

**AFTER THE ELECTIONS.** 40.

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE :

ON THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME by Michel Pablo

THE CRISIS OF AUSTRALIAN  
IMPERIALISM by Denis Freney

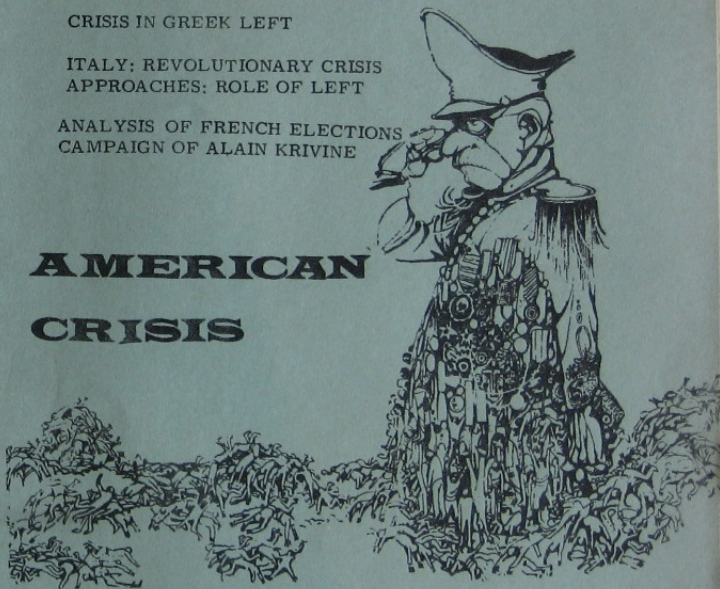
NATIONALISATION IN PERU

CRISIS IN GREEK LEFT

ITALY: REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS  
APPROACHES: ROLE OF LEFT

ANALYSIS OF FRENCH ELECTIONS  
CAMPAIGN OF ALAIN KRIVINE

**AMERICAN  
CRISIS**



A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST MAGAZINE  
published by the Australian Section of the  
Fourth International...  
No. 9 (72) September-November 1969.

10c.

THE CRISIS OF  
AUSTRALIAN  
IMPERIALISM...

Australian imperialism, junior partner to US and world imperialism is now entering a period of severe crisis.

Firstly, because its own little colonial empire in Papua-New Guinea is rushing headlong to a revolutionary juncture with the colonial revolution which has so dominated the world scene in the past two decades.

Secondly, because of the general crisis world imperialism faces in South-East Asia following its defeat in Vietnam, Australian imperialism which has its vital interests in this region must now seek new alignments and begin to play the game of diplomacy which it has ignored so far as it has hid behind the general protective blanket of imperialism in this region.

THE EFFECTS OF VIETNAM  
WAR DEFEAT

It is still far too early to attempt to fully estimate the effects the defeat of imperialism and Australian junior imperialism in particular in Vietnam will have on a world scale, let alone in Asia.

But it is undoubted that these effects will be of enormous importance and create a totally new world situation.

The retreat of US imperialism in its acceptance of defeat in Vietnam, will see a corresponding upsurge in the total world influence of the Soviet Union. This is an objective factor, based upon the continuous economic and social progress in the USSR, in its enormous military might and the retreat of imperialism on a worldwide scale.

One of the most marked signs of the upsurge of Soviet influence and might is its military presence in the Indian Ocean, and the diplomatic initiatives it is taking in Asia. These initiatives, these advances of the Soviet world influence, we repeat, have an objective base, flowing from the enormous

advance of the planned and nationalised Soviet economy -- despite the bureaucratic waste that occurs.

Yet this advance in Soviet influence, the objective might of the deformed Workers State is used by the ruling bureaucratic caste in its own interests. interests which are often frankly counter-revolutionary (viz. Czechoslovakia).

The present Soviet bureaucracy is using this might in its conflict with the Chinese leaders to mobilise all possible allies in any conflict it might initiate or encourage with the Chinese bureaucracy.

But equally, while preparing it form a common anti-Chinese front with Gorton, Tun Abdul Razak, Chiang-Kai-Shek, et alia, the Soviet bureaucracy also is consciously seeking to develop the expansion of the influence of the Soviet State as such, and so limit the influence of its major world enemy --US imperialism.

Imperialism -- and particularly Australian Imperialism -- desperately seeking a new basis for its policy in South-East Asia, grasps at the straw of a possible alliance -- written or tacit -- with the Soviet Union, to hold back the floodgates of revolution that Vietnam threatens to unleash.

The Soviet bureaucracy can certainly be for the moment, in its anti-Chinese fury, expected to make deals with any ruler under the sun, providing they will back them against the Chinese.

But the very nature of the Soviet State -- and here we radically differ from those who see the Soviet Union as "state capitalist" or "social imperialism" -- rules out any long-term deal between imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy. The entry of the Soviet Union into the Asian political scene and into the Indian Ocean adds a new element of instability into the region which should under no circumstances be underestimated.

STRONG OPPOSITION NEEDED TO ANTI-CHINESE FRONT SPONSORED BY SOVIET BUREAUCRACY.

All that said, it is of course, as some "pro-Soviet" forces would, wrong to justify or excuse the despicable deals and manoeuvres that the Breznev leadership is entering into now, to try to mobilise maximum support for its campaign (war?) against the Chinese Peoples Republic.

Absolute clarity on this question is necessary. The Soviet leadership acts in a counter-revolutionary way when it makes such deals, or even hints at them. The incredible height of criminal actions would be any attack on China, let alone the use of nuclear weapons. That such reports can flow in the Western press and AN ABSOLUTE UNCONDITIONAL DENIAL NOT BE ISSUED BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP LEAVES US WITH THE GREATEST CONCERN...

Not only is it a "moral" question of proletarian internationalism: it is even more a question of a real danger of nuclear war on a world scale.

If one bomb is dropped in a preemptive strike on China by the Soviet bureaucracy, then who can forsooth foretell the results? Who can predict Imperialism's reactions? Will they join the attack?

In a world such as we live in today the nationalist and bureaucratic aberrations of both the Chinese and Soviet leaders can lead to nuclear extinction. That gives the full measure of the seriousness of the situation.

The Aarons leadership of the CPA deserve full credit for the generally principled position they have taken both on the links of Australian imperialism with the Soviet, and secondly on the danger -- a vividly real danger -- of a preemptive strike by the Soviet (including use of nuclear weapons) against China...

It is clear in any case, that the Gorton clique in the Liberal Party are speculating on just such a clash, and are even basing their new foreign policy orientation on such a clash occurring. Again, earnest of the seriousness of the situation.

If such a clash does occur, then Imperialism will have been presented with the most advantageous situation in Asia that it has had for decades.

Internally, inside Australia, such a war between the two greatest Workers States would present the bourgeoisie with unparalleled means of repression and attack on the working class movement, particularly if the majority take a principled line: they could then also use the authority of the Soviet as a means

Yet, if we exclude a catastrophic war between the Soviet Union and China -- and we must mobilise all our strength to stop it -- then, in the long run, the hopes that the Australian bourgeoisie places in the Soviet and an alliance with it are mistaken. The extension of the influence of the Soviet State into South East Asia is in itself something favourable to future revolutionary development, despite the use to which this influence is put in the immediate period by the Soviet bureaucracy.

INSECURITY OF ALL REACTIONARY REGIMES IN ASIA

The Revolution in South East Asia (Philippines, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia...) suffered a setback in the late Forties, when due to a number of factors, Imperialism was able to destroy the armed insurrections, or contain them.

The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, the rapid advances of the Revolution in Laos, the sound beginnings of that in Thailand, and the reactivation of Ching Fengs guerrillas in Malaya give hope of a further extension of the Revolution. It will allow, too, the rebirth of the Burmese guerrillas and the beginnings perhaps of a peasant armed insurrection in India, which combined with urban insurrection, provide the only real solution to India's problems, and which Indira Ghandi's latest "left" swing is an effort to contain. If she fails, as seems likely, then the choice will be between revolution and a military dictatorship.

All the reactionary governments, in the main scarcely hidden military dictatorships, now seek to find new allies faced with the revolutionary thrust of their own oppressed. Thus, the new alliance being offered by the Soviet is welcomed with some relief, partly in the hope that it will allow their corrupt regimes to appear more respectable in the eyes of their own masses.

The Soviet presence can moreover only encourage the more independent

minded bourgeois elements to play the game of "Neutrality", which in fact will cover an anti-Chinese front with the Soviet.

JAPANESE ROLE

Japanese Imperialism, now needing rapidly expanding markets is playing an increasingly important role in Asia.

Australia as a supplier of raw materials is a vital partner of Japanese Imperialism.

The signs are that Japanese Imperialism is also now taking a major role in reshaping imperialism's new strategy in Asia. That is clear from a number of Freeth's statements.

But it is very doubtful if Japan wishes to get involved militarily in the region, especially after the results of Vietnam. (Not to say it will not step up its military "aid").

Japanese imperialism seems more concerned with using diplomacy and "aid" to extend its influence, and would certainly not be adverse to an anti-Chinese "neutrality" in the region. It seems quite possible that the basis of the new realignment in Asia might well be a Soviet-Japanese front, which will give aid to the different regimes and seek to tone down the "extremism" on both sides -- the Soviet with Japanese aid trying to effectively neutralise a united Vietnam as a factor for "instability", while Japan tones down the military dictatorships, even not being adverse to "progressive", "Neutralist" regimes emerging.

Not to suppose, either, that US Imperialism has lost interest in the region. But more likely in the future is for it to share

4.  
with its allies the "responsibility" of maintaining "security" for imperialism as a whole in Asia.

US Imperialism is more likely to retire for the immediate period from too active a role in Asia, repair its image and try to solve its internal problems. Objectively, that temporary retreat by US Imperialism will provide a unique opportunity for the revolutionary movement to make rapid advances, to fill the vacuum that active US presence will leave.

The Soviet bureaucracy is trying to fill that vacuum in its own opportunist and bureaucratic fashion, and in the process objectively aiding imperialism in its effort to readjust to the new situation providing the means for imperialism and the Asian bourgeoisie to readjust through a neutralist interlude before imperialism actively reimposes its open dictatorship on the Asian masses.

It is absolutely essential to expose therefore the really negative side of the intervention of the Soviet and of the anti-Chinese "neutralism" that is likely to eventuate, while at the same time understanding that such alliances and "neutralism" are simply interludes and can only serve as a temporary obstacle on the road to the Asian revolution...

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR AUSTRALIAN REVOLUTIONARY AND ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT... -

It is not impossible that the Gorton regime, after the elections, will withdraw a substantial number of troops from Vietnam. Nor is it excluded that conscription will be substantially modified. Not to let off the pressure for these two demands. But essential is the mobilisation around more directly transitional and revolutionary demands. Hence the importance of the call for civil aid to Vietnam, which should be the beginning of a massive campaign in solidarity with Vietnam, with massive and militant mobilisation of people on the streets. Similarly, the opposition to conscription must be mobilised -- not on a pacifist basis, but on the basis of revolutionary opposition, with actions such as that of Laurie Carmichael multiplied in their dozens in the coming months, with acts of defiance of all sorts. These acts of defiance have broader connotations -- they show the weakness of the bourgeois democratic State when challenged in large numbers and when it is forced to use its force...

DENIS FRENEY, Sydney, 21. 9. 69

CIVIL RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM FUND -- ALL MONEY COLLECTED SENT TO THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT...

IN THE COMING WEEKS A FUND FOR THE CIVIL RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM IS BEING LAUNCHED. A TOKEN SUM HAS BEEN PRESENTED TO THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT ON BEHALF OF A NUMBER OF AUSTRALIANS OPPOSED TO THE WAR. THIS ACT IS IN DEFIANCE OF AN ACT WHICH FORBIDS THIS AID. INTERNATIONAL HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN A NUMBER OF SMALLER INITIATIVES IN THE PAST ON SUCH LINES. WE URGE FULL AND ACTIVE SUPPORT. ALL DONATIONS TO FUND, 567a GEORGE ST, SYDNEY...

#### SOME FIRST THOUGHTS ON THE ELECTION RESULTS

5.  
The Federal Elections resulted in the return of a Gorton government but with a much smaller majority and racked by internal divisions. This short article is intended to open up discussion on the election result and its implications for the coming period. There will be much fuller discussion in the next issue of INTERNATIONAL which we hope will appear in the near future.

\*\*\*\*\*

The massive swing to the ALP on October 25 almost unseated the Liberal-Country Party coalition and returned the first ALP government for twenty years. Almost, but not quite...

What were the causes of this swing? Is it possible to describe it as a left swing in the population as a whole and a radicalisation of the whole situation independent of Whitlam and the policy he has had adopted? Is it possible to conceive of this swing as being sufficiently deep-rooted as to be maintained or even strengthened in the Senate elections and even to oblige a new lower house election before the end of the year or simultaneously with the Senate election?

#### THE CAUSES

The causes of the swing to the ALP can be summed up under the following general headings: first, the defeat of US Imperialism in Vietnam has had its due effect. Even moreso, as the ruling coalition has itself recognised the defeat and the pending withdrawal and has been forced to cast around for alternatives -- hence Freeth made his overtures to the Russians. The fact that the DLP and the conservative traditionalists in the LCP forced a retreat on this issue during the elections did not convince the electorate that the old dogmas and shiboleths of "anti-communism" and the "Red Peril" were valid. It was even clear from Gorton's half-hearted approach to this question that he did not himself feel it was effective. Yet Gorton was defeated in his own Party in with the DLP in his fling towards a "Gaullism" and so himself bears the responsibility for not continuing with conviction along his (and Freeth's) earlier line. Yet the crisis in the ruling class over foreign policy has been far from solved. On the contrary, there will be sooner or later a confrontation over this issue between the new and old-liners, and

the lines of battle are already being drawn. It is this crisis that will in all probability lead to a virtual abdication of power by the Liberals as they split asunder; the "new-liners" wanting even a Whitlam Government as the regime best able to carry out the political transition in foreign policy and best able to contain the growing radicalisation among the masses. We saw such a virtual abdication in the early Sixties before the coming to power of Wilson.

The other possible variant is that Gorton will take the initiative and launch an offensive against his traditionalist opponents in the L-CP, a himself take a Gaullist stance to best deal with the growing crisis.

Another reason for the swing was the failure of the Gorton Government and its predecessors to maintain and develop social services. It is quite possible that Gorton will in the coming months offer substantial bribes

to the underprivileged in our society. The swing to the ALP can then be summed up as due to three major causes: the defeat of Imperialism in Vietnam and the subsequent retreat from South East Asia; second, the crisis this retreat has engendered among the ruling circles of this country and the rejection of the Red Scare by a section of it as a valid solution; third, the revolt among the population against the low level of social services (pensions, health scheme) which have developed.

#### SWING TO A. L. F. MARKS GROWING RADICALISATION.

Despite the nature of the ALP and above all of the Whitlamite leadership, the swing to the ALP is both a sign of the extent of the radicalisation that is developing in this country and is as well, a factor which is going to strengthen -- at least while the ALP remains in Opposition -- that radicalisation.

The coming months will be marked by a very radical evolution of the general situation -- or rather that is the potential if the Left is able to mobilise its forces to in turn mobilise the masses.

The Vietnam War is now at a stage where the mass of the population can be won to militant action to bring it to an end. An estimated 20 to 30 million Americans went on the streets during the Moratorium Day in October. Perhaps even larger numbers will be on the streets during the November mobilisations.

In Australia, the anti-war movement still remains in past schema -- there is little conception of really getting out to wider audiences and trying to mobilise huge forces. In Australian terms, to match the US Moratorium Day efforts we would have to have 250,000 on the streets of Sydney and 1 million throughout the country. . .

We, in INTERNATIONAL 8, spoke of the need to aim higher -- to think in terms

of 10,000 in demonstrations against the War in coming months. Surely, taking all things into consideration, a very modest target.

Yet the narrow and sectarian fashion that these mobilisations are still conceived in, aimed rather at building up one particular tendency than building up a massive movement is a serious hindrance. We enter now the holiday period in Australia, in which it will be difficult to get masses moving -- although the early December-late November period offers a chance.

The proposed November 15 demonstration in Sydney may provide the possibility of a major mobilisation. That in December may also provide some basis, but its sectarian and limited conception will limit it.

#### POSSIBLE EVOLUTION OF ALP

It seems quite probable that the ALP will gain a large number of new members in the coming period -- as part of the general radical groundswell. The revolutionary Left cannot afford to ignore the evolution of the ALP particularly if a large number of radicalised workers join its ranks. A great deal of careful attention must be apid to this speculation -- without that meaning we have to exclusively see the growing radicalisation progressing through the ALP -- indeed that would be disastrous, as so much depends on the subjective efforts of the revolutionary Left in mobilising extra-Party and extra-parliamentary forces into action, particularly in opposition to the War.

Finally, we invite all readers to submit their opinions of the above analysis -- and generally of the whole of the new situation . . . 29. 10. 68

#### ON THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME

by Michel FABLO. . .

(A number of those associated with INTERNATIONAL have received in the past copies of the Draft Outline of the new programme of the Communist Party of Australia, with a covering letter from Laurie Aarons asking for written comments. We hope that the contributions of a number of those associated with INTERNATIONAL concerning this document will be published either in the next issue of INTERNATIONAL or as a separate booklet. In the meantime, we publish below some relevant comments from Michel Fablo, published in THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, published in just published by INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS . . . available for 25 cents from A. McLean, PO Box 13, Balmain - NSW - 2041. . . editor, INTERNATIONAL.)

\*\*\*\*\*

From the viewpoint of political documents, the main contribution of the Founding Conference of the Fourth International was unquestionably its adoption of the Transitional Programme (its full title is the Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International . . . available from INTERNATIONAL FOR 25 cents . . . ed.)

Worked up principally by Leon Trotsky, this programme was subjected to full discussion before and during the Conference, in which the then principal cadres of our movement took part. This programme is naturally not the programme of the Fourth International, i.e. its total programme, but only a part thereof, which covers "action from today until the beginning of the revolution." (Leon Trotsky) In order for it to be complete, as Trotsky himself specified (in discussion on the Transitional Programme), it would have to have at the beginning a part that was more analytical from a theoretical viewpoint concerning "modern capitalist society in its imperialist stage."

We find this analysis in other writings of Leon Trotsky, such for example as the criticism of the programme of the Third International worked up by Bukharin on the occasion of its Sixth World Congress and in Permanent Revolution. It is in these writings that there must be sought the fundamental characteristics of the imperialist period which determine the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary proletariat.

There would also have to be a final part concerning itself with "the

social revolution, the seizure of power through insurrection, the transformation of the capitalist society into the dictatorship of proletariat and the latter into socialist society."

The programmatic ideas of our International in this more and more important and timely field must be sought in the writings of Leon Trotsky on the USSR and stalinism, particularly in the REVOLUTION BETRAYED, as well as in the later documents of the Fourth International.

"The goal of the Transitional Programme was and remains specific :

a) to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist programme of the Revolution; to aid in thus surmounting the contradiction between the maturity of the objective situation which characterises our period, "and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard", due essentially to the policy of betrayal of the

traditional leaderships.

This bridge the Transitional Programme specifics, should include a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the world's working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion : the conquest of power by the proletariat.

This is what distinguishes this programme dialectical in structure, from the programmes of the stalinists and social-democrats, which set up an organic separation between their minimum programmes, limited to reforms within the framework of capitalist society, and their maximum programmes, promising for an indeterminate future, the replacement of capitalism by socialism.

The Transitional Programme, modeling itself on the way the first Congresses of the Communist International (and particularly the Third Congress in 1921 in its theses on tactics), posed revolutionary tactics, wipes out the distinction and tries on the contrary to connect organically the struggle for immediate demands of the masses, with the struggle for power.

The programme's transitional, that is, dynamic and revolutionary, and not static and reformist structure is not, however a mental trick, and intellectual abstraction. It is based, on the contrary, on the conviction that the orientation of the masses is determined in the last analysis by the objective conditions that characterize capitalist society.

As the programme is consequently worked out not in adaptation to the conjunctural mentality of the masses, but to objective conditions, we can be certain that sooner or later the masses will adapt the leading lines and slogans of such a programme. That is the meaning and strength of revolutionary marxism.

Naturally objective conditions determine only the content of the programme. In order to decide on its form, the form of its slogans for action, the form of agitation or propaganda, a genuine revolutionary leadership in touch with the realities of

of the workers movement will always take into consideration the exact actuality and consciousness of the masses. Sectarianism in such a case would consist in concerning oneself only with the content while neglecting the form capable of conveying it best, fastest and in time to the masses. On the contrary opportunism would consist in sacrificing the content to the form so as to supposedly shorten the paths over which the ripening and revolutionary organisation of the class pass.

The Transitional Programme developed on the basis of such considerations has successfully undergone the test of events and of time. Several of its fundamental slogans have been taken up throughout the world by immense masses, taught by their own experience. Such are for example the slogans : sliding scale of wages and working hours, workers control of industry, expropriation of certain groups of capitalists, strike pickets and workers militias, factory committees and soviets.

Indeed, certain among them are now part of the official programme of various trade union organisms. . . Naturally, these organisations always have an eclectic and minimalist tendency which consists of taking certain slogans out of the programme and filling them with a reformist content. But the fact that at a given moment such and such a slogan of the Transitional Programme has been taken up -- necessarily as it were -- by the masses, show the scientific soundness of this programme.

\*\*\*\*\*

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF  
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
by Michel Pablo . . . 25 cents  
from : A. McLEAN, PO Box 13.

BALMAIN - NSW-2041.

## THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

As has often happened in the past, the crises of American Imperialism and of the Soviet bureaucracy are developing concurrently.

The analogies -- certainly formal -- between the ossified structures of political power which are in both cases prisoners of formidable economic-military pressure groups arising from the unprecedented growth of the war economy, are striking.

In the USSR, the worsening contradiction between the rigid structures of a centralised economy run bureaucratically from the top and the dynamism of productive forces and the rising cultural level as well as the pressures from countries and parties under Soviet influence, mount pressure for change.

In the USA, after a certain economic ceiling was reached at the end of the Fifties, the US economy has had the longest boom despite the currency crisis. This boom has maintained its domination of the whole world economy. It is well ahead of the Soviet and European economies in modernisation, size and efficiency. But the crisis in the US is nevertheless very real and deep.

In the USA, the military-industrial complex controlling the Pentagon, CIA and at least partly the political power apparatus, has recently been attacked repeatedly by a section of the American bourgeoisie which has been alarmed by the development of the warfare State as against the "welfare" State.

Given the continuation of the Vietnam war, the increasing military expenditure the worsening social crisis in the US -- this section of the bourgeoisie fears the almost blind and irresistible drift to a worldwide catastrophe. Nixon, prisoner of the military-industrial complex which in fact rules the USA has shown himself unable to quickly end the lost Vietnam War as demanded more and more pressingly by the overwhelming majority of American youth.

The admirable revolutionary forces in Vietnam have adjusted their military tactics with characteristic extraordinary

flexibility to a precise goal : to maintain the rate of American losses at a high level to affect US public opinion and increase pressure on the government to end the war by withdrawing US troops from Vietnam. This tactic is paying off very well as concern at US losses in Vietnam is expressed not only by the youth but also by conservative periodicals such as LIFE (which publishes each week photos of US soldiers killed in Vietnam.) The Quakers occupy the footpaths of the Capitol and read to silent crowds the list of dead. . .

The increasing pressure from broad layers of American life for an end to the Vietnam War immediately, is mounting irresistibly.

Nixon struggles desperately to gain time, to find some "miraculous" solution to satisfy the contradictory forces surrounding him and to save face before the world.

Partly to satisfy his Pentagon men and their arms suppliers, and in anticipation of the inevitable end of the Vietnam War, Nixon has yielded to demands for new arms and anti-missile defence systems

10.

which consume billions of dollars. These billions were however necessary to really tackle the many internal problems of US society: poverty, education, urban renewal, etc..

Despite the dollar's resistance to devaluation due to effective tax and credit measures and particularly due to the return of US capital from Europe, attracted by the high rate of interest in the US itself, recent experience has shown that the dollar is no longer exempted from speculation and the progress of inflation. New unproductive military expenditure however automatically gives rise to the danger again.

But the real problems Nixon is unable to solve concern the youth, the blacks, and Latin America. It is now commonly agreed that in the US, more than in any other advanced capitalist country, a new social layer of youth is developing with specific characteristics, needs and aspirations and with a numerical and cultural strength which affects the whole society. Adolescence now begins earlier than in the past and lasts longer.

Thanks to the new economic conditions and needs, a greater number than in the past take longer to enter productive work, as the period of study is lengthened.

While in the Forties, only a third of school pupils in the USA entered universities, the figure is now over a half.

Students have begun to criticise the bureaucratic structures of the old-fashioned university and the goal of their education. The first important student mobilisation took place on the Berkeley campus in 1964. In that struggle the demand for free public discussion including on present political themes (Vietnam, Blacks, Colonial Revolution, etc..) within the till then sacred precincts of the universities. Gradually the present slogan of the students for the self-management of the university crystallised. The students consider that the university belongs to them. The struggle for the self-management of the "peoples parks" of the Berkdey university is significant of this.

The students wanted the park to become a centre for their activities into a "free territory" where they could organise their daily life according to their own ideals. This attempt forms part of the more general phenomenon in the US which might be called "utopian" -- attempting to build islands of free, community life in the midst of US society rejected by the youth.

The fight for the self-management of the Peoples Park mobilised thousands of students (50,000 alone in the 30 May demonstration). One student was killed, over 30 wounded, 800 arrested before it ended -- at least temporarily -- by the abandonment of their objective before the unprecedented oppression.

But the struggle in fact soon spread to the majority of the campuses in the US and among high school students. During the past six months there have been some 2,000 "serious incidents" in this sector. This agitation is fostered by a multitude of militant groups and some 1,000 underground papers. The most important student organisation is the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) with about 70,000 militants. A Maoist group has just split off belonging to PL (Progressive Labor) which wants to follow more systematic work in the factories (for workers power movement on the Italian model).

The black question continues to worsen, without any solution being in sight.

In the past period, a whole series of negro leaders have been eclipsed by others who are more militant. A tremendous "cultural revolution" is also transforming the negro mass.

The leadership of the black revolt is in fact composed of a mosaic of tendencies and elements in constant development. The black population, despite an important immigration

to the North, remains concentrated in the South, and is made up overwhelmingly of youth (the average age is 21 as against 29 for the white population.)

But in the North are concentrated the more advanced and militant cadres whose main aim is to raise the political and cultural level of the black masses around the slogan of self-management of the ghettos and institutions by the blacks (schools, police, etc..)

### COMMUNITY CONTROL OF GHETTOS

"Community control" -- self-management, that is, of the black communities, has become the main common demand of all black political tendencies.

"From the ghettos in the North to the Mississippi, the blacks are fighting to conquer power in their own communities and to wrest them from the official administration" writes NEWSWEEK (30 June 1969).

Through this struggle the blacks are becoming aware of being above all "black" and an expansion of a specifically "black" culture in studies, daily life, in the arts and in dress ... in the Afro-American mode. These demands have led to splits with White Liberals around the call for specifically "black" courses in the universities to enable the blacks to discover and enrich their past. Reparations are also demanded from the churches in compensation for slavery and centuries of racism that the blacks have suffered.

Propaganda for "egalitarianism" is also gaining ground in the black community as opposed to efforts to sponsor "negro capitalism".

\*\*\*\*\*

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (1935-1948) BY MICHEL PABLO ... 25 cents for 38 pages. a vital document for all those who wish to analyse the vital ten years covered here ... an introduction by Denis Francis outlining the history of the FI, 1948-1962, from A Mclean, FO Box 13, Balmain, NSW-2041.

\*\*\*\*\*

11.

Finally, it seems that all this increased cultural fermentation is leading towards the formation of a mass black revolutionary party which will have to develop a more articulated programme and a more appropriate tactic to advance the real liberation of the blacks in a land dominated by whites and which cannot be fundamentally altered by the blacks alone.

The blacks and the white students at the present time form the real revolutionary vanguard which has already become aware of the whole of the problem to be solved.

As for the renewed revolutionary situation developing in Latin America, main bastion of the economic power of the US, a number of articles will be found elsewhere in this magazine.

Sufficient to emphasise that the end of the Vietnam War will also mean the end of a certain form of domination over Latin America, and that the Latin American Revolution for liberation from US imperialism has already begun. The struggle is sure to be long and hard, going through many stages.

But the struggle has begun and the fighters are being steeled and it is that which will count in the final analysis.

Michel PABLO.

\*\*\*\*\*  
(Translated from SOUS LE DRAPEAU DU SOCIALISME, 49)

## THE NATIONALISATIONS IN PERU ...

The military junta which overthrew the Belaunde regime in October 1968 expropriated the International Petroleum Co (IPC) holdings in Peru. IPC is a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey.

Despite US reprisals which included refusal of economic and military aid, the Junta maintained the expropriation and carried out other "anti-imperialist" measures as part of the "national revolution" they claim to have commenced (diplomatic and trade links with the USSR, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Czechoslovakia; proclamation of the agrarian reform, affecting land of the oligarchy, big foreign properties (mainly American) -- an agrarian reform that Havana has spoken of as the "most radical" ever carried out in a Latin American country (outside of course Cuba itself).

All these measures have undoubtedly created a new situation in Peru, and have had their repercussions on the revolutionary left.

Given the contradictory bonapartist character of the regime, which combines economic and social policies which are in themselves progressive, with repression of the authentic revolutionary forces of the country, and which still avoids basing itself on the democratic mobilisation and organisation of these forces (workers, peasants, students), the Left including the revolutionary Left has been from the beginning strongly divided on the attitude to be taken towards the military government of General Velasco.

The left has oscillated between contempt and open hostility for the regime. Its positions have changed with each new development.

The Cubans' attitude is significant. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, passing through

Lima stated that he considered "the Peruvian action on petrol could in theory be the beginning of a genuine revolution", contaminating, he added, the whole of Latin America.

Since then the Cubans, and all the CPs of Latin America, have given practically unconditional support to the military government (and not simply to its progressive and anti-imperialist measures as such.)

Certain small groups of the Revolutionary Left on the other hand in Peru and Latin America remain fundamentally hostile to the military government which they accuse of being not only repressive, but an instrument of certain sectors of the Peruvian oligarchy and their foreign allies (certain banking circles, for example)

Our Peruvian comrades have have from the start taken a more nuanced stand, giving critical support to anti-imperialist and progressive measures of the military regime, while advancing a full programme of action needed to develop a "national" and "anti-imperialist" revolution fully, i.e. through a socialist revolution.

This together with the firm position they took during the Czech crisis brought them into ideological conflict with the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) leadership, and resulted in them forming the Revolutionary Socialist League (LSR). The LSR defends self-management and has received a very favourable response among the rank-and-file of the CP, MIR, the revolutionary clergy and the soldiers and NCO's

who are now examining the different revolutionary positions.

The situation in Peru remains critical. The "left" current in the regime (to which Velasco belongs) remains in the minority in the government. Foreign and local reactionary forces are plotting continually. The majority of the government remain strictly authoritarian -- granting reforms but under strict control. They refuse to organise a mass base of support.

The revolutionary left in all its tendencies must now try to regroup if not in a united front, then in a revolutionary council, to draw up a correct tactic in relation to the military regime.

## GREECE

### THE CRISIS IN THE LEFT

The Greek Communist Party is at present divided into at least three tendencies: a pro-Soviet one, based in Moscow; a "Rumanian" one and an "Italian" tendency, based on the Party inside Greece. These tendencies are more concerned with the internal struggle for the control of the CFG and EDA than with the struggle against the dictatorship. They do little to prepare for revolutionary warfare. The Centre Party in likewise divided into several tendencies -- the most interesting one is that grouped around Andreas Papandreou, and organised in the PAK resistance organisation. The PAK has adopted a series of advanced slogans, previous advanced by the revolutionary paper ANTISTASSI (Resistance): a government based on the Resistance (and not the old Parties); a Constituent Assembly; self-management of the Communes and the economy; a Popular Militia alongside the old Army; invalidating all agreements of the Dictatorship with foreign concerns... this programme is far in advance of all the programmes of the different CP groupings. This Papandreou current could result in the formation of a workers party with a mass base. It would replace the personalised parties outside the ossified CP, which have dominated Greek politics previously.

The independent revolutionary socialist resistance in Greece organised around ANTISTASSI continues to make progress, and have influence outside its numbers.

Meanwhile, the Americans are preparing alternatives in the wings to the dictatorship which is becoming increasingly isolated from all sectors of the Greek people. But essentially, the military-industrial power in the US support the colonels and are even forcing the traditional right to threaten armed struggle. Meanwhile the army is considerably demoralised by the series of purges that have taken place and by the estrangement of the traditional right from the regime.

(summarised from SOUS LE DRAPEAU  
DU SOCIALISME, 49)



FRANCE  
ON THE ELECTIONS AND THE  
ATTITUDE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
MARXIST ALLIANCE  
\*\*\*\*\*

[ As many readers will be aware, Alain Krivine stood in the recent French presidential elections as the candidate of the Ligue Communiste, formed out of the FCI ( Frank group linked with "United Secretariat") and the JCR ( Revolutionary Communist Youth) when the two latter were banned after the May Revolt in 1968. The first brief article analyses the situation after the elections ; the second defines the revolutionary-marxist attitude to Krivine's candidature... editor, INTERNATIONAL. ]

\*\*\*\*\*

Although the May 1968 revolt was the profound cause of the fall of de Gaulle, the French big bourgeoisie was able quite easily to transfer power to Pompidou.

The retreat of the working class since May 1968 can be measured by the fact that the second round of voting saw two bourgeois candidates contesting. Foher -- president of the Senate, one of the most conservative institutions, Christian Democrat, a good "European", well admired in Bonn, Rome and Washington, and Pompidou, Rothschild's man and big capital's, seeking to widen the appeal of the regime to wider bourgeois layers.

The presidential election showed once more the inability of the workers' parties to offer a real perspective of change. The Social Democrats suffered electoral disaster -- its supporters went over either to Duclos, as the only left candidate able to get through to the second ballot, and even more to Foher who also seemed more likely to beat Pompidou, given the elector-list illusions of socialist voters. The SFIO thus fell from 18% to 5% of votes -- almost to the level of the FSU (United Socialist Party). Not to say that the SFIO is finished -- it has a real base in local government and to a certain extent in the unions through the FO and even the CFDT. It can also manoeuvre...

The FCF (Communist Party) did not keep all its voters, but remained in their eyes as the major force of resistance to the bourgeoisie, and so picked up votes at the end of the campaign.

The FSU and its candidate Rocard spoke mainly about "self-management", but seemed to forget that socialism implies taking power -- he did not mention the question of power throughout his campaign. As for Krivine, he spoke of the Revolution and of class violence needed to win power, but without linking that with concrete immediate struggles. He constantly gave the impression that the precise present situation did not concern him.. The lack of a transitional programme was very marked.

The electoral victory has left French capitalism with all its unsolved problems.

To solve these problems, they must call on the masses to make sacrifices (see the situation following devaluation of the franc.) Despite the truce on strikes called

by the CGT during the elections, some still took place. They were all spontaneous and no time limits were placed on the strikes. They were also aimed at the hierarchy, calling for equal wage increases. These strikes were a warning sign to the union leaderships, who will probably begin a strike campaign against any efforts to limit wage demands or pass the burden of economic readaptation onto the bourgeoisie.

Secondly, the union leaders fear the "leftist" danger. They cannot afford to appear too much of a brake on the workers, when the workers are showing a certain combativity.

The revolutionaries must now seek to develop their links with the workers around an action programme, which takes up the profound need to question capitalist structures.

\*\*\*\*\*

THE CAMPAIGN OF ALAIN KRIVINE

The Revolutionary Marxist Alliance unhesitatingly decided to support the candidature of Alain Krivine for the Presidency. For revolutionaries, there was no alternative in the present situation. Jaques Duclos (CP candidate) campaigned for a left union (ie. an alliance of the working class with the 'liberal' wing of the bourgeoisie glossing over all class positions). Michel Rocard, the FSU candidate, although advancing some interesting propositions on self-management, also included the technocratic and neo-reformist illusions of this party, despite the support it gave to the May Revolt. It is not worth talking about the two socialist candidates, Mendes-France and Defferre.

We supported the campaign of Krivine because he was .. 'the only candidate who spoke for a socialist revolution' ( extract from a leaflet distributed by the Revolutionary Marxist Alliance).

Krivine obtained 236,263 votes or 1.06% ... coming last, even after a joke candidate.

Krivine said that that was about what he expected to get. But that was said to prevent disillusion.

In fact, in areas where the Ligue Communiste (French section of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International) has some base, its vote remained on the national average. Where a trotskyst candidate had stood in previous elections, Krivine did not obtain more than before. And that after the great May-June 1968 revolt, where critical workers could see themselves the role of the CP, SFIO, etc.

Krivine was unable to rally the voters of "May", and especially the

workers influenced by May, because he represented -- as he himself acknowledged -- only a fraction of the May movement, and was in fact, the candidate of a single organisation -- the Ligue Communiste. The choice of candidate was imposed by this organisation on others of the May movement -- the other tendencies were faced with a fait accompli. (It was possible and desirable to assemble a revolutionary council to decide on a candidate). The campaign that followed was conducted very narrowly -- the opinion of other tendencies not sought or ignored, and their pledges of support even not mentioned. The militants of LUTTE OUVRIERE for example covered Paris with thousands of posters supporting Krivine, but were hardly associated with the campaign.

In his radio and TV appearances Krivine did little to rally the workers who up till then had voted for the FCF and who had had their eyes opened in May-June 1966. His speeches were full of up-in-the-sky abstractions concentrating on :

- 1) denouncing electoralism and parliamentarianism.
- 2) denouncing the policy of left union
- 3) need for a world revolutionary strategy
- 4) opportunist and unrealistic implications of the policy of peaceful coexistence
- 5) need for revolutionary violence imposed by the bourgeoisie itself
- 6) need to destroy the capitalist state apparatus.

All these themes were treated : they define the headings of a correct policy. But they were developed without being linked with the daily preoccupations of the workers.

Certain concrete points were mentioned but incidentally without any real link with the big political problems which made them accessible to the workers. It was all done in the style of a "red professor".

Another important reason for the semi-failure of Krivine's campaign was that the Ligue Communiste has not grasped one of the most important lessons of the May revolt. In May the vanguard workers not only rejected capitalism, but also all forms of authoritarianism (which does not mean to accept the theories of spontaneity.) They rejected authoritarianism whether it emanated

INTERNATIONAL is authorised and printed by A. McLean, PO Box 13, Balmain, NSW-2041 for the Australian Section of the Fourth International, and reproduces articles from SOUS LE DRAPEAU DU SOCIALISME, organ of the revolutionary marxist tendency of the Fourth International, by G. Marquis 10 cite Lesnier, Clamart-9%, FRANCE

from big or small groups...

If Krivine had put his main emphasis on the self-determination of the workers in his campaign he could have appeared as candidate of the whole of the revolutionary movement. In fact, revolutionary unity cannot be identified with the 'hegemony of one political group over the others. The Ligue Communiste has the naive hope of doing this through the strength of its apparatus. "(extract from leaflet of the Revolutionary Marxist Alliance).

It was as a machine that the Ligue Communiste comported itself during the elections. That also appeared in the ideological lines advanced. His TV speech, after speaking correctly of a network of representative committees, ended : "... a series of clashes on a number of questions could arise between the workers State and the vanguard party in Power and the mass of the workers." The words underlined reveal a concept that can be defined as socialism equally nationalisation of the means of production and exchange, plus a vanguard party in power. The experience in the USSR leads us to oppose this concept. Socialism for us is self-management workers bodies coordinated, and the party is to aid this coordination, not replacing the workers.

Krivine failed to gather the full range of May votes, because of his abstractions in place of a concrete transitional programme, his "partisan" group preoccupations and, lastly, his authoritarian concepts.

R. MERLIN, Paris.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS APPROACHES :  
THE ROLE OF THE TRADITIONAL PARTIES AND UNIONS  
\*\*\*\*\*

Italy over the past ten years has experienced a continual economic boom, industrialising rapidly, considerably raising exports, and consolidating its position in the Common Market and in the world arena.

But in the past period, Italy has experienced severe social struggles. Neocapitalist society's very progress has brought new layers into struggle, who demand not only an improvement in their living standards, but also their type of life, and self-determination in their working lives. New needs have been aroused by the progress and creation of new social relations.

There has also been the influence of international events, and the radicalisation of the students and youth as a whole.

THE MEZZOGIORNO

The country can be divided into roughly two halves : the industrialised north and the under-developed south (mezzogiorno) which has acted as a source of cheap labour. But the south now has become a centre of explosive discontent.

The recent events in the town of Battipaglia in the south, where the threatened closure of a factory led to a genuine revolt show the role of the south in the evolution of the country. The most conscious elements of the bourgeoisie are now investing massively in the south, as is the State with the aim of developing an industrial complex around Naples. The industrialisation of the South has already seriously commenced. But much time will be needed to raise the average income of the people of the South (which is now at only \$350 pa.) and to halt the migration from the South (some 2 million have migrated from the South in the past ten years).

In the big factories in the North, of Fiat Firelli, and Olivetti, the workers had substantial wage rises, thanks to the rapid growth in productivity. But they have now begun to understand the secrets of surplus value obtained through intensification of labour. IN SOME FACTORIES

THEY HAVE ESTABLISHED CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN RHYTHM OF WORK. In Olivetti, for example, in the factory producing ordinarators, the workers with the aid of cooperative technicians, have reduced by 55% the level of production fixed by the management of the plant. The latter has not been able to react.

Such forms of "workers power" are occurring a little everywhere, as well as the idea of self-management from struggles launched by the workers themselves and not exclusively from the union and party apparatuses.

Multitude of workers power groups, linking workers and students have surged up throughout Italy, especially around Fisa, Milan, Venice and Rome which have given concrete form to their action by forming rank-and-file democratically elected committees in the factories, the committees

work under the control of the general assembly of workers, and deciding on a programme of demands and methods of struggle to achieve them. Significant of the maturity of these committees is the fact that they do not frontally confront unions or parties but demand that methods of struggle be fixed in common,

And, in contrast with France, the Italian CP and CGIL often cede to this demand.

"Maoist" ideology as interpreted in Italy, and ignorant of what has really occurred in China, is often anarcho-communist, "spontaneous". It is still dominant in student milieux and in the Italian "worker power" movement. The content of this current counts more than its passing ideological form.

The other important factor in the situation is the Italian CF (PCI) which has become greatly independent of Moscow and is evolving into a centrist formation with a special type of social-democratic right-wing, flirting with the idea of taking part in a centre-left government and a left wing aspiring to a frankly "workers" government in alliance with the Revolutionary Left outside the PCI.

If an alliance of the workers power groups overcoming their localist and workerite illusions, and the CPI and trade union Left, overcoming the continued ideological weaknesses (but above all their organisational ones) could be established around a precise transitional programme, Italy could even this autumn enter a revolutionary situation which would be still more explosive and promising than that in France in May 1966.

This autumn, 5 million Italian workers will demand improvement of collective wage agreements in a very tense social and political climate.

There has been an unprecedented wave of strikes over the past period.

Illustrating the depth of the crisis, the governmental parties -- the Christian Democrats and the Socialists

are divided into several tendencies leaving the country practically without government.

What will happen in Italy this autumn (ie. Australian spring)?

Strong tendencies in both the Christian Democrats and the Socialists are calling for a left-centre coalition with some form of participation by the PCI, to thus calm the masses and demoralise them if the PCI accepts this collaboration.

But another fraction of the bourgeoisie is already thinking in terms of a coup d'etat that the reactionary circles in the army in connivance with the CIA, NATO and the Pentagon (including the Greek colonels who are so admired by their Italian colleagues.

Such a coup d'etat has been actively prepared for some time.

It would be criminal for any sector of the Left to minimise this danger.

Time is short now in Italy. The revolutionary tendencies in the workers power movement and in the left of the PCI and unions must become aware of the urgency of the situation and act quickly to tap the immense possibilities.

\*\*\*\*\*  
 THE REVOLUTION IN  
 SOUTHERN AFRICA... by  
 Denis Freney... a vital introduction  
 to this revolution.. printed offset  
 and selling for only 20 cents...  
 available from A. MCLEAN,  
 PO BOX 13, BALMAIN-NSW-2041.

\*\*\*\*\*  
 SUBSCRIBE TO INTERNATIONAL..  
 ONLY A DOLLAR A YEAR.

\*\*\*\*\*

## THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY AND THE AUSTRALIAN LEFT...

(The following letter could not be published in the last issue of INTERNATIONAL due to shortage of space. Our apologies to the author for the delay... editor, INTERNATIONAL).

\*\*\*\*\*

Few socialists will dispute much of what Denis Freney says in the March issue of INTERNATIONAL, but he seems rather inconsistent when he criticises Eric Aarons for rejecting attempts to explain Soviet blunders in terms of "the desire of the bureaucratic caste to defend its privileges and powers."

The desires of any caste are of only marginal political significance unless it can win enough mass support, or at least acquiescence, to give effect to its desires. Mere fulminations against the real or supposed wickedness of Soviet bureaucrats, and heated speculations about whether they are motivated by personal ambition or honest belief that their policy is in the best interests of socialism, are therefore a waste of time and energy at best; it is necessary to understand how and why they are bale to preserve their privileges and power.

Comrade Freney himself goes on to stress, very correctly, the importance of understanding "the dual nature of the Soviet bureaucracy", but apparently fails to realise that it is precisely such subjective attitudes as Eric Aarons criticises that obscure this dual nature, and lead to forms of anti-Soviet propaganda that are, objectively, more anti-socialist than anti-bureaucratic.

Visiting some of the socialist countries during the period immediately preceding and immediately following the intervention in Czechoslovakia, I found that the bureaucracies rely much less on force, terror and suppression than most capitalist governments (even the intervention in Czechoslovakia is infinitely more humane and liberal than US interventions in Asia and Latin America.)

There are two main reasons for their success in holding power:

(1) They have given most of the people much higher living, cultural and educational standards, more social security and freedom from the inhuman stresses of competitive economy, and even, except in the case of Czechoslovakia, more political liberty, than any of their non-socialist predecessors. The average citizen of these countries is understandably suspicious of anything he thinks might endanger these gains, for the sake of such abstractions as participatory democracy, freedom of expression and rights of dissenting minorities, which have never been a conspicuous part of the traditions of any of these nations, again with the exception of the Czechs.

(2) The peoples of Eastern Europe dread the openly expressed revanchism of influential groups in West Germany, openly backed by Yankee would-be "liberators" of the Soviet "satellites", and are prepared to make any sacrifices they consider necessary to safeguard themselves against imperialist intervention, even to the extent of collaboration with Soviet intervention.

"We are in favour of most of Dubcek's reforms", said an East German communist (not a professional bureaucrat) with whom I discussed the Czechoslovakian issue at considerable length, "and consider him, in most respects, a big improvement on Novotny; but we dare not let him tolerate opposition groups that might be used by American and West German agents as a focus for subversion, to drag Czechoslovakia back into the capitalist camp and weaken the socialist camp.

"When all the world is socialist, when there is no more danger of nuclear war, when we are no longer threatened by West German and American aggression, then we shall let everybody say whatever he likes; but, until then, we dare not tolerate divisions in our own ranks."

"Look around you! The people you see are the Prussians, who used to be the backbone of German militarism and reaction, and we've made them into the most peaceful people in Europe, all working together for the common good. We set out to change human nature, and we succeeded! Nothing and nobody is going to take that achievement away from us; we shall defend it at whatever cost."

It is idle to speculate how far the threat is real and how far it is exaggerated by the bureaucrats for their own ends; the fear itself is real, and one of the main props of the bureaucracy. We may try to persuade the people of Eastern Europe that bureaucracy is not the best way to preserve socialist Soviet propaganda, even indirectly, we shall be identifying fears of capitalist intervention, and so helping the bureaucrats rather than the democrats.

The fear of intervention inhibits Czechoslovakian resistance to the occupation. Most Czechoslovakian Communists prefer a degree of collaboration with the comparatively benevolent Warsaw Pact interventionists to forms of resistance that might attract "help" from people wanting to establish "freedom" after the pattern of Spain, Greece and US puppet regimes in Asia and Latin America.

East European socialists are naturally sceptical of the new-found enthusiasm of people like LB Johnson, Harold Wilson and Otto Kiesinger, for democratic socialism in Eastern Europe, but nowhere else.

In fact, the capitalist powers feared Dubcek much more than they ever feared Stalin, Khrushchev, Kossygin or Breznev, because he threatened to develop in practice a form of socialism that could inspire the peoples of the bourgeois democracies, as Soviet Communism never could. The hypocritical "hands off Czechoslovakia" campaign, launched months before there was any overt threat of Soviet intervention, was designed, not so much to convince anyone that the leaders of world reaction had suddenly been converted to democratic socialism, as to bring Dubcek under suspicion of being a tool or dupe of western imperialism. The fact that the Soviet bureaucrats were naive enough to fall for it, does not excuse our being naive enough to help continue the provocation.

The only good result of the intervention in Czechoslovakia is that it has cured the CFA and many other Communist Parties of the delusion that their main task is to build socialism in the USSR. It would indeed be merely "swapping one set of blinkers for another" if it led to other important sectors of the Left in the bourgeois democracies imagining that their main task is to build democratic socialism in Czechoslovakia. The CFA's late policy of uncritical support for the Soviets at least had the merit of bringing it into conflict with the Australian Establishment, equally uncritical support for every kind of opposition to Soviet bureaucracy would make us a mere appendage of the imperialist propaganda machine, aimed at exploiting the conflict between democratic and bureaucratic socialism to destroy both.

The principal tasks of the Australian Left lie neither in the USSR nor in Czechoslovakia, but right here in Australia; and on our success in tackling these tasks will depend, in the long run, our ability to help democratic socialists in Czechoslovakia or elsewhere.

ARTHUR W RUDKIN, SYDNEY.

(Denis Freney is writing a reply to the above letter for the next INTERNATIONAL.)

## LEFT, RIGHT AND CENTRE

### IMPORTANT UNION CONFRONTATION

Signs of growing radicalisation among union militants continue. After the struggle at Cockatoo Dock last month, the union bureaucracies suffered a new setback when over 2,000 job delegates, shop stewards and others rejected a NSW Labour Council resolution on the National Wage Case by an overwhelming margin. John Ducker, rightwinger secretary of the LC, moved the resolution and Tommy Wright, stalinist oldtimer seconded it. All speakers from the floor opposed the resolution, calling for a 24 hour general strike in Sydney area. Over half those who spoke from the floor were, we understand, rank-and-file CF members. This gives the lie to those who believe that the pro-Russian CP union officials are the "Left" in the CFA. The main spearhead of the attack came from Aarons supporters -- Clancy and Wright and Co. were backing Ducker...

### REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST INTERNATIONAL TENDENCY MEETS AS THIS ISSUE OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHED

As this issue is going to press, we have news that our international tendency is meeting in Europe. This follows the disruption of the first meeting some months ago by the French police and some comrades being arrested. A representative of the Australian Section of the Fourth International will be present. Full reports in next issue.

### REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST ALLIANCE DISCUSSES EDUCATION PROGRAMME DRAFT

The Revolutionary Socialist Alliance is now discussing the draft educational change programme in its ranks. Considerable interest has been aroused among students and teachers. Any reader interested in receiving a copy should send 10 cents to A. McLean, PO Box 13, Balmain, NSW -2041. The RSA can be contacted directly at addresses on the back of INTERNATIONAL.

### FABLO VISITS MIDDLE EAST -- ADDRESSES ARAB GUERRILLAS

Michel Pablo has just returned from an extended visit to the Middle East during which he visited the Arab Palestinian guerrillas led by the FPDFL (Popular Democratic Liberation Front of Palestine) which has adopted revolutionary socialist positions. Fablo lived with the guerrillas and took part in an educational school for cadres. He has written an intensely interested report which INTERNATIONAL publications will produce shortly, 10 cents from A. McLean.

RSSA IN BRISBANE PLANS NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The Revolutionary Socialist Students Alliance in Brisbane University is calling a week-long conference to be held from 15 to 22 December 1969. It will be held on the University of Queensland campus. The general title is THE AUSTRALIAN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE -- FROM ALIENATION AND POWERLESSNESS TO WORKERS CONTROL. The Conference is also being sponsored by the SHAC (Socialist Humanist Action Centre) which has HQ on the top floor of the CPA building in Brisbane. Speakers at the Conference will include Phillip Richardson, Denis Freney, Hall Greenland, Albert Langer, Brian Laver, Bob Gollan, Allan Roberts ... ALL INFORMATION FROM THE RED&BLACK BOOKSHOP, Elizabeth Arcade, Elizabeth St., Brisbane.

FRENCH HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT LEADER WRITES ON THE SELF-MANAGEMENT OF LYCEES IN FRANCE IN MAY REVOLUTION 1968.

Nicholas Baby, 18 year old leader of the French high school students action committees (CALs) has written a brief article describing experience of self-management of French Lycees (high schools) during the French May Revolution 1968. A truly remarkable document .. only 5 cents plus 5 cents for postage from INTERNATIONAL -- an INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATION.

BY WAY OF APOLOGY

This issue of INTERNATIONAL once more appears late. We can only plead overloading on comrades concerned in its production.. the attack on Denis Freney in the press absorbed much time in reply. The Elections followed closely on and absorbed much time. We hope however to compensate for the delay by an exhaustive publishing programme in coming months -- two new booklets, besides current issue of INTERNATIONAL are almost ready for production and distribution (ie. Nicholas Baby on self-management in French high schools and Pablo on Palestinian Revolution).

NEXT ISSUE OF INTERNATIONAL

The next issue of International will be published at the end of November and will concentrate on analysis of post-election situation and as well will contain some detailed analysis of the draft CPA programme to be considered for the CPA National Congress in June 1970.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

ALL SUBS. TO :  
A. McLean,  
FO Box 13,  
Balmain .. NSW-2041,  
(please make cheques, etc.  
payable to A. McLean.)

Please send me the following publications.

NAME :

ADDRESS:

postcode:

- A YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO INTERNATIONAL a revolutionary socialist magazine published once every two months... \$ 1 for 6 issues.....
- REVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA by Denis Freney... a offset printed booklet covering the progress of the Revolution in this vital area.. 20 cents.
- THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (1938-1946) by Michel Pablo.. covers the vital war years and post-war that have not been analysed by revolutionary marxists in an easily accessible form. An introduction briefly covers the period 1948-1968 in the history of F. I. and particularly in Australia. 36 pages for 25 cents
- THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN AND OTHER ESSAYS by Michel Pablo.. besides the title essay others on crisis in Catholic Church, analysis of Freud, dialectics in Plato -- only 25 cents.
- SELF-MANAGEMENT IN FRENCH HIGH SCHOOLS IN MAY-JUNE REVOLUTION.. by Nicholas Baby .. Baby, 18 year-old leader of French CALs (high school student action committees) tells how students self-managed a Lycee in Paris in May revolution in 1968.. 5 cents(+5c. post)
- THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION by Michel Pablo.. the author reports on a recent visit to the Middle East his visit to the Arab guerrillas and his analysis of the FPDLP, a major revolutionary socialist guerrilla movement.. a vital document.. 10 cents.(out in Nov.)

TOTAL CARRIED OVER PAGE :

all the above ( YEAR'S SUB. TO INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, FIRST TEN YEARS OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, LIBERATION OF WOMEN SELF-MANAGEMENT IN FRENCH HIGH SCHOOLS, THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION...) FOR ONLY \$ 1.70 .....

REVOLUTION BETRAYED by Leon Trotsky ... the classic revolutionary marxist analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy... new edition ... \$ 2.95.

MARXISM AND MILITARY AFFAIRS by Leon Trotsky .. previously unpublished writings of Trotsky written by the creator of the Red Army. . but also some intensely interesting exposition of dialectics ... a valuable part of your library.. \$2.

TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME by Leon Trotsky -- 35 cents only a few left ...

I ENCLOSE A DONATION of .....

I THEREFORE ENCLOSE A TOTAL SUM OF .....

\*\*\*\*\*  
ALL INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS ARE AVAILABLE FROM LIBERATION BOOKSHOP, 368 FITZWATER ROAD, HARBORD-2096 .. telephone: 937338. Open 4 to 6.30pm weekdays, all day Saturday. Wide range of posters , books, incense etc. .  
\*\*\*\*\*

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS : AN APPEAL :

WE HOPE IN 1970 TO PUT INTERNATIONAL ON A FIRMER BASIS, INCLUDING POSSIBLE PRINTING OF THE MAGAZINE, EXPANSION OF ALL SECTORS OF ITS COVERAGE... BUT WE DEPEND ON OUR SUPPORTERS AND READERS. PLEASE RENEW YOUR SUB. FOR THIS YEAR AND INCLUDE A GENEROUS DONATION.

HELP US DEVELOP INTERNATIONAL INTO A PRINTED MAGAZINE WITH A WIDER AUDIENCE ... GIVE AND GIVE GENEROUSLY...

\*\*\*\*\*

JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST ALLIANCE :

The RSA exists to unite all revolutionary socialists in a common formation to allow discussion and joint action. Contact the RSA at the following addresses : Denis Freney, LIBERATION, 368 Pittwater Rd, Harbord... tele: 937338(Sydney RSA) Brisbane RSA, Red- &- Black Bookshop, Elizabeth Arcade, Elizabeth St, Brisbane. Rev. Socs., 120 Greville St., Frahan, Melbourne, Vic. // RSA, PO Box 31, Tighes Hill, Newcastle, NSW //write to LIBERATION for contacts in other cities...  
\*\*\*\*\*