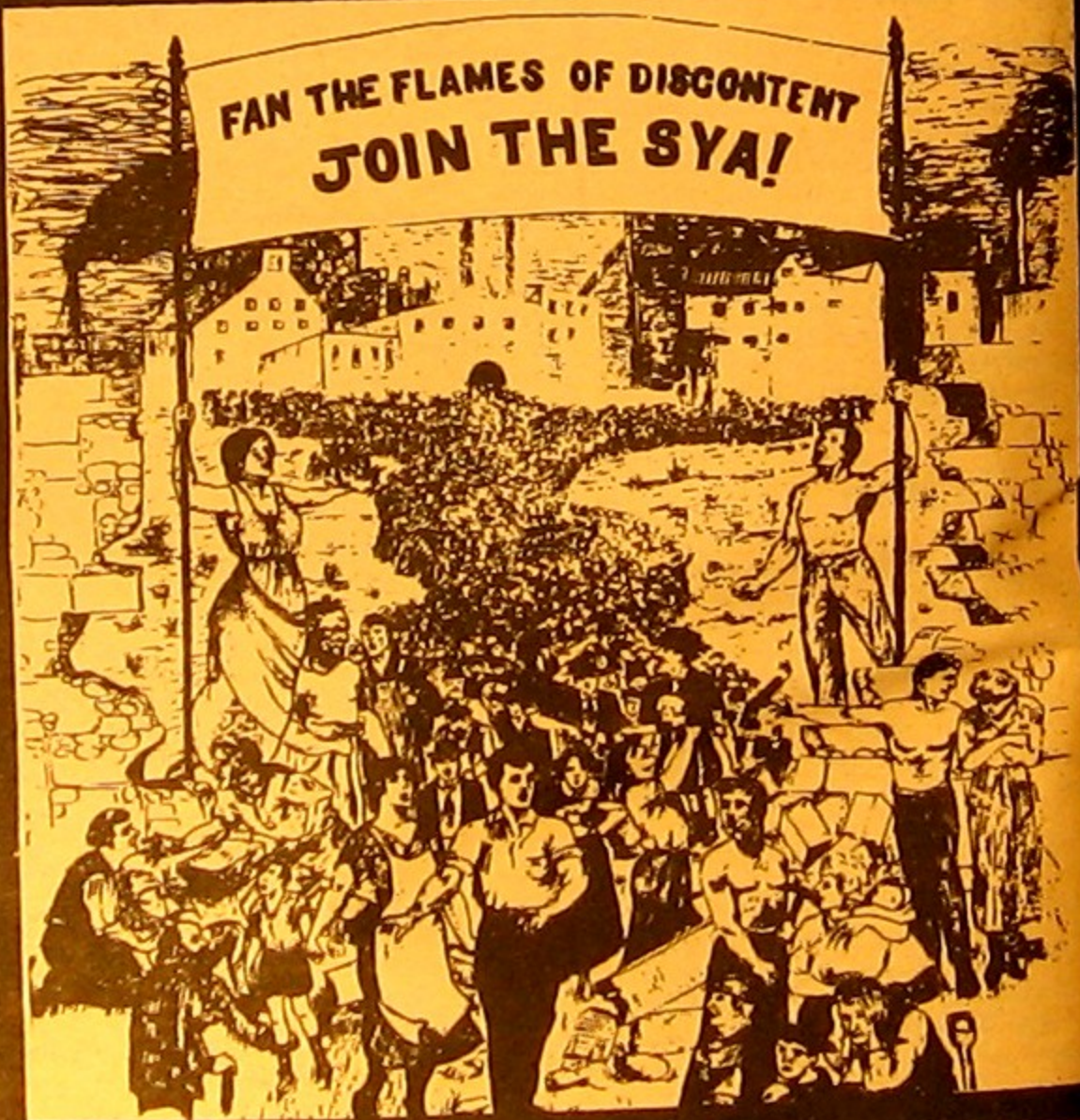
CONFESSIONS OF FELIX KRULL, CONFIDENCE TRICKSTER (1954). Film version of the extraordinary novel by Thomas Mann. Stars Horst Buchholz, Liselotte Pulver and Ingrid Andree.

October 11

LE TESTAMENT DU DR CORDELIER (1959) by Jean Renoir. Incredible horror story, starring Jean-Louis Barrault as the Jeekyll/Hyde Cordelier/Opale.

PLUS . . . Two brilliant films by JAN LENICA; A and RHINOCEROS (after the play by Ionesco)

All events at 20a, Goulburn Street unless otherwise stated.



If you oppose the Vietnam war and conscription - if you want a socialist Australia - if you support the struggle for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe, Russia and China, the struggle for women's liberation and the struggle for national liberation throughout the world - then JOIN THE SYA.

I am interested in joining SYA
I would like more information on SYA
I enclose \$ for subscription to "Direct Action" \$1.00 for 10 issues.

Name
Address
Postcode Ph.

Post to National Office, 105, Reservoir Street, Surry Hills or to the branch in your state.