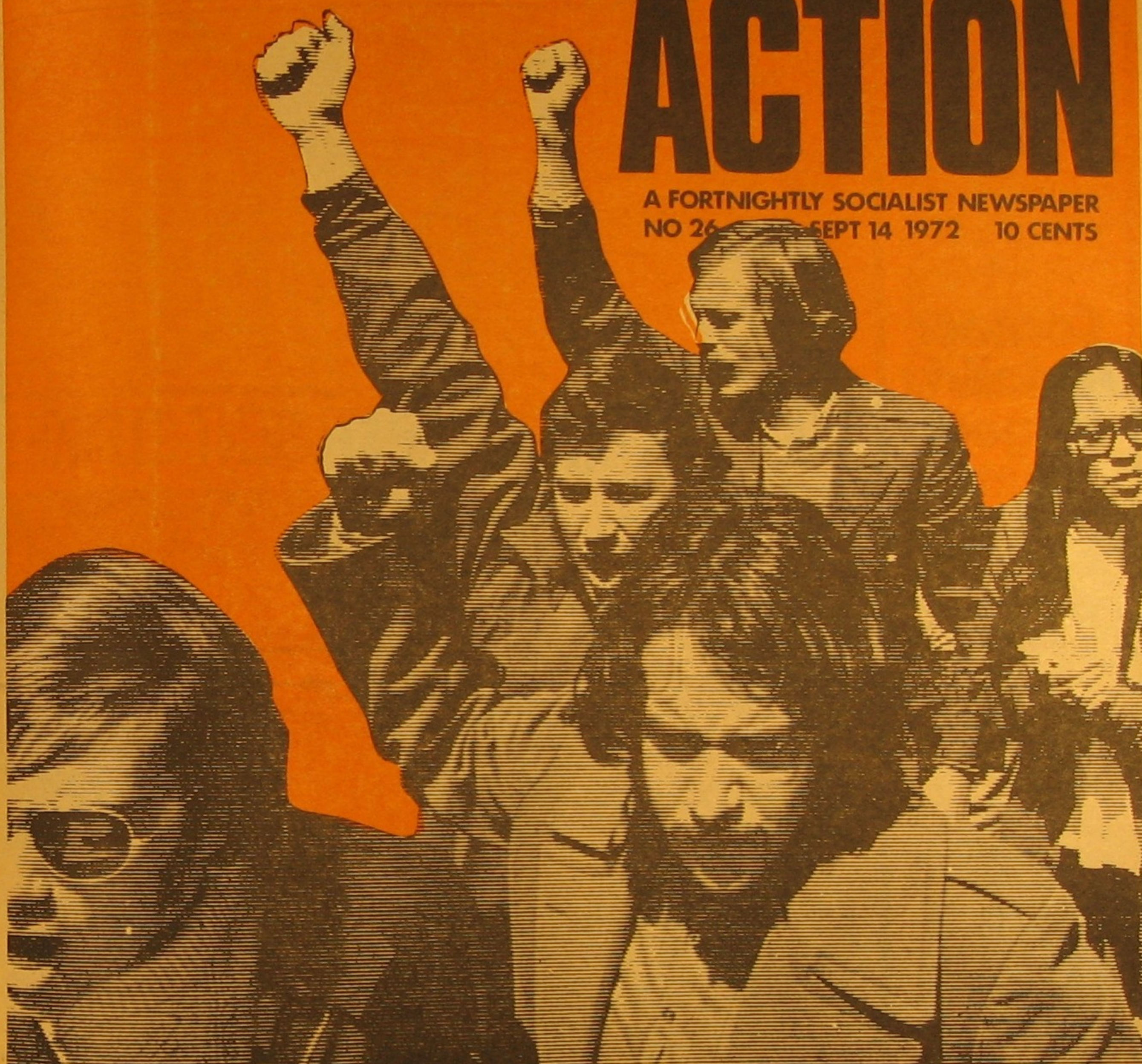


DIRECT ACTION

A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER
NO 26 SEPT 14 1972 10 CENTS



YOUTH IN REVOLT

THE MAIN PERSPECTIVES DOCUMENT FROM THE
SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE 1972 CONFERENCE
ALSO: SEPT 20 SECONDARY STUDENT STRIKE
MUNICH AND PALESTINE: AUS CONFERENCE

DIRECT ACTION

No. 26, September 14, 1972.

Editor: Jim Percy
Editorial Board: Nita Keig, Steve Painter, Jim Percy, John Percy, Sal Salby, Allen Westwood.

All correspondence to:
139 St John's Rd, Glebe, 2037.
Ph. (02)606672.

Registered for transmission by post as a periodical - Category B.
Published by Jim Percy, 139 St John's Rd., Glebe, 2037.
Responsibility for election comment taken by the above.
Printed by Messenger Print, 912 Anzac Pde., Maroubra Junction.

Contact socialists in your area

NATIONAL OFFICE:

SYDNEY, PO Box 160
Glebe 2037.

SWL, PO Box 151
Glebe 2037.

SYDNEY:

S.W.L., S.Y.A., 139 St. John's Rd. Glebe, 2037 Ph. 606672.

MELBOURNE:

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

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

ADELAIDE:

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

BRISBANE:

S.W.L., S.Y.A., 107 Duke St., Kangaroo Point, 4169.

CANBERRA:

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

HOBART:

S.Y.A., P.O. Box 1255N G.P.O. Hobart, 7001 Ph. 252563 (Alban).

Subscribe to Direct Action NOW!

I enclose \$1 for 10 issues of D.A.

I donate \$... to the DA fund drive

Name.....

Address.....

Postcode.....

Clip and mail to Direct Action,
139 St John's Rd, Glebe, 2037

EDITORIAL

WHICH WAY FOR THE SOCIALIST LEFT?

The central question in the coming Federal election is the return of a Labor government. The Liberal and Country parties, the parties of the bosses, must be soundly defeated. The ALP - the historic creation of the workers of this country, formed to fight for their interests against the bosses - must be returned to power.

A reprieve for the McMahon government would be a demoralizing blow and will give an open go to the employers in their attempts to increase profits by holding back the living standards and limiting the democratic rights of the working people. It would mean certain continuation of the most reactionary policies in relation to all the issues which have stirred popular feeling and action in recent times - opposition to the Indo-China war, the demands of women for their rights, the struggle of Australian Blacks for their freedom, opposition to capitalist pollution and destruction of our environment, and the struggle of workers for better wages and conditions and the right to a job itself.

But the ALP leadership do as much as they can to ape the Liberals to show the "moderation" and "soundness" of their policies. In other words they merely seek to provide an alternative guidance for the system, not a real challenge to it in the interests

of the working people.

It is essential to fight within the ALP to replace this bureaucratic and conservative leadership and develop a socialist programme which meets the needs of the working class and its allies.

In this context the Socialist Left (SL) caucus in the Victorian ALP is a very progressive development. The SL has endorsed all the anticapitalist struggles of the day: it has identified with the struggles of labour, the fight against the Vietnam war, the high school revolt and the struggle of women for the right to abortion.

The Federal elections represent an opportunity for the SL to develop this process further. Used in the correct way, the elections give the SL the chance to reach fresh layers with its ideas and to draw new forces into the struggle to build a left-wing in the ALP. While supporting all Labor candidates irrespective of their politics, the SL should seek ways to put forward its programme for the ALP.

The Melbourne "Age" (7/9/72) recently reported a radio broadcast made by Bill Hartley, an SL leader on the ALP Federal Executive. The report quoted him as saying that the SL is "prepared unequivocally to put all our efforts behind the

Labor campaign to be conducted by Mr. Whitlam."

Certainly, the Liberals must be defeated and Labor returned to power irrespective of its leadership. But the struggle to develop a socialist programme must not be shelved. It is precisely at this time that a socialist alternative must be presented. However, the essence of the "Age" report was that the SL would not raise its differences with the ALP leadership during the elections. Furthermore Mr. Hartley is quoted as saying that the Federal Executive meeting "settled the outstanding differences between the Left and the rest of the party". Such a line would if carried out, amount to an abdication of the tasks which confront the SL and a retreat before the right wing leadership.

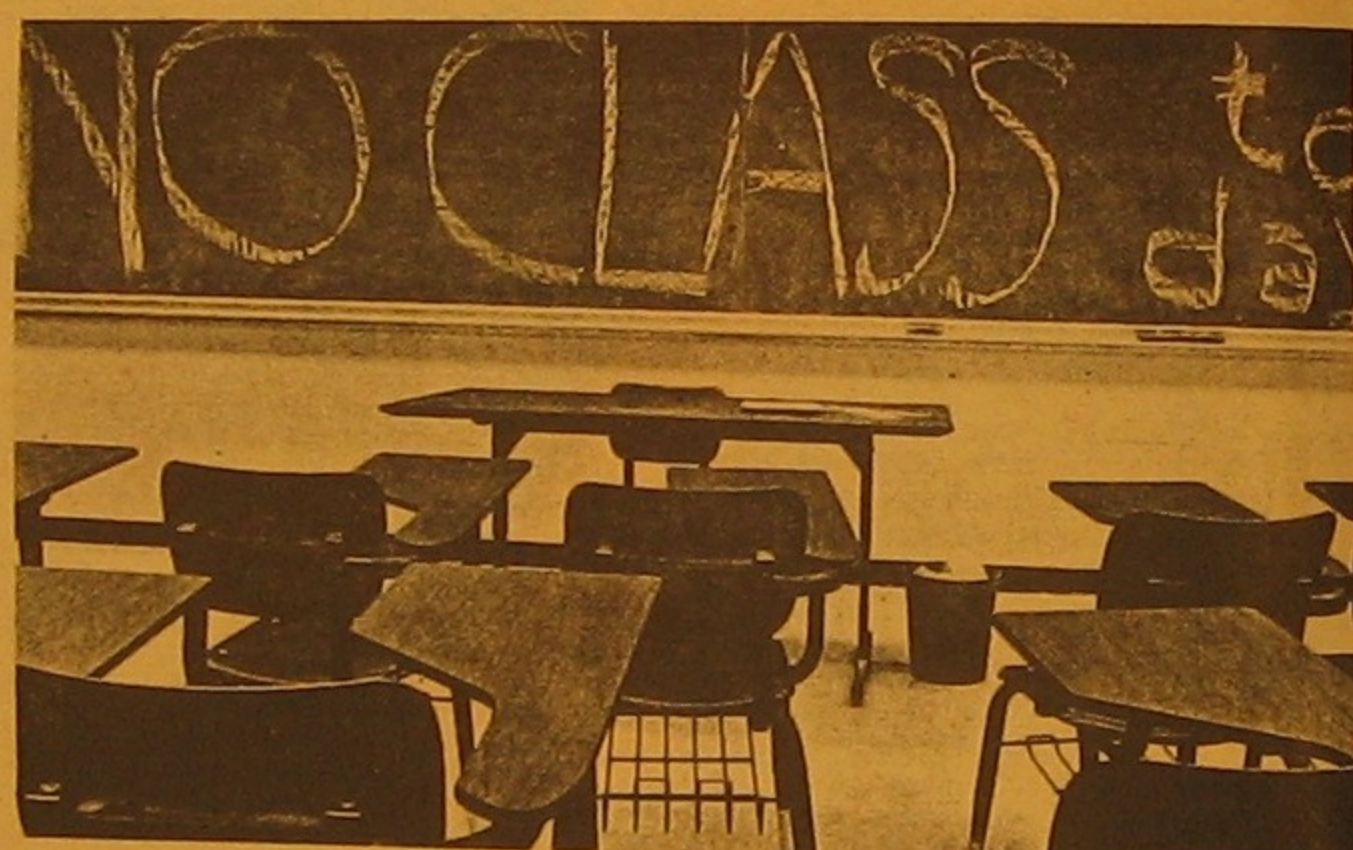
The SL must resist all attempts by the ALP leadership to have it put aside its differences until after the elections in the name of some spurious "unity". That is a sure road to the isolation and defeat of the SL. Instead the SL must campaign for the return of Labor to power and fight actively for a socialist programme. Only by reaching out to all those forces in motion in anti-capitalist struggle and drawing them behind the Labor party and the SL can the SL survive and advance the cause of socialism. This task cannot be postponed, but must be carried out precisely...now!

FULL SUPPORT TO THE STUDENT STRIKE!

With the nationally coordinated High School Strike for students' rights on September 20, the high school movement is taking a giant step forward. Although the youth radicalization has made itself felt in the high schools since 1965 when high school students began marching with the rest of their generation against the Vietnam war, struggles in the schools have so far been limited to individual schools or at best relatively brief city-wide campaigns. The strike on September 20 is the first attempt to generalize the struggle on a national scale around the demands for democratic rights for students. It thus represents a leap in consciousness on the part of students nationally with a realisation that only a united struggle aimed at society as a whole can hope for success.

The issues posed by the strike are clear. Students no longer wish to be treated as second class citizens with no rights to take part in the normal activities of society. They no longer can tolerate petty restriction on dress and hair length that emphasize their subservient status. They are questioning the priorities of society that starves education of funds and leads to an unequal system of learning, that emphasizes the competitive nature of "learning". Students want to change these things and as with many other sectors, assert their right to control them and thereby begin the process of gaining control of their own lives from the state.

The way the strike has been organized on such short notice and so late in the school year demonstrates the ability of radicals to absorb the lessons of other movements. The antiwar movement has shown the effectiveness of mounting nationwide single issue campaign organ-



Classroom abandoned in the U.S.A. during antiwar upsurge after the invasion of Cambodia, May 1970.

ized by non-exclusionary coalitions of all supporters of the demands. These lessons have been absorbed and applied to the high school strike for democratic rights.

In spite of the rapid-growing support for the campaign, the Communist Party of Australia has failed to give it due support and publicity. Their activists in the high school movement in Sydney spoke against the newly formed students' union taking up the issue. A report in Tribune suggested the campaign was 'ill timed' and high school publicity has centred round the formation of a union. But what must be understood is that at a certain

point no movement can continue unless it takes action - a structure without action is meaningless. It is a pity the CPA has virtually ignored the campaign. The success and size of the demonstration, the willingness of others on the left to build it will be short of what it could have been.

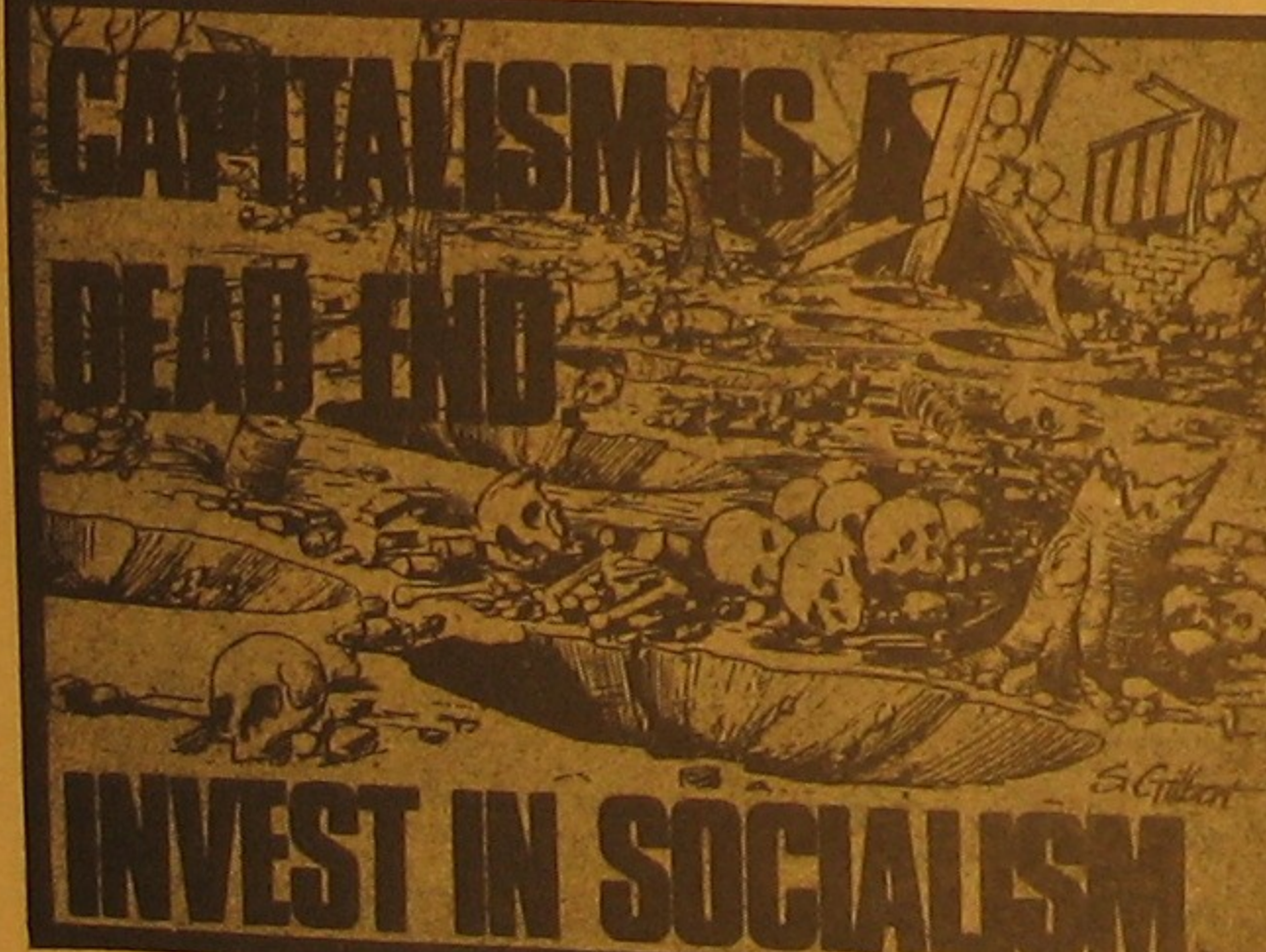
But the action will go ahead and lay the basis for an ongoing campaign. This is but the beginning of the struggle that will continue now on a higher level and be carried on by more experienced and determined activists. The struggle deserves and needs the support of all the left as it seeks to reach out to involve thousands of students.

FUND DRIVE

After six weeks of the Direct Action fund drive we have received \$671. Our target is \$2000 by November 29. Thus we are somewhat behind schedule at this stage.

The \$2000 is to finance our new offices and help put Direct Action on a sound financial basis. We thank all those who have so far contributed. Please don't stop. Keep sending the donations in - now! Recently, Direct Action has failed to meet its fortnightly schedule. The basic reason for this has been money. With your support we can overcome this problem. See clip-off at left.

| | Received | Should be |
|-----------|----------|-----------|
| Melbourne | \$319 | \$251 |
| Sydney | \$303 | \$309 |
| Adelaide | \$35 | \$94 |
| Hobart | — | \$17 |
| Canberra | — | \$24 |
| Brisbane | — | \$53 |
| Other | \$14 | — |
| | \$671 | \$750 |



MUNICH AND PALESTINE

STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE

The killing of seventeen people in Munich during the Olympic Games has created an international sensation. The condemnation of the Palestinian guerrillas which followed the shooting has been almost universal. This latest action of the Black September organisation raised several issues of crucial importance to revolutionary Marxists.

As socialists, of course, we consider it both the right and the duty of every oppressed people to fight for their liberation. The choice of means to achieve self-determination is completely up to the oppressed people themselves. However, we will be falling in our duty if we neglected to provide our own fraternal criticisms to the Palestinian revolution as a whole and remained silent on this occasion.

Marxism has a consistent tradition and a crystal clear position on the question of terrorism. The kidnapping and killing of individual citizens of any country can clearly be classified as such. We are unequivocally opposed to the policy of individual terrorism. Our condemnation is not based upon moralistic or pacifist considerations and has nothing in common with the hypocritical outcries of liberals and 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.

At this stage the impact of the actions of the Black September organisation is quite plain. Clearly the main beneficiaries from their actions have been the Israeli government and the Zionist forces. The Zionist propaganda machine has scored one of its major victories. The tide of world public opinion which was swinging in the Palestinians' direction has now ebbed. International opinion has reverted back to its pro-Zionist stance. Never before, was the way so clearly opened for the Zionist state to launch a massive attack on the Palestinian people and perhaps some of the Arab states. In fact newspaper editorials throughout the world have urged the Israeli government to undertake precisely this course.

The hypocrisy of the leading lights of the bourgeoisie has reached new heights after Munich. President Nixon was "appalled at the terrorists' action". Meanwhile he kept the bombs raining over Vietnam. The Sydney Morning Herald editorial moralised about the use of terrorism as a deliberate instrument of policy. Not wishing to single out Arab guerrillas the "Herald" added the IRA for good measure. The learned gentlemen who write the "Herald's" editorials apparently balked at extending further their generalisations to include the use of anti-personnel weapons in Indochina. Or for that matter, the deliberate bombardment with napalm of refugee camps by the Israeli Air Force. Even Prime Minister McMahon discovered that he too was opposed to killing and murder. This stands in sharp contrast to his earlier silence at the death and misery in the Palestinian refugee camps.

The necessity to offer our criticisms of the terrorist methods used by the Black September group is compounded as a result of terrorist tactics being adopted by only a small wing of the Palestinian revolution. Only two of the approximately

fourteen different independent organisations of the Palestinian people (the Black September group and the PFLP-Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) have adopted these kinds of tactics.

One of the aims of the Zionist propaganda machine over the last few years was to try and create the impression that there was only one Palestinian organisation which they call Fatah. In this way they try and smear all Palestinians with the activities of minute groups. In the wake of the hysteria which followed the killings of the Israeli athletes the Zionists have been nearly successful in their aims.

The Australian press has accepted this view. Probably the most vicious attempt to try and malign all Palestinians occurred in the editorial of the Sydney Morning Herald of September 7, which implied that Black September was under the control of Fatah. This outright lie was contradicted by the report on the opposite page which stated that very little is known about the small independent organisation, Fatah (the Arabic initials stand for National Liberation Movement of Palestine), still the largest and most important single organisation, is not engaged in this kind of terrorist activities. This was confirmed by a report in the Daily Telegraph of the very same morning which stated "... but Al Fatah is still the most important of them. Yet in the context of Palestinian guerrilla activities, it counts for little and few of the terror acts ascribed to it."

The press distortions seemed aimed not only at preparing the way for an attack on all Palestinian organisations but a wider target still. The danger looms also for left-wing groups in Europe most of which support the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination. Various attempts have been made in recent days to tie them up with the Black September group.

The extent of support for the Black September group is rather limited. With the exception of one Palestinian radio station which referred to the recent action as glorious, silence seems to be the predominant Palestinian reaction. As we have pointed out in the past this could only be expected. It follows directly from the intrinsic nature of individual terrorism.

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 and foreign oppression through the detonation of explosives, the destruction of buildings or the death of some of the hated oppressors rather than through the political, industrial and military activity of the whole of the oppressed.

It is undemocratic 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 saviours 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 masses. Moreover, the secrecy, solitude and separateness

demand by their acts of violence divides and disrupts rather than unites the revolutionary forces.

Much has been made of the fact that those killed were sportsmen participating in the Olympic Games. This is irrelevant. Despite statements from Brundage and his friends sport and politics are inextricably mixed. Surely the Chinese Ping-Pong diplomacy and the Springbok's tour of last year must have convinced all and sundry of the falsehood of thinking otherwise.

It is not our role to apportion the blame for the inane loss of life in Munich. While it is clear that the West-German police acted in an incredibly irresponsible way in trying to save face and is most probably to blame for the increase in the death toll this is only a secondary consideration. The rights and wrongs of last week's events depend on far deeper considerations than these.

The anger and frustration of the Palestinian people which led them to take up this form of struggle is easily understandable. For the past twenty-five years the Palestinian people have been suffering under the yoke of the Zionist expansionist state. The invasion of Palestine by the Zionist movement was the direct cause of the forced removal of the Palestinians from the country and the formation of the Arab refugees. After Israel's attack of June 1967 the remaining portions of Palestine have been occupied by Israel. This led to the formation of more refugees and an increased misery. It is out of this misery of living for twenty five years in tents in the refugee camps, out of the position of having nothing to lose that the guerrillas of Black September have come from.

During the last twenty five years the Palestinians have been betrayed on many occasions by the various Arab governments under which they have been living. The governments made many promises but kept very little. The recent calls on Arab governments to curb the activities of the guerrilla movement can be viewed with utmost cynicism. For these governments have done more than anyone else to curb the resistance movement. The first ever Fatah guerrilla to be killed was shot by a Jordanian soldier. The Jordanian army has been responsible for the death of more guerrillas than the Israeli army! The rapid growth of the resistance movement after the 1967 war was sufficient by 1970 to hinder the bourgeois Arab governments in their attempts to achieve peaceful coexistence with Israel. So the reactionary Arab regimes in cooperation with Israel and the United States launched an attack on the movement. The attack was responded to by loud silence from Moscow and Peking and had no other opponents but the Palestinian and Arab masses. In September 1970 King Hussein of Jordan was responsible for a murderous attack on the Palestinian people as a whole during which over 30,000 people were killed. The Palestinian revolution suffered further setbacks in July of 1971 when the final remnants of the resistance were destroyed by King Hussein. The name Black September comes from the massacre of September 70. The organisation was formed to revenge the losses of that period. The Black September movement recognises the hideous role of the Jordan-

ian government. Its first ever public activity was the assassination of the Jordanian Prime Minister responsible for the attack, Wasfi Tal.

Following the Jordanian massacre similar actions were taken by the government of Lebanon. The Syrian government also curtailed guerrilla activities in its territory.

More recently the "peace" overtures of Jordan, the expulsion of Soviet military personnel from Egypt and the fake elections in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River have demoralised and divided what has remained of the Palestinian leadership even further.

As late as last month the Palestinians saw another example of the "benevolent" Israeli occupation. The case of Brit and Bira'am, two Arab villages whose residents didn't flee in 1948 but were forcibly evicted and had their houses demolished nevertheless, gave a good example. The Israeli government refused to allow them to return to their homes even though they are Israeli citizens and despite a ruling from the Israeli High Court that their eviction was illegal.

One of the most far-sighted explanations of the current events has been provided by a group of Israeli citizens who wrote in 1968 when a prolonged occupation became obvious. They wrote "Occupation begets resistance, resistance begets oppression, and oppression begets terrorism".

A considerable number of Arab revolutionaries have seen the logical consequences of various forms of action. As we have explained in the past what is lacking in the Middle-East is a mass revolutionary party capable of giving political leadership and undertaking action in mobilising the Palestinian and Arab masses towards their liberation. Only such a revolutionary party can, through patient work, struggle towards a revolution in the whole Middle East which will liberate the Hebrew and Kurdish people as well as the Arabs.

The lack of any viable Palestinian leadership can partially be ascribed to a deliberate Zionist policy of destroying any developing leadership in its nascent stages. This policy, in existence since the 1930s, is now bearing fruit.

The willingness of the Black September guerrillas for self sacrifice is not in doubt nor is their motivation. Their attempts to free some of the 3,200 political prisoners in Israel deserve maximum support. We express full solidarity with the campaign to release all the political prisoners, many of which are detained under arbitrary administrative detention.

Our unconditional support for the Palestinian revolution is unaffected by our categorical condemnation of their methods. We urge all members of the Black September group to reconsider their tactics and join those who are already building a mass political organisation of the Palestinian people. On all other people we call to disregard the racist propaganda and defend the Palestinian revolution against the coming Israeli onslaught.



Palestinian refugee camp created after June 1967 war

The growth of neo-capitalism in Australia has led to an increased need for highly trained people. In the post-war period this expressed itself in an enlargement of the old universities and the building of new universities. In more recent years there has been an explosive growth in the number of Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs). This growth has reflected itself in student government.

The National Union of Australian University Students (NUAUS) has admitted many of the student bodies of these CAEs into membership and two years ago changed its name to the Australian Union of Students (AUS). Numerically the union now has over thirty constituent bodies and over 140,000 individual members.

AUS national conferences are held twice a year and are usually referred to as February council and August council. The conference venue was St. Kilda's George hotel, which is better known in Victoria for its strip shows rather than as a conference venue and was a legacy from the old days. Perhaps conferences of thirty people could have been held there. With one hundred people packed tightly into the hall and the terrible acoustics a chaotic situation developed. The chaos was worse than anything expected out of any such conference.

The delegations, which were limited in their size to five only two of which could have occupied the table at any one time, generally reflected the character of student politics of the current period. Unlike the United States where CIA financing led the overwhelming bulk of student politicians to shy away from the national body, the AUS reflects local campus politics fairly accurately. Thus the majority of delegates were of left-liberal persuasion with support for the ALP being the predominant political line.

The underlying importance of AUS becomes apparent when you realise that only one Trade Union (the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union) has more members than AUS. While it is true that unlike workers students can't fundamentally change the course of society, the potential significance of AUS to the student and mass movement can't be overestimated.

The vast majority of those who are active in the elected bodies of student government tend to see their position in a bureaucratic fashion. The reformists, left-liberals, centrists, right-wingers and DLP stooges have one thing in common. They all see the holding of an office as worthwhile in and of itself. In fact they see it as the only worthwhile aim. Their political life consists of making deals. Whether it is with the administration, or with other politicians - for personal benefits, or for minor reforms - the essence remains the same. The mass movements of the anti-war, women's liberation or blacks and gays are at best of secondary consideration. At worst they are irrelevant. Typically it is only short-term factors which concern them. The only long term considerations they have in mind are higher and better positions, whether in the student movement itself or an outside parliamentary or journalistic career.

Left-wing tendencies on the whole have tended to dismiss student government as either reformist or bureaucratic. Consequently they have never presented any alternatives to the students

Throughout the world, left-wing caucuses in the traditional labour parties are under attack from conservative leaderships. In Canada, the New Democratic Party (NDP) leadership is bringing great pressures to bear on the left-wing "Waffle" caucus of the NDP so that it no longer is a caucus within the party, but an affiliated organization outside the party. Similarly, the Socialist Action League (SAL), a counterpart to the Socialist Workers League in Australia, has been proscribed from the New Zealand Labour Party. Actions along these lines are also being taken by the leadership of the Australian Labor Party. In Queensland, the "Trotsky Movement" has been proscribed. The Socialist Left in Victoria is increasingly coming under attack. And in Tasmania, both the Socialist Left and the Labor Youth Organization are under attack.

In Direct Action No. 23, we pointed out that the State Executive of the Tasmanian ALP decided on June 26 to reduce the number of Labor Youth branches from 11 to 6. They did this "because there were too many". The fact that there are branches of the ALP (in conservative) one-family towns way out in the bush doesn't seem to worry them. In the October Newsletter, there will be an article saying that the charters for all LY branches have been withdrawn. And charters for new branches will not be granted before the State Executive meets in the first week of November. So

AUS CONFERENCE SUPPORTS MASS MOVEMENTS

BY SOL SALBY

and left control of student government to precisely those forces which they opposed. While this has been the position of most ultra-left forces there are exceptions. In La Trobe University the sectarian politics of the local Maoists have led to their defeat and considerable loss of influence on the local Student Representative Council. Although the Communist Party of Australia does stand candidates in student elections, their candidates, like Brian McGahan in Sydney University, don't disclose the fact that they support the CPA, and their platforms aren't based on revolutionary politics but on reformism and social work.

The only socialist organisation, actually the only left-wing organisation, to have been represented at August Council was the Socialist Youth Alliance. SYA members present included Frans Timmerman and Sol Salby (University of New South Wales) and Barry Simpson (Monash). In addition delegates from the Western Australia Institute of Technology (WAIT) and Canberra College of Advanced Education (CCAEE) expressed support for the SYA campus strategy. The reason SYA was represented can be seen as a result of its strategy. SYA members have contested elections on several campuses presenting a socialist alternative and a socialist programme. Their success enabled them to be elected as delegates to the conference and have some influence on the proceedings.

In marked contrast to some of the ultra-lefts the forces of reaction consider influence over student government extremely important. The main group to operate on campus is "Peace with Freedom", the campus arm of the National Civic Council and the DLP. "Peace with Freedom" operates through a chain of clubs variously called Democratic, Democratic Labor, Radical etc. PWF tries unsuccessfully to turn back the tide of the new radicalisation, using their clandestine "Fighting Fund". Their attempts in gaining positions in campus election have been remarkably unsuccessful. The only exception has been La Trobe University where they benefited from the backlash against the Maoist sectarian politics. Recently in the elections for the governing body of the University of Queensland Union (UQU) the DLP lost again

LABOR YOUTH UNDER ATTACK

BY ALBAN JOHNSON

lies in the fact that due to the new radicalization (see the left-out for more on this), the main field of strength of the Socialist Left lies in LY. And the ALP bureaucrats are getting worried as its help has grown recently. Labor Youth is the ALP, as well as supporting movements like the anti-war movement and the Tasmanian Education Action Group (which is organizing the Sept. 20 High School demonstration).

when the balance of power shifted from the right-wingers of the past to left liberal forces. The only known delegates of the extreme right wing were one from Macquarie University and one from UNSW. (The proportional representation method at UNSW gave SYA two delegates, the left-liberals one and the DLP one.)

Conference sessions were extremely long and chaotic. (One session lasted non stop from 2 pm Thursday till 6 am Saturday a total of 40 hours without any break!) Trivia dominated most of the business sessions. Amongst the large number of examples, probably the best one was the half hour devoted to a debate whether AUS head office should have three or two or one or no...STD phones. The "happy motion" moved recommending a carrier pigeon service, truly indicates the level of debate. The only sessions where trivia didn't predominate were the Abschol, National, International sessions.

Some of the topics and motions discussed at the conference were:

ABSCHOL

The Abschol department is going to concentrate from now on solely on Aboriginal scholarships. The only exception to this decision is in Queensland where its going to retain all its other functions because in Queensland the Blacks do not consider its attitudes paternalistic and trust the local Abschol organisation. In all other states a Race Relation Board is going to handle the previous Abschol activities as well as Niugini and Anti-Apartheid. A full time black officer is going to head this board. This motion was a compromise between those who wanted a race relation board with only one paid officer, saving on the two Abschol and Niugini officers and those who wanted to continue the old arrangement and have a full time black officer. Speaking to the compromise motion, UNSW delegate Timmerman emphasised the importance of independent action by black people, which will be facilitated by the new set-up. The Niugini officer, the Abschol officer and the Editor of National U are all joining the rank of the unemployed as a result of severe budget

cuts. Although all this should be supported to the utmost, Labor Youth is bowing slightly to the tremendous pressures placed upon it by the State Executive. At its LY exec. meeting on August 27, the existing secretary-treasurer, a Socialist Left supporter, was replaced by a leading member of a conservative break-away from Labor Youth. The reason for this is that the right has instilled a fear in the left that it is small, and will easily be "killed". So LY is conceding earlier victories by re-habilitating the fake-left. The result being that the ALP State Executive has again made a step forward in its attack on the left.

1972 is an election year, and the ALP bureaucrats are continually trying to forget their working class base, a base the party gained out of the defeats of the working class in the 1890s. This was blatantly shown when these bureaucrats did all they could to sell out the SEC and oil strikes of earlier this year. Under pressure of the working class, the ALP adopted a basic socialist objective; an objective that some now wish wasn't there.

For those who want a labour and socialist Australia the ALP cannot be avoided. A socialist alternative to the present right wing leadership must be constructed in the ALP. The trend towards a full scale witchhunt of socialists in the party reflects the fear of the leadership of this development.

slashings. National U, the AUS paper is going to come out any more except for special issues.

ABORTION

Probably the most significant motion arising from the National Affairs session was the motion concerning abortion. Previously the had as its policy under "Female Liberation" the abolition/liberalisation of all abortion laws. On this occasion it was moved by the scale of the Women's Abortion Campaign for the immediate repeal of all abortion laws. This motion was carried overwhelmingly with very little debate as most delegates agreed that abortion is a "woman's right to choose". The call on all constituent bodies to support the campaign and give it financial aid means that when the campaign is set up on campus it can receive aid and make a successful start immediately.

ANTIWAR

During the international session John Benson, from the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) in the United States addressed the conference. John was visiting Australia on his way back from Japan where he represented NPAC in a series of mass rallies. His address to the conference was one of the few received by acclamation, as he succinctly explained Nixon's strategy in Indochina and the need for international antiwar action. Later on the conference endorsed the action call by NPAC. (Reprinted in DIRECT ACTION 25 August 24, 1972). While it was recognised by all that action on November 18 will clash with many students' exams the impact of solidarity actions on the movement in the US was considered by everyone to be sufficiently important to disregard the difficulties involved, and move ahead to build the November 18 action.

CEYLON

The following motion was carried overwhelmingly by August council! That AUS condemns the Sri Lanka (Ceylon) government repressive measures, including the arbitrary arrests of over 10,000 people including many students. AUS demands (a) Cessation of all trials (b) Immediate release of all political prisoners (c) Immediate cessation of all other repressive measures." The motion was moved by JNSW and seconded by WAIT. Obviously at this stage AUS can only act to provide information to its constituent members in order to educate and inform people about the repression in Ceylon.

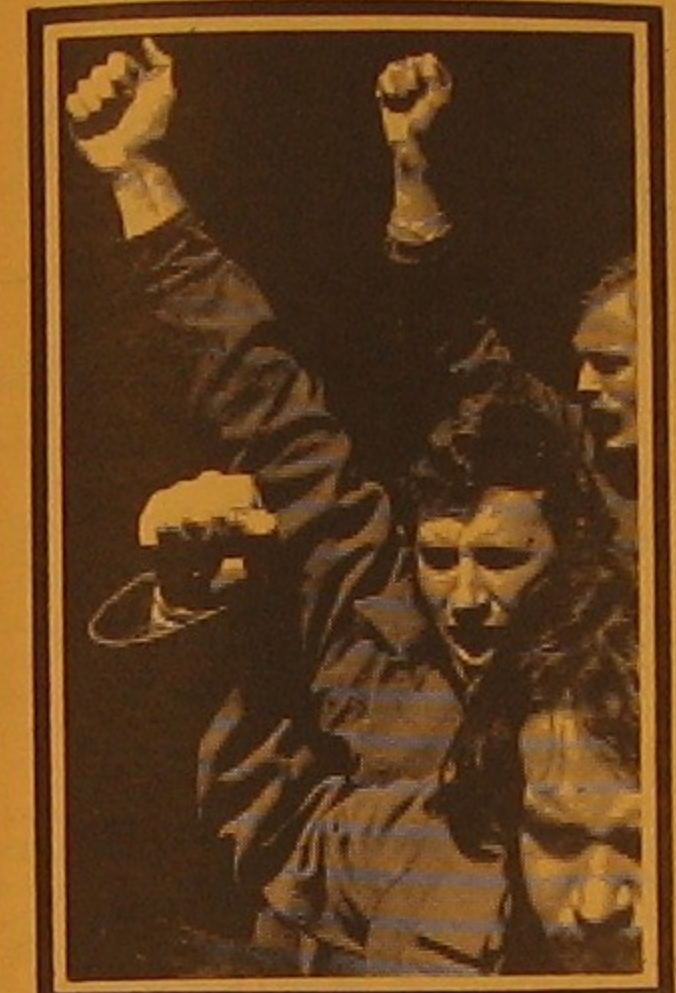
AUS is still dominated by reformist and left-liberals of various shades. Most likely it is going to be so for the foreseeable future. So far achievements of socialists have been limited, but decisions such as the ones outlined and similar ones such as the support for the September 20 High School strike show the potential of using AUS to obtain social change and support the mass movements. As the radicalisation proceeds student government is going to become a more and more important sphere of activity for socialists. August council has shown that politically directed intervention can help continue the process of the radicalisation.

Although all this should be supported to the utmost, Labor Youth is bowing slightly to the tremendous pressures placed upon it by the State Executive. At its LY exec. meeting on August 27, the existing secretary-treasurer, a Socialist Left supporter, was replaced by a leading member of a conservative break-away from Labor Youth. The reason for this is that the right has instilled a fear in the left that it is small, and will easily be "killed". So LY is conceding earlier victories by re-habilitating the fake-left. The result being that the ALP State Executive has again made a step forward in its attack on the left.

1972 is an election year, and the ALP bureaucrats are continually trying to forget their working class base, a base the party gained out of the defeats of the working class in the 1890s. This was blatantly shown when these bureaucrats did all they could to sell out the SEC and oil strikes of earlier this year. Under pressure of the working class, the ALP adopted a basic socialist objective; an objective that some now wish wasn't there.

For those who want a labour and socialist Australia the ALP cannot be avoided. A socialist alternative to the present right wing leadership must be constructed in the ALP. The trend towards a full scale witchhunt of socialists in the party reflects the fear of the leadership of this development.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE RADICALISATION



The following is an abridged version of the major political document adopted at the 3rd National Conference of the SYA in Melbourne last Easter.

CAPITALIST CRISIS

The last year has been a year of crisis for imperialism. In one country after another the revolutionary struggle has intensified. Uprisings in Ireland and Bangla Desh were the most prominent sign posts of the struggle and meanwhile the Indo China aggression of the U.S. has continued. This central problem for U.S. imperialism continues to have enormous effects on the rest of the world.

Nixon has continued to pursue the aim of military victory. He has manoeuvred with different "plans" to lull the antiwar sentiment of the American people and with different military manoeuvres but with no success. The invasion of Cambodia in May 1970 led to an unprecedented upsurge of antiwar sentiment and to the hasty withdrawal of U.S. troops. In February 1971 the Laos fiasco paid to Nixon's propaganda about Vietnamizing the war. The "crack" ARVN units were smashed and drove home to all that Nixon was attempting to extend the war.

The continued withdrawal of U.S. troops and their replacement by "saturation" bombing has also been unsuccessful in guaranteeing a military victory for Nixon. So he has sought this in his trip to Peking. He hopes for a repeat of the 1954 Geneva diplomacy where Peking and Moscow paved the way for conceding the gains of the Vietnamese revolution.

As a result of the continued military expenditure in Indo China the growing crisis of the U.S. economy has been accelerated. This forced a showdown with its trading partners as the U.S. attempted to alter the international monetary system to its own advantage. The growing power of the European and Japanese industry at last forced (in effect) a revaluation of the dollar. And consequently for the capitalist world a recession.

The Australian bourgeoisie has watched from the sidelines while this process has taken place but nevertheless has been forced to make some sharp adjustments relying as it does on Japan, U.K. and U.S. for 50% of its exports.

To maintain its position it has attempted to make the working class pay for the crisis. The main way that the bourgeoisie has put the squeeze on the living stand-

ards of the workers is through inflation.

Contrary to arguments that the struggles of workers are the cause of inflation, it is clear that the cause is to be found in the public debt. The monopolistic price structure derived from the continuing capitalist concentration and centralization, under the spur of growing international competition, and the government financial outlays necessary to protect monopoly profits and underwrite the research and development of the corporations.

Inflation is a chronic problem of capitalism in its death agony and leads to increased wage demands by the working class once it recognises the phenomenon. These demands are necessarily enforced by strike action in practice or threatened.

Also inflation leads to a deterioration of competitive advantage for the Australian bourgeoisie and to general instability of the capitalist world monetary system.

The bourgeoisie has forced a recession to increase unemployment. So far this has not been enough to put real pressure on wage demands. If the recession continues we can expect working class retaliation against the threat of mass unemployment. So far the combativity of the working class has meant intensified struggle against redundancies and in defense of their wage demands.

The bourgeoisie has attempted to counter this with laws aimed at shackling the unions but so far has shied away from the massive confrontation required to implement these.

Under the new conditions of capitalism, trade wars, monetary crises, and recessions will increase. Regardless of the tempo or scope of such events, which are unpredictable, the intensification of inter-imperialist competition on the world market means that the bourgeoisie must find a way to maintain its position in the world market. This can only be done by attacks on the wage gains, standards of living, organisations and rights of the working class. In the current turbulent political atmosphere such attacks can result in intense struggles and rapid radicalisation of a decisive section of the working class.

Substantial social reforms and concessions can be wrested from the ruling classes in the struggle that lie ahead. But the intensification of competition on an international scale prevents the growth of any long term series of social reforms large enough to decisively reverse the radicalisation of increasing sections of the Australian people set in motion by the social struggles of the last period.

THE CONTINUING RADICALISATION

In the last year the process of the radicalisation has continued to deepen. Other issues have come forward: the revision against capitalism's destruction of our environment and the ecological system on which the life of humanity depends. The prison revolts, the gay liberation movement of homosexuals, extra-legal oppression of homosexuals. The radicalisation has likewise had repercussions in professional, cultural and artistic circles.

The essence of the demands for prison and judicial reforms has been an affirmation of the dignity and humanity of the prisoners. The recognition by most young radicals of the prison struggles as part of the movement and their sympathy and identification with the prisoners' demands is a further gauge of the radicalization.

As with prisoners, bourgeois society views homosexuals as outcasts.

The gay liberation movement has raised a series of demands against the way homosexuals are treated by bourgeois society. These include insistence of equality before the law like other citizens, with full rights in all respects; that their private lives be their own, free from legal or police restraint; against police entrapment practices; for their acceptance as equals in all spheres of social life.

The gay liberation movement was strongly influenced by the opposition of the women's liberation movement to the commercial exploitation of sex, the reduction of sex to something other than a free human relation, the reactionary and stifling sexual norms of bourgeois society, and the psychological distortions of sexuality and sex roles in a class society based on the nuclear family system. The women's movement began to see that the antagonistic attitudes towards homosexuals are simply another facet of a sick social order. Broad layers of young people are becoming opposed to sexual oppression of any kind.

Another sign of the deepening radicalization is the growing rejection, first by the youth and then by wider circles, of the cultural values and authority of bourgeois society. This is reflected in all the arts, and in many other ways. It includes the proliferation of underground newspapers with a generally radical bent, and a new thirst for and interest in radical books and literature of all kinds.

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

The anti-war movement, carried out through months of intensive propaganda and action, in April, May, June, 1971, culminated in a massive outpouring of people on June 30th. Although not the largest Moratorium it was clearly by now that the movement against the war had the overwhelming support of the Australian people, and that the cost of the continuing presence of Australian troops in Vietnam was too high for the Australian government both in terms of the radicalisation of further layers of young people and their active involvement in political opposition and also in terms of the dampening of the Liberal-CP coalition electoral prospects.

The announcement of withdrawal by the Australian government led to a defusion of the anti-war movement as the anti-war coalitions attempted to assess the new situation.

But the trajectory of the anti-war movement has amply confirmed the line our tendency has consistently applied in building the movement. In the past seven years we have fought to build the anti-war movement as a single issue, non exclusive united-front type movement centered on mobilizing mass street demonstrations, the central demand of which was the withdrawal of all U.S. and Australian troops from Indochina. The effectiveness and potential power of independent mass mobilisations around a burning social issue has been clearly demonstrated.

The success in forcing a withdrawal of Australian combat troops dealt a blow to ultra-leftists who have attempted to substitute themselves for mass action, to the sectarians who sit on the sidelines scolding the mass movement, and to all variety of reformists and liberals who pessimistically questioned the effect and need for the mass actions and saw the movement only in terms of electoral advantage.

The War Goes On... And Nixon's in Peking: The possibility of another Geneva sell-out has never left the minds of the Vietnamese people. Despite promised aid from China again this year, the Vietnamese realise that the chances of a settlement of the war between China and the U.S. are strong.

The Vietnamese Workers' Party Daily 'Nhan Dan' commenting on Nixon's visit to Peking wrote that the Vietnamese people are "determined to fight until complete victory, till the U.S. aggressors have to reconcile themselves to defeat" and that "Nixon's policy also consists of trying to achieve compromises with the big powers in an attempt to make smaller countries bow to their arrangements."

As long as the anti-war movement has not won its central aim of withdrawing all American and Allied forces from Indo-China immediately, there should be no talk of multi-issue coalitions. Our continuing task is to organise action around the demand of immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and Allied troops and equipment from Indo-China now.

ANTI-APARTHEID UPSURGE

Close on the heels of the antiwar action came a mass upsurge in the radicalization precipitated by the presence of the South African football team in Australia. The struggle against Apartheid has been a constant theme in the consciousness of radicals in this country but the size and spontaneous nature of the upsurge through out Australia was unprecedented.

With the cancellation of the cricket tour by South Africa the confidence of the radicals to win some of their aims was increased and was a clear indication of the continuing growth of the radicalisation.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The last year also saw the further expansion of the Women's Liberation Movement. More and more feminist groups have been set up across the country but this organized activity is only a dim reflection of the interest about the ideas of Women's Liberation and the mass potential of the movement.

On November 20 in solidarity with international action for the repeal of anti-abortion laws women in Sydney and Melbourne organized marches. Given the short notice at which the actions were called the 300 participants in Sydney and the 500 in Melbourne certainly began the process of organizing the feminist movement on a mass basis.

Concurrently a call was made for actions

around the country to coincide with International Women's Day in March. S.Y.A. women played a major role in preparing these actions in all centres.

The movement so far has already had an impact on the political consciousness of the country. This has been reflected by the massive media reference to the movement, the hysterical attacks and smears on it.

The March 11 actions have demonstrated the potential of mobilizing women around democratic and transitional demands that both attack the pressing manifestations of the oppression of women and that lead in the direction of the complete liberation of women.

This mass mobilization approach points the way forward for the movement. It is the revolutionary alternative to any tendencies to turn inward and stagnate in a small-circle existence; or to reject feminist demands under the guise of adopting an "anti-imperialist" or "workers' orientation, which have surfaced in some currents in the movement.

The basic demands of the women's liberation movement form a strategic blueprint for the development of a transitional program for women's liberation.

Free abortion on demand is based upon the elementary and democratic right of women to control their own bodies. This right is of direct and immediate concern to most women, and a life-and-death question for thousands of women every year. The thrust of this demand cuts sharply into basic and deep-going cultural, social, and religious prejudices against women and is aimed at the subordinate and dependent role women have been subjected to since the rise of class society.

Reactionary forces, mobilizing against the women's movement in opposition to this demand, are attempting to prevent victories concerning abortion. The political struggles around abortion will be one of the important battles of the entire next stage of the women's liberation movement.

The demand for free community-controlled twenty-four-hour child-care centres available to all, answers a pressing need of millions of women, especially working women. At the same time it highlights the importance of and society's responsibility for the rearing of the young.

Demands that centre on pay, educational and job opportunities, and legal rights for women equal to those of men are democratic demands that challenge capitalism's economic and political institutionalization of the subordinate and dependent status of women which has its roots in the historical rise of the patriarchal family system. They put forward a concept indispensable for inspiring and mobilizing a powerful movement for women's liberation; that is, the full and complete worth and dignity of women.

The women's liberation movement has already had a profound impact on the current radicalization, not only by adding another sector of militants to the struggle, but also through the implications of its critical analysis of the historical role of the institution of the nuclear family. This institution, which has its origins in the rise of class society, and which in one form or another has been a necessary feature of all class societies, plays the central role in implanting in infants and children the ideology and character structure necessary to maintain the hierarchical, exploitative, and alienated social relations intrinsic to capitalism.

The women's liberation movement thus brings to light and helps counter some of the deepest prejudices and attitudes among the ideological and moral props of class rule. It raises problems of the alienation of humanity whose solution lies in the establishment of a workers state and the building of socialism. It deepens the struggle to expose the moral bankruptcy of the ruling class and to heighten the moral authority of the fighting mass movements.

By participating in this movement, women are transforming their views of themselves, affirming the essential dignity and worth that has been denied them through the entire period of class society. An integral part of the fight against capitalism is the fight against the racism and

sexism built into the ideology of capitalism. This discovery and rethinking by women of their history and worth has paralleled the same phenomenon among the oppressed nationalities. It has spurred a reawakened demand for knowledge and understanding of their oppression - its history, causes, and the road to its elimination. It previews a similar process that will take place in the workers' radicalization.

The responsiveness of our tendency to the rise of the new feminism has been another important test of our movement. Our ability to embrace this movement as our own, to participate in it and learn from it, and to help lead it in the direction of the mass independent mobilization of women around democratic and transitional demands stands in sharp contrast to the default of all our opponents who claim to be socialist or communist.

THE BLACK STRUGGLES

The last four years have seen the gradual emergence of the black liberation movement on an organized level. In about 1968, the first moves by black people to break with the various semi-official bodies which have been working for reform and integration began with the takeover of the Melbourne Aborigines Advancement League (AACL) by a black power group and the breakaway of the National Tribal Council (NTC) from the white dominated Federal Council for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI). Since that time growing numbers of black people have been reaching the conclusion that only direct political action will solve the problems confronting them.

The Black Moratorium and the events around the Black Embassy in Canberra stand as the high water marks of the black struggle at this stage. These events provided more clearly than ever before, a national focus for the struggles of black people. Previously events such as the Gurindji walk off, the Yirrkala land rights case, the Brockman defence campaign and the November 23 1971 demonstration in Brisbane had indicated that black militancy was on the rise; national coordination of this militancy around the Black Moratorium and the Black Embassy gave enormous impetus to the movement and involved many black people in political action for the first time in their lives.

We favour more such action because they, more effectively than any other type of political work, have the potential to draw in ever wider numbers of black people. From the organisations necessary to run mass mobilisations and from the increased consciousness created by the mobilisations themselves, will come the cadre necessary to build a black political party.

It is our duty as revolutionary socialists to unconditionally support the organisation and functioning of a black nationalist party. In an era where increased attacks are being made upon the working class and concessions resisted by the capitalist class, not an inch will be given to black people. In fact repression will increase. Black people who have never been able to organise in a political way before will encounter attempts by the ruling class to crush their efforts at organisation. This will be done with both political and economic considerations in mind. For the super exploited, organisation as a political force is extremely dangerous to the ruling class.

We unconditionally support the efforts of black people to rid themselves of their oppressed position in this society. We will wherever possible work to build mass movements in support of black struggles. At the same time we recognise that black liberation cannot be achieved short of the overturn of the capitalist system. The demands of the black movement should be directed against the capitalist system which is responsible for the oppression of blacks and not merely "racism" in its abstract form, divorced from the capitalist power structures. Demands which flow from this perspective are:

- 1. self determination for blacks
2. the granting of all land rights claims
3. immediate repeal of all discriminatory legislation
4. an end to all economic and social discrimination against blacks, whether by wage injustices, restrictions on living standards and job opportunities or by restrictions on freedom of expression, freedom of movement or freedom of association.

HOW THE RADICALISATION HAS AFFECTED THE WORKING CLASS

The specific major areas of struggle that have characterized the developing radicalization so far - students, women,

antiwar movement have occurred, in the main, outside the framework of the union movement and in no case have been led by any section of organized labour. Nevertheless these movements have already deeply affected the consciousness of the working class. According to government statistics, of the total work force in Australia in 1966, 27% were under 25 years of age and of this percentage 74% were women. Add to this the increase in the 60's and we can see the enormous potential movements amongst the youth, women and students have for attracting and influencing the body of Australian workers.

The available evidence shows the depth of antiwar sentiment in the working class. The Melbourne moratorium campaign in particular mobilized thousands of workers from all sections of industry. It is clear that the movement against the Vietnam war which began on the campuses has been able to extend its support to the working class.

In the same way the rising feminist consciousness will find reflection and expression among women workers. The essential character of the increasingly youthful workforce is that it is being pervaded with the perspectives that the young workers bring with them from their growing up in the radicalization of the 60's.

GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE UNIONS

The wave of strikes in the last year demonstrate that the working class is not prepared to sacrifice its standard of living to pay for the capitalist crisis.

With the current recession the ruling class hopes to sap the will of the organized working class to defend its real wage rates against inflation with rising unemployment. But the workers so far have not been cowed. Indeed far from deterring militancy, the industrial laws and the actions of the bourgeoisie and their labour apologists have resulted in a rising class consciousness where workers are rapidly coming to realize that their interests can only be protected in the current crisis by their own united strength. Also, rather than resorting to the traditional strike weapon, workers are now often experimenting with a variety of forms of action which raise the political question of who controls the job, the worker or the boss. Everytime workers take such actions themselves and they are sold out by the union bureaucrats, two valuable lessons are learnt: workers don't need the boss to run their lives and they had better not trust the union leadership to make a fight.

The fight for a sliding scale of hours and wages must be counterposed to all attempts by the capitalist class to "solve" the problems of unemployment and inflation by moving toward wage controls.

The active intervention and threat of intervention by the government on the side of the employer, and against the unions, underscores the fact that key economic issues today are increasingly fought out on a political level.

The labour bureaucracy is a conservative, petty-bourgeois social layer encrusted on the unions. It acts as the central transmission belt for bourgeois politics into the working class and remains the chief obstacle to transforming the unions into revolutionary instruments independently fighting around the key political and social issues facing the working class and its allies.

Far from mobilizing union power behind the important political and social issues of the radicalization, issues that deeply affect their members, the labour officialdom does everything in its power to keep the workers tied to as narrow and reformist a social program as possible.

The impact of the developing radicalization on the union movement and the politicalization of the workers arising from their economic struggles continue to be molecular processes. There has been no major challenge to the bureaucracy as a whole at this stage. There is not yet discernible the goal of a left wing in the union movement, the goal of which would be the overthrow of the conservative bureaucracy and its replacement by a leadership based on a class-struggle program aimed at the ruling class.

LABOR TO POWER! FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST POLICIES

What should be the strategy of socialists in this election year? Although little

distinguishes Whitlam and his technocratic elite from McMahon and Co, the ALP in the eyes of the mass of the Australian working class, still represents them and their interests. The ALP remains a party based on the working class, and we should unconditionally support it in opposition to the anti-working class parties by urging a vote for it.

It is important that the working class live through the experience of a Labor Government and see all its cherished hopes evaporate before the fanatical zeal of the Catholic Actionists on the one hand, and the class collaborationists, with their ministerial titles, can, pluses and white-tie dinners, on the other. Only then will the advanced sections of the working class learn to put their trust in themselves alone and not in some polished Labor faker; only then will they realize that socialism, the only way to share the earth's wealth fairly must come through the united actions of the workers themselves and not through the wind-bags of the Parliamentary Labor Party.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RADICALISATION

There are two main objective bases for the new radicalization:

Firstly the crisis of imperialism manifested by the growing gap between the rich and the poor nations, the successful revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam and the over-all political instability in the colonial world that threatens to erupt into successful social revolutions. Imperialism is forced to attempt to halt the spread of revolution by direct intervention and this has been a prime factor in radicalizing youth in both the advanced capitalist countries and the colonial countries.

The most dominant political theme around which these new youth have been radicalized is in fact defence of the Colonial revolutions. Imperialism's counteroffensive which began against the colonial revolution in the 1950s and culminated in the war in Vietnam and was responsible for the crushing of the left in Indonesia, the imposition of military dictatorships in Latin America by direct intervention and covert intervention in the political affairs of almost the whole of the 3rd World; founded in Vietnam. Here the offensive was turned back and imperialism suffered a protracted defeat which led to social crisis at home and a loss of prestige throughout the world.

For Australian radicalizing youth Vietnam was the key issue. From 1964 onwards an increasing number of youth and students were mobilized against the war in a campaign which drew in such wide sectors of the population that the demand to withdraw Australian troops was eventually acceded to by the government.

The second major basis for the new radicalization is the increasing proletarianization of intellectual labor. Capitalism in the period of the "3rd Industrial Revolution" requires large numbers of better educated workers for all levels of industry and trade.

The university and technical institutions have consequently undergone an enormous expansion along with these changes in the nature of the work force.

These changes are indicated by the reduced wage differentials between white collar and manual workers, increased unionization and militancy of these new "white collar" layers, a rise in similarities of consumption and of social status of the work force with a growing similarity of working conditions and together have led to an increasingly homogeneous proletariat.

Thus the expansion of the educational institutions has led to a change in the status of students. No longer can they all be identified as future members of the ruling class. They are a social layer in transition. The graduates of higher educational institutions today are a growing proportion of the working class with nothing to sell but their intellectual labour power.

Students, because of their unique situation are able to gain a quicker understanding of the ills of capitalist society and because of their increased social weight can become a real (if temporary) vanguard for the working class as a whole and trigger a powerful revolutionary upsurge as in May 1968 in France.

The mass actions of this antiwar movement generally used the radicalization, spreading it both geographically and into layers of the population other than the students. From a credibility gap on the war question, suspicions and doubts about

the government widened willingness to challenge the authoritarian institutions and to reject the norms and ideology of the ruling class society.

movement continued to develop and flows, new struggles emerged. Issues such as the oppression and pollution of our environment further fuelled the radicalization.

liberation movement against the oppression of homosexuals, the prison struggle of pensioners demonstrated several important facts:

There is no layer too oppressed to be no reactionary prejudice and too sacrosanct and deep-rooted to be challenged.

Sections of each new layer of the working class have raised greater questions about the fundamental values of capitalist society.

Each extends and deepens interest in the class struggle about the reconstruction of society.

Each drives home the conclusion that the oppressed and independent struggles will continue to emerge as the radicalization deepens.

The movements mentioned have been drawn inspiration and tactical lessons from one another. But each has developed an independent identity. They do not develop in unison but in a period of relative quietness, others can leap ahead, and from the struggles new lessons are learned and absorbed and applied by the masses throughout the movement, sometimes in a rhythm of the radicalization, which has been constant. It tends to deepen.

The observation and participation in different sectors of the unfolding radicalization, the following generalizations can be drawn about its character and meaning for the S.Y.A.:

1. Each of these movements has essentially an independent character and course. This is outside the stifling control of the union bureaucracy.

The radicalization beginning in the 1950s disdained the Stalinism of the Moscow school. The CPA youth organization in this period - the poles of which were toward the "New Left", Trotskyism or Maoism. Partially as a response the CPA has adopted "liberal" communist policies and has changed the name and nature of its youth organization to seek to get out of the radicalization. But none of this has allowed them to change the basic political and gain hegemony over the mass youth.

The ALP at the start of the radicalization attempted to adapt to some extent by adopting the aim of the antiwar movement and calling for withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam. But this led to a counter-crisis inside its ranks with debate around this policy - it being dropped nearly then taken up again by the opposition leadership once it was found to contradict the overwhelming sentiments of the population.

There is an influx into the ALP of some new elements. In Victoria it gave added impetus to the development of a left wing in opposition to the reformist and capitalist policies of the ALP leadership. The radicalization forced much of the leadership to retreat and respond to the politics of the mass movements and to attempt to channel their energy into the party's electoral activities.

But this has been unsuccessful in pulling mass movements into line with the policies of the bureaucracy.

The independence of the radicalization is the best guarantee that it will continue to be detailed through dependence on reformist leaders. The radicalization has refused to subordinate demands or wait for the struggles of the reformists embarking on their own.

test demonstrations against the authorities and administrations.

This approach is in line with our method of action which seeks to have the masses themselves involved in their struggle. It is a further guarantee of the independence of the mass movements as the inevitable thrust of mass demonstrations is away from compromise and parliamentary channels.

The process of radicalization began in other areas prior to an extensive upsurge and politicization of the working class. But the issues raised by the social struggles of the 1960's have begun affecting the thinking of the entire country. And the radicalization already has certain characteristics - the size and weight of the student movement, the extent of antiwar sentiment, the depth of feminist consciousness, the challenges to the class, racist, and sexist assumptions that furnish the ideological glue of bourgeois domination - which are of enormous importance in assessing the potential politicization of the radicalization.

The existence and growth of this radicalization prior to the radicalization of major sections of the working class is of vital importance to the Marxist tendency. Our capacity to recruit and educate a Marxist cadre that is active and influential in the movements as they arise, that fights for leadership against the claims of all our opponents, is decisive in building the leadership necessary if the coming struggle for power is to have a victorious conclusion.

4. A distinction must be made between radicalization and a revolutionary situation. The current radicalization, in which large numbers of people, under the impact of changes in international and national conditions, have begun altering their attitudes about important questions, beliefs, values, customs, relations, and institutions - social, personal, philosophical, political, economic, cultural - is not at the point of becoming a pre-revolutionary situation. It is a precondition and preparation for it. The borders of a revolutionary situation can be reached only when the political radicalization and radicalization has extended to decisive sectors of the working masses, and when a revolutionary upsurge and mobilization objectively poses the basic question of what class should wield power.

While a radicalization can develop and prevail over a period of many years and even decades, pre-revolutionary or revolutionary situations, where the contending class forces directly confront each other, are of short duration. We can predict neither the tempo of a radicalization of the working class nor the appearance of a pre-revolutionary situation. But it is clear that the prospects for its favorable outcome will be improved, the deeper, broader, and bigger the prior radicalization has been, the greater is the number of politicized and revolutionary-minded militants previously developed in the mass movement, and the more receptive the masses have become to radical solutions.

The potential speed with which such a situation can appear was graphically illustrated by the May-June 1968 upsurge in France that suddenly placed the question of power squarely on the agenda. The key question at such a juncture is whether a revolutionary socialist leadership has been created that is capable of taking the leadership of the workers' upsurge away from the reformists and centrists and of mobilizing the masses in revolutionary struggle for state power.

The fundamental economic and political contradictions of capitalism that underlie the radicalization have an international basis. The basic dilemma faced by our rulers today is that as they try to halt the world revolutionary process and to meet the growing economic competition of their capitalist competitors, they come into increasing conflict with the maintenance of social stability, ideological authority, and class peace at home. This gives deep international as well as national roots to the radicalization.

The current radicalization takes place in a period of ascending world revolution. In spite of major setbacks like that in Indonesia and setbacks and temporary stalemates like those of the past decade in Latin America, the colonial revolution continues to press forward. The monolithic character of world Stalinism has been shattered. Not only has the political revolution made important advances in Eastern Europe, but its first shoots are becoming visible in the Soviet Union. In the advanced capitalist countries, there is a new wave of struggles and radicalization.

The tendency is increasing for the example and lessons of the struggles in one country or area of the world to spread to others, as has been seen in the international scope of the student radicalization, the rise of the antiwar movement, the active appearance of the national question in advanced capitalist countries, and as is now occur-

ing with the struggles of the women's liberation movement.

The use of anti-Communism to stop the radicalization, of foreign adventures to inflame war patriotism, of war spending to generate prosperity, of government attacks to silence protesters, of racism to conservative privileged sectors of the working class, and of sexism to support reactionary prejudices and ideology cannot be relied upon to reverse this radicalization. Quite the contrary, opposition to the material, social, and psychological effects of war, inflation, repression, racism, sexism, and red-baiting are the central motive forces of the radicalization itself. These ruling-class weapons, combined with limited reforms and concessions, can and will bring about pauses and partial setbacks. Yet exacerbation of the fundamental underlying contradictions of capitalism feeding the radicalization will propel it forward.

6. In all stages of building our organization our cadres must be alert to, recognize, and embrace the new forms of struggle and the progressive demands of oppressed groups that appear as the radicalization develops. We champion the fighting movements of all oppressed social layers and advance and develop their key democratic and transitional demands as part of our own. The revolutionary vanguard consciously uses its participation in these movements to draw the lessons necessary to bring revolutionary socialist consciousness to as broad a layer of militants as possible.

The coming revolution will incorporate the democratic and transitional demands that flow from the various independent movements that have arisen in the course of social struggle as well as those that will arise as the contradictions deepen. It will give an enormous impetus to the further development of these movements until their demands are met in full in the course of the construction of socialism.

In view of the decisiveness of the construction of the revolutionary party, our most important objective in involving ourselves deeply in these mass movements and absorbing their lessons is to recruit the best militants and help them to assimilate the program and traditions of Trotskyism, and gain the political experience necessary to become integrated in the expanding Trotskyist cadre.

7. The changing relationship of forces on the left, which, while far from settled, is turning in our favour, is of decisive importance in the further development of the radicalization.

At the beginning of the radicalization in this country, our tendency was a handful of scattered and isolated individuals. It was extremely difficult for a revolutionary Marxist alternative to be presented to the radicalizing youth and it has taken the initial stages of the radicalization till now to get to the position of organizational cohesiveness and spread that enables us to play a role in all the struggles as they emerge. We are now the strongest tendency amongst the youth of all those calling themselves socialists. This is extremely important as it is still amongst youth that the greatest immediate potential for recruitment to Trotskyism lies.

OUR OPPONENTS ON THE LEFT

Most of our opponents, reformists and ultra-left alike, make three basic errors in their approach to the current radicalization:

- 1. They cannot recognize the class struggle as it unfolds. They do not understand the nature of the radicalization itself, its chief characteristics and new forms of struggle. Instead of embracing the new forms and progressive demands of these struggles, they tend to be repelled by them. Instead of seeking to extend the independent and revolutionary thrust of these movements, they seek to channel them into reformist directions, to oppose them in a sectarian manner, or to dissipate their potential through ultra-left gimmicks.
2. Partly because of this and partly because of a dogmatic projection of their limited understanding of the radicalization of the 1930s onto the current struggles, they do not understand the dynamics and depth of the radicalization, how it can extend into the working class in the future, and how it can lead to a revolutionary upsurge. They misunderstand or reject all the key aspects of revolutionary strategy based on a transitional program for participation in and acceleration of the radicalization.
3. None of them understand the political and organizational character of the kind of party that must be built to lead the struggle for socialism to victory. Furthermore, they tend to approach the problem of building

a mass party as if they already were that party whose central problem is the disposition of its mass forces. We see ourselves as concentrating on those essential cadre-building steps without which there will be no basis for the construction of a mass revolutionary workers' party.

THEY REJECT THE MAIN DEMANDS OF THE MASS MOVEMENTS

Most of our opponents refuse to adopt the central progressive demands of the largest components of the radicalization--student, antiwar, and women's liberation movements--as part of their own. All, to one degree or another, are repelled by, uncomfortable with, antagonistic toward and fail to understand the logic and depth of all these movements.

One argument both the reformist and ultra-lefts use against full support to these new manifestations of the class struggle is that they disrupt the unity of the working class. The way our opponents recoil from the independent thrust of these struggles means in practice disregarding the interests of the more oppressed workers and pandering to the prevailing prejudices and narrow interests of privileged layers in the working class and of the trade-union-bureaucracy.

Revolutionists call for unity in action of the working class against attacks by the class enemy. But we fight to break up the "unity" that is founded on subordination of the historical interests of the class as a whole to those of the more privileged workers, to the anti-working class interests of the union bureaucracy, and to the capitalist class.

Revolutionists do not call for unity of the working class based on the narrow parochial interests of the more privileged strata of workers, or on the current level of political consciousness, but for unity on a class struggle program. This orientation requires full support to the struggles of all the less-privileged workers and oppressed sectors of the population, against the special oppression they suffer as a result of the racial, sexual, and generational divisions fostered by the ruling class. In reality, far from threatening the real unity needed by the working class against its class enemies, the struggles of the oppressed nationalities, the women, the youth are all helping to deal powerful blows to the ideological barriers that racism, sexism, and narrow job-thirst attitudes erect against the unity of the working class on a class struggle program.

The reformist and ultra-left alike argue that the struggles that have so far emerged in the current radicalization are basically "petty bourgeois." Thus the demands and driving forces of the radicalization at this "petty bourgeois" stage are ephemeral and will be overcome at the next stage when the workers enter the struggle.

They are wrong on all counts. The demands and struggles of the students pointing toward the struggle for the red university, the demands of the antiwar movement for immediate withdrawal of the imperialist army from Vietnam, the social and political demands of women for their liberation, are all directed against the interests and authority of the ruling class and in the interests of the working class.

Far from diminishing the importance of these movements, the radicalization of deeper layers of the working class, which will occur in part around these political issues, will give them tremendous impetus. When this occurs, these movements will have the most powerful and decisive reinforcement of all, the entry of a great majority of the working class into struggle against the common enemy, the ruling class. And each of them will gain powerful new proletarian forces.

Only a leadership applying a transitional program that includes the progressive demands of all the oppressed, and tested by previous struggles, will be capable of leading the working class and its allies in a victorious struggle for the establishment of a workers state.

Both our reformist and ultra-left opponents exhibit a tendency towards economism in their ultimately pessimistic view of the role of the workers in the radicalization process. They see struggle over wage and job issues, in isolation from the political issues and motive forces of the radicalization, as the sole way the workers will be brought into struggle. This is tied to their misconception--and hope--that independent movements like Black nationalism and feminism will somehow fade away when the

"real" struggle begins.

The issues that have already been raised in the current radicalization are not peripheral to the process of social discontent; they are central to it, and, in combination with struggles by the workers over wage and job issues, will lead to the politicalization and radicalization of the working class.

And the independent and uncompromising demands of these various movements will be an additional aid to the workers' struggles against the efforts of the reformists to channel the burgeoning radicalization into the dead end of class collaborationism.

In face of the radicalization, the reformists and ultralefts are basically conservative. They fear the struggles of the developing radicalization, the revolt of the least privileged, just as they fear the revolution itself. This is reflected in either their sectarian abstention from the living movements emerging in the process of the radicalization or their participation only to divert, blunt, and in essence oppose the demands of these movements, their uncontrolled initiatives, and their independent political thrust.

REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF THE WORKING CLASS
At bottom, this conservatism betrays a deep lack of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class and an ignorance of the essential nature of social revolution. Our opponents do not think that the young, militant workers who will revolt are capable of ever becoming anti-war, feminist or profeminist, and self-reliant. If that were true, the workers would also be incapable of mobilizing the oppressed masses to overturn capitalism and of shouldering the immense task of constructing socialism.

Thus at bottom our opponents are utopians. They really do not believe that the ranks of the workers can do the job. And in practice they substitute reliance and dependence on other forces—the sectarians their mechanical political fanatics, and the reformists in "taking office" in parliament.

When the reformists or ultralefts proclaim that the forms and issues of the radicalization are detours, aberrations or obstacles to the working class taking power they mean in actuality that the radicalization threatens to become more and more of an obstacle to their desire to keep the class struggle in reformist channels or to control it according to a preconceived scheme.

All class collaborationists and reformists will recoil from the future spontaneous, audacious, and uncontrolled mobilizations of the working class because they will be frightened by their lack of ability to tightly dominate that movement, but far from abstaining they will do everything they can to keep the workers within reformist channels.

The sectarians (those who have not become the crassest opportunists) will scold the workers, recoiling from the new forms, language, and initiatives of the political radicalization of the working class just as they have done with regard to the current movements.

In the character of their political response and line in the face of the rise of the new radicalization we have been provided with a preview of how our opponents will react to the radicalization of the working class.

And it is here that we can see the form of a mistaken idea of the coming radicalization of the working class and what our tasks should be in regards to it. Some of our opponents see the only possible form this radicalization could take is in response to a recession of the size of 1929 and in terms of the radicalization of the 30's.

However, the important question at this stage is not predicting what forms the workers will create in their future struggles; or how many and which unions can be transformed into revolutionary instruments. The key thing to understand is that building the independent movements that have emerged in the new radicalization, and deepening their struggles, is part of the process of the radicalization of the working class and the preparation of its right for political independence; and that the struggle to transform the unions includes fighting within the unions for support to the central demands of the independent struggles rising in the current radicalization.

Everyone of our opponents without exception adopts opportunist attitudes and positions in practice. The Communist Party (CP) vacillates in its support of the independent character of the antiwar movement; its union leaders sell out vital struggles — it refuses to face its past. The Labour Press group deny any support to the antiwar or women's liberation movements. The Maoists flip-flop from ultraleft confrontation rhetoric to absurd support for the "progressive" bourgeoisie.

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME

Fundamentally these tendencies fail to understand the vital question in revolutionary practice today — the transitional program and its application to the struggles erupting today.

The real solution to the problem of bridging the gap between the masses and our program of revolutionary socialism is to be found in the proper application of the transitional method taught us by Trotsky. The method is not complicated. It consists in approaching the masses at whatever level they may stand and in drawing them through progressive struggles and explanations toward a higher level of thought and action, that is, in the direction of socialist revolution.

If we think this through carefully we can see that the first linkup must be determined empirically. Moreover, our own wishes, or our own level of class consciousness, must not be permitted to influence our judgment as to the real nature of the issues on which they are prepared to go into action. Since the ideology of society as a whole is shaped by the ideology of the ruling class, we must be prepared to accept situations in which the masses, or a sector of the masses will respond only to slogans of quite limited nature. Or, to put it in more revolutionary terms, we ought to look for such situations.

If one were to place some of these slogans in the logical sequence of history rather than surprising labels could justifiably be placed on them. In the case of democratic slogans which are so important in the struggle against fascism, or against dictatorial regimes of lesser malignancy, or against the erosion of democratic rights in countries that still proclaim adherence to bourgeois democracy, it would be necessary to call them "bourgeois" or petty bourgeois.

That should not cause us to hesitate to use them. In fact an audacious and aggressive attitude in this respect lies at the heart of the Transitional Program and the method it teaches. We are unable to choose the field of battle. In the class struggle, battles break out as a consequence of forces over which we have no control at the present stage of our development. We, as revolutionary socialists, have no choice but to engage in these battles, otherwise we will not grow but will wither on the vine.

The audacity in the transitional approach consists in attempting to wrest these slogans out of the hands of the bourgeois politicians who seek to utilize them to divert the masses into safe parliamentary channels.

Note carefully. No matter how one characterizes democratic slogans, we fight for them with proletarian methods of struggle — not

bourgeois methods, which consist today at best of parliamentary shadow-boxing.

It may sound paradoxical, but in an Imperialist country, in the stage of the death agony of capitalism, revolutionary socialists can find themselves utilizing proletarian methods of struggle in defense of a slogan that belongs logically to the epoch of the ascending bourgeois revolution.

If we call democratic slogans "bourgeois" or "petty bourgeois" we have to add at once that all this really means in the context of the times is that it has fallen to the revolutionary-socialist movement to defend the great historic gains, or historic objectives, of previous revolutions, such as freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom to organize, freedom to control one's own body. If the proletariat and its allies are prepared to defend the democratic gains or democratic slogans of the bourgeois revolution, this is a very positive beginning. We can join them in that and proceed from this relatively backward ideological level to help the workers reach full class consciousness.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

In the final analysis, the decisive question is the construction of a mass Trotskyist party. S.Y.A. though organizationally independent is linked through a common program with the Socialist Workers League, the nucleus of the cadres essential to the building of such a party.

S.Y.A. is a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, the World party of the socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. At the last world congress of the Fourth International a resolution on "The Worldwide Radicalization of the Youth and the tasks of the Fourth International" was adopted for discussion.

The concluding section amply summarizes the nature and role of the Socialist Youth Alliance:

Three interrelated tasks are indicated by this analysis of the sweep of the radicalization of the youth. These are:

- (1) To win the leadership of the radical youth in the spheres of both ideology and action.
- (2) To build strong Marxist youth organizations.
- (3) To draw new cadres from the youth to replenish the ranks and supply fresh energy to the leadership of the sections of the Fourth International.

The Trotskyist youth have greater possibilities of leading substantial forces in action than any other tendency in the radical movement. In several countries they have already proved capable of initiating and directing movements of considerable proportions and significance. One example is the worldwide campaign

undertaken in defense of the Vietnam revolution. Another is the role played by the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire in the historic May-June 1968 days in France. A third is the ideological influence of the Fourth Internationalists in the movement led by the National Strike Council of the Mexican students.

No tendency can hope to root itself in and gain political leadership of the radical youth that does not fully and audaciously participate in the front ranks of its ongoing struggles, whatever shortcomings they may have. At certain points the youth movement can only progress through action, and the absence of action can condemn it to prolonged division and sterility. The Trotskyist youth must set the example in practice, as well as in theoretical concepts and political pronouncements.

However, there is an abundance of activism, of readiness to struggle and sacrifice among the ranks of youth. What is most lacking in the new generation is theoretical training, political clarity, and a correct line of struggle. This side of the revolutionary-socialist youth movement is of decisive importance for its further development. Growing recognition of this will become registered in the widening influence of Trotskyism. The superiority of the Trotskyist movement over its opponents and rivals comes from its sound Marxist foundations, its Bolshevik traditions, its programmatic comprehensiveness and concreteness, its adherence to socialist internationalism. These features likewise constitute its chief attraction to radicalizing youth.

While spreading the ideas of Trotskyism among the youth with whom they participate in united combat, the Fourth Internationalists must seek to construct a revolutionary Marxist youth organization that will systematically educate its members and followers in the methods, doctrines, and positions of the Trotskyist movement from its origins. All the results of activity among the youth can be jeopardized if the organizational requisite for this educational work is neglected.

Work among the youth is not an end in itself. It reaches fruition in the impetus given to the construction or reinforcement of the revolutionary parties that will be capable of leading the working class to victory. The sections of the Fourth International are as yet too small to lead the masses in their own name and under their own banner in a decisive struggle for power.

Their task now is to win and educate decisive numbers of the radical youth in order to equip them for the greater task of winning leadership of the revolutionary elements among the working masses. To fulfill that function adequately, the youth recruits must thoroughly assimilate the organizational concepts of Bolshevism and its methods of constructing politically homogeneous and democratically centralized parties. The construction of such parties in the struggles that are erupting is the only means of overcoming the crisis of leadership which is the central contradiction of our epoch.

Government authorities the world over, whether in the advanced capitalist powers, the workers states, or the colonial world, are becoming increasingly concerned over the unrest among their youth which is becoming more and more unmanageable. Their worries are justified. This rising generation has already manifested a tremendous potential for radical activity and a powerful will to change the status quo.

Whoever succeeds in winning the allegiance of the most intelligent and devoted activists among the rebel youth holds the key to the future. For they will play a major role in making history and deciding the destiny of mankind for the rest of the twentieth century.

Insurgent students in a number of countries have already shown how their initiative in confronting the established powers can serve to stimulate struggle in other sectors of society. The young workers will be in the forefront of the movements to break the grip of the bureaucratic machines in the unions and will set an example for the older generations in their militancy and interest in revolutionary politics.

The Fourth International cannot afford to default in what is its central task today — winning and assimilating the best of the rebel youth. A good start has already been made in a number of countries. It is now imperative to build on these achievements. This requires better coordination of the activities of the youth groups of the different sections and closer collaboration on such projects as antiwar and defense campaigns, and the development of new openings for the movement internationally.

The aim is to enable the Fourth International to become the recognized voice, organizer, and leader of the youth, who are called upon to advance the world revolution.

27,000 DEMONSTRATE IN NEW ZEALAND AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

On July 14 more than 27,000 New Zealanders marched in the country's main cities to demand that the U.S. get out of S. E. Asia immediately and stop the bombing of Indochina. The demonstrators also demanded a total end to New Zealand support for the war.

Trade unionists, Labour party M.P.'s, branches, and supporters, Christian antiwar groups, and university and high school students participated in the same numbers as they have in the past.

"Women Against the War" contingents were organised in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. A new feature in Auckland and Wellington was the organisation of Polynesian contingents who marched under banners bearing such slogans as: "Polynesians against Racist Wars." In Christchurch a lively and vociferous Gay contingent took part in the march, organised by the recently formed Gay Liberation Movement in that city.

The July 14 Mobilisation was called by a National Antiwar Conference, held in Auckland April 22-23, which was attended by 400 persons from all over the country, from different sectors of society, and from various political groups. The perspective adopted by the conference was completely vindicated by the massive and enthusiastic turnout and by the most popular of the marchers' chants: "Out Now! Out Now!"

PROTEST IN BANGLADESH

Thousands of Bengali workers have demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in a demonstration against skyrocketing



Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman and government corruption. The "Washington Post" reported a demonstration of 20,000 in chilly rain.

Addressing the meeting, the National Awami Party leader, Mr. Bhashani, accused the government of living in ivory towers of luxury while thousands starved. Since June the prices of food and clothing have increased three or four times while those of cooking fuel have doubled or tripled. Bengalis and foreign observers agree government MPs are hoarding relief food or selling it on the black market.

Bhashani's solution is a coalition government. However the real answer lies with the workers and peasants themselves taking power, removing the parasites, and beginning to build a socialist economy.

PEKING DENIES BANGLADESH SEAT IN U.N.

China, in its first use of its Security Council veto, voted against a resolution to admit Bangladesh to the United Nations on August 25.

Last year the Chinese regime supported Yahya Khan's brutal efforts to crush the revolt that led to the creation of Bangladesh by granting \$300,000,000 in economic and military aid to Pakistan. This was in the midst of savage bombing raids against North Vietnam and it included 60 Mig-19 jets badly needed in Vietnam for use against American B-52s.

The formal reasons given by Peking for its action were that Bangladesh was defying U.N. resolutions calling for withdrawal of all foreign troops from Bangladesh and for the repatriation of prisoners of war. Apparently more stringent rules hold for applicants than for a member like the U.S.A., that regularly violates the charter of an outfit that it helped to create and that it still dominates.

Peking's veto clearly violated Bangladesh's right to self-determination. For while it might be asked what workers states like China and the Soviet Union are doing in the imperialist-dominated

THE WORLD



REVOLUTION

New Zealand anti-war mobilisation in Auckland July 14

U.N. in the first place, any country that wants to join it should be allowed to do so.

RISING PROTEST OVER WITCH HUNT TRIALS

Forty-one Sri Lanka youths accused of participating in the April 1971 uprising are being tried despite protests by defense attorneys and growing opposition by trade unions and civil libertarians. The youths are the first of the 18,000 seized for allegedly engaging in the uprising. At least 10,000 are still being held.

Attorney General Victor Tenneloon charged that the youths were responsible for civilian deaths during the uprising. The government apparently hopes to use the trial to shift the blame for the massacres committed by Bandaranaike's security forces onto the young rebels.

Five defense attorneys withdrew from the trial in protest against rulings that no defense arguments questioning the legality of the proceedings could be heard.

The increasingly isolated United Front government is seeking to placate opposition by promising large-scale releases of detainees in the near future. Despite such promises Prime Minister Bandaranaike has made frequent speeches denouncing the island's young people and blaming them for many of the economic and political problems faced by her government.

"Don't keep blaming the government and attempt revolution," she warned. "We admit our failings but we expect you to point it out to us through your MPs." To make certain that the MPs's jobs would not be threatened by such "pointing out," Bandaranaike's parliament recently extended its term of office until 1978.

A leaflet calling for a one day hunger strike against repression was issued on July 20. It was the first call to mass protest action issued by prominent political figures and unionists since the state of emergency was instituted in March 1971.

MALAGASY REPUBLIC IN "STATE OF SEIGE"

General Gabriel Ramantsoa has declared martial law and a "state of seige" in the Malagasy Republic so that the government can "work in a serene atmosphere." The country is facing severe economic problems and the government is afraid of another upsurge by workers and students. In May President Tsiranana handed over power to Ramantsoa in an attempt to head off a mass mobilization by students and workers. (see *Direct Action* No. 21)

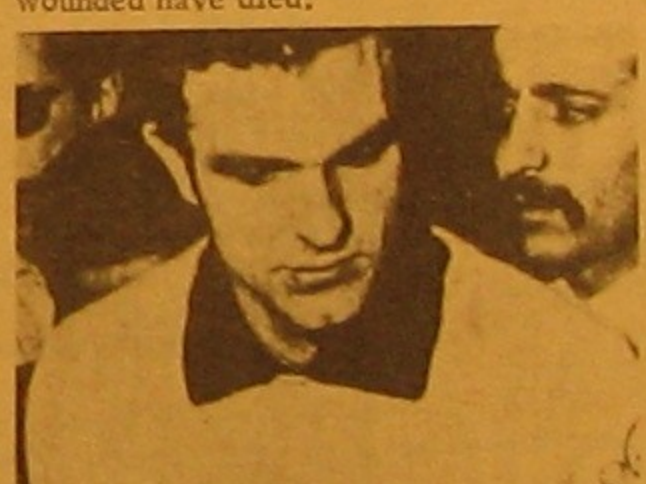
MASS MURDER OF ESCAPED GUERRILLAS IN ARGENTINA.

At least 16 young revolutionists have been slaughtered and repression stepped up following an extensive guerrilla operation in Argentina. It was designed to free 120 political prisoners in the Rawson penitentiary. Although one guard was killed when he tried to sound the alarm, none of the

others were harmed during the period of several hours when the prisoners were in complete control of the institution. Only 25 prisoners took part in the escape on August 15. Six escaped in a car waiting outside the prison and the others called three taxis. The six reached Trelew airport and commandeered a plane about to take off. Although they held the plane briefly at the airport their 19 comrades arrived a few minutes after they forced it to take off for Chile.

The 19 trapped guerrillas then decided to occupy the airport restaurant where they held a fifty minute press conference. As government military forces closed in the guerrillas lay down their weapons and surrendered.

On August 22 it was reported that 13 of the guerrillas held at the airport had been executed and six others were in a critical state. It was alleged that the 19 had attempted another escape by kidnapping a guard and ran into a patrol and were mowed down. At least another 3 of the wounded have died.



Captured guerrilla Humberto Segundo Suarez

The government has launched a repression involving enormous raids, dozens of arrests, long jail sentences for distributors of publications "attributable" to the guerrillas and other left groups.

Widespread Protest over Massacre
The bodies of three young Argentinians killed in Trelew August 22 became focuses of public protest against the government massacre, as they were sent back to cities all over Argentina.

The remains of Mariano Pujada Badell and Humberto Adrian Toschi arrived in Cordoba on August 23 where they lay in the regional headquarters of the CGT (Confederacion General del Trabajo). Many people tried to enter the headquarters but were stopped by an iron ring of police, according to a UPI dispatch from Cordoba reported in the Aug 24 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Nacion*.

Student demonstrations broke out in almost every major Argentinian city as soon as news of the massacre became known. The military regime clamped down to try to prevent the protests from escalating.

On August 22 a mass assembly was called at the Universidad Nacional de Cordoba. Shortly after the meeting began police invaded and arrested several hundred people.

Notable protest actions also took place in La Plata following a mass assembly in the school of Physics where the participants almost managed to erect a street barricade. In Corrientes students who attempted to organize a march were dispersed by the police and in Buenos Aires 1500 marched on a rally on the Universidad Tecnologica Nacional. Students in Santa Fe built barricades on several streets and set them on fire. Barricades also went up in Tucuman. In San Luis, police dispersed a demonstration, provoking violent clashes.

Various trade union protests took place as a result of the massacre highlighted by a stoppage called by the local CGT in Cordoba. The police responded by closing down the CGT headquarters and arresting trade union leaders.

Whatever the effects of the governmental repression of the protests against the slaughter seemed on the last weekend in August to be assuming more and more of a massive character. This is confirmed by an August 25 A.P. dispatch which reported: "This industrial city of nearly a million people was crippled today by a fourteen hour general strike protesting the slaying of the sixteen guerrillas and supporting a demand for higher wages."

ARGENTINE GUERRILLAS ARRIVE IN HAVANA

The ten Argentine guerrillas who hijacked an airliner to Chile on August 15 left the Chilean capital of Santiago ten days later for Cuba. According to a Reuters dispatch from Santiago August 25, President Salvador Allende announced in a nationwide broadcast that his government "had granted them political asylum but had also taken steps to insure they left Chile as quickly as possible."

The arrival of the guerrillas in Chile placed Allende in an embarrassing position. If he refused to grant them asylum and allowed them to be extradited back to Argentina, where they would quite likely have been executed, not only would the left-wing image of his regime have emerged badly tarnished but the refusal would have met with considerable opposition inside Chile, even within his Popular Unity coalition. On the other hand, Allende has committed his government to a strict observance of bourgeois legality and has been cultivating friendly relations with the Argentine military dictatorship.

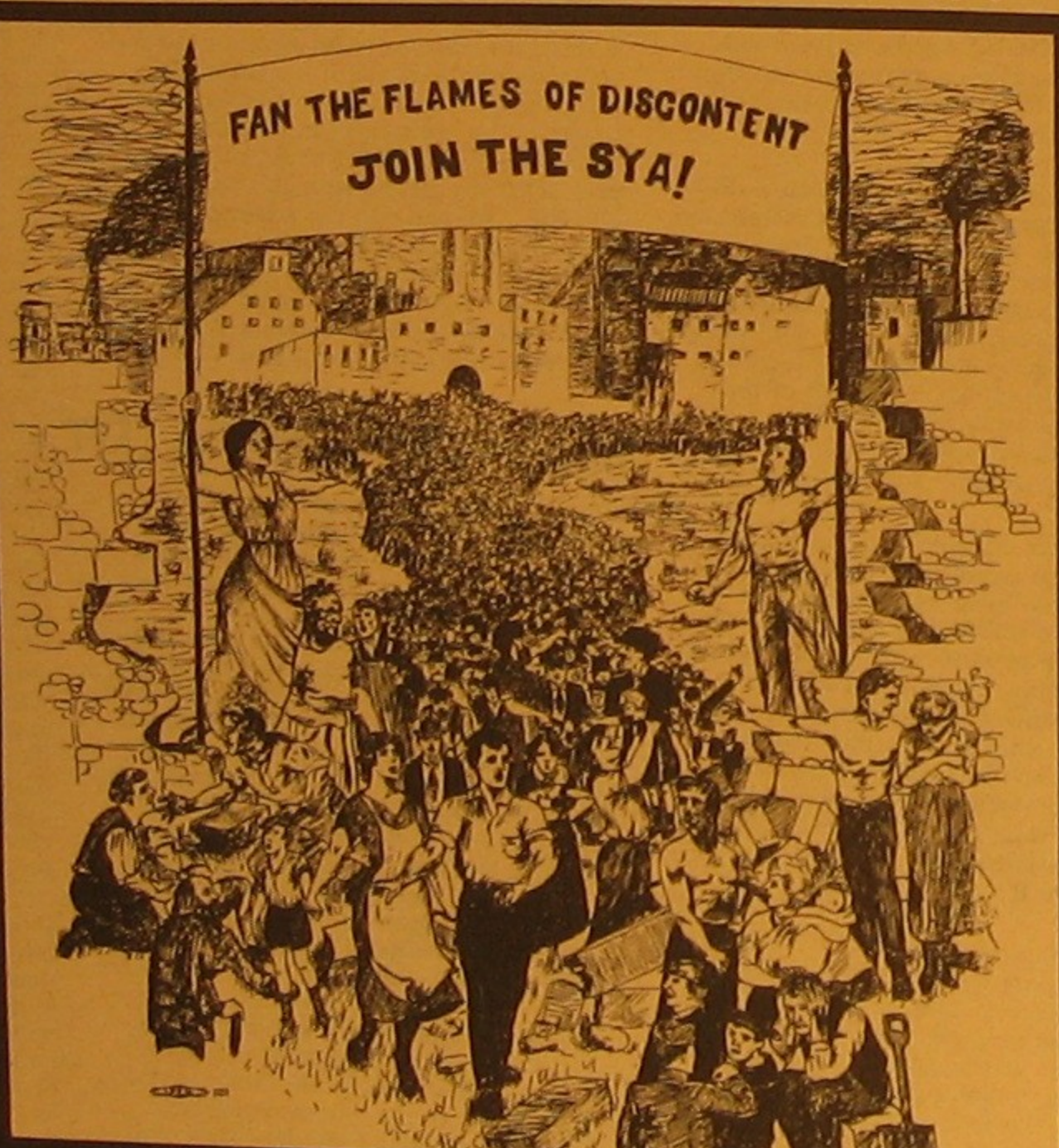
For a "leftist" government that has consistently maintained that it would respect existing bourgeois legality, the guerrillas posed an embarrassing problem. For Chile and Argentina are not only both signatories to a treaty on extradition, but also to a treaty on air piracy. In the context of the former, it would be up to the bourgeois courts to rule on Argentina's plea for extradition, while under the terms of the latter, the hijackers would have to be placed on trial in Puerto Montt, the point where they first landed in Chile. Either of these two courses would have plainly entailed a high political cost for the Allende regime.

DEFENSE GROUPS MOBILIZE IN FRANCE, U.S.

As the Allende regime was deliberating over what to do with the ten Argentine guerrillas who hijacked a plane to Chile, defense groups in Europe and the United States began to mount pressure on the Chilean authorities to grant them political asylum.

In Paris, for instance, the Committee to Defend Argentine Political Prisoners sent a delegation to the Chilean embassy on August 21. Among those who were received by charge d'affaires Jorge Edwards was Alesia Krivine of the Political Bureau of the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, and the publisher Francois Maitrot. "Mr. Edwards were concerned about respecting the country's laws, which recognize the right of asylum on political grounds," according to *Le Monde* August 24. "He expressed optimism as to the solution the Allende government might adopt."

On August 23, the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) sponsored a protest of the Chilean embassy in Washington, D.C., and a demonstration in New York City. The latter began with a picket line in front of the offices of Aerolineas Argentinas, which was followed by a march to the Chilean mission to the United Nations. There a delegation delivered a letter addressed to Allende demanding that the guerrillas not be extradited to Argentina.



If you oppose the Vietnam war and conscription, if you want a socialist Australia, democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, the struggle for socialist liberation throughout the world— join the SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE. I would like to join S.Y.A. I would like more information on S.Y.A. NAME ADDRESS POST TO S.Y.A., P.O. Box 160, Glebe, 2037, or to the branch in your state.



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

PART 6

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

Chapter 6: From 1948 to 1968

I. From 2nd World Congress to the Split in the International Trotskyist Movement

At the Second World Congress, held in April-May 1948, several sections, especially in Europe, found themselves replenished and strengthened by new forces acquired in the aftermath of the war. In some cases, these sections began to be a factor in the political life of their countries. Thus, despite the growth of the old parties (especially the Communist parties) during that period, the perspective of a further development of the Fourth International's sections was adopted by the congress, which raised the slogan, "Forward to building mass Trotskyist parties!" But the situation was in the process of developing in a totally unexpected direction. The few signs pointing to this development were still too weak at the time of the congress to permit of a correct evaluation—too weak even to give us an inkling of where it was headed. The postwar revolutionary wave in Western Europe seemed to be momentarily halted, but actually it had begun to subside. The "cold war" had only just started. The Soviet blockade of West Berlin would start several weeks later. The "Prague coup," i.e., the seizure of power by the Czechoslovak Communist party, was only a few weeks old. The social changes within the so-called people's democracies were only beginning to take shape. There was no way to foresee the break that was to take place two months later between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Important events and totally unexpected developments occurred immediately after the Second Congress and for some years thereafter. Their results were unpredictable; the world was assuming a shape that had never been

envisioned or even imagined by the most eminent, the most perspicacious, the most farsighted Marxists. These upheavals raised extremely complicated theoretical and political problems. Moreover, we were confronted, not with a single event that could have been judged *per se*, but with numerous events spread out over several years and not necessarily connected with each other. These events finally, after several years, resulted in a world picture totally different from what had previously been seen, even since the first world war and the October Revolution. Certain Marxist tenets seemed to be placed in doubt by some aspects of the situation. As a result, a multiplicity of assessments and theories proclaiming the bankruptcy of Marxism appeared. Marxists could not answer these arguments with a pure and simple repetition of basic tenets, treating the latter as eternal truths independent of time and space. Such an approach would not have been worthy of Marxists. The primary task of the Fourth International was to place the basic teachings of revolutionary Marxism in juxtaposition with the new world picture, to redefine the situation, to reevaluate perspectives and tasks. Neglecting such a task would have meant leaving the field free both for the apologists of the Communist parties and for the innumerable revisionists on the left and on the right.

For the sake of clarity, this exposition will not treat events in chronological order but will first point out the major changes that took place as a whole—in order to arrive at the overall picture that emerged at the end of a few years. In this way, theoretical problems that were raised and difficulties that had to be resolved will stand out. The actions of the Fourth International can thus be set forth in context, making it possible to judge them on an objective basis.

Postwar Upheavals

Let us first review the main events and the basic changes that occurred from 1947-48 to about 1960. The "cold war" began in 1947. Soon—after the breach in the American monopoly on atomic energy in 1949—the development of nuclear weapons and the atomic arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union would begin. The problem of world war was thenceforth posed in new terms, not new on the social level, but new because of the availability of vast powers of destruction, so huge that they were in a completely different dimension from so-called conventional weapons. In 1947 the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) was created. At the same time, the "cold war" led the Soviet Union (in order to protect its buffer states) to effect a social change—by military-bureaucratic means—in the East European countries its armies had entered during the war. Despite a few measures aimed at those members of the propertied classes who had collaborated with the Germans, the army had left the bourgeois social structures of these countries intact. The "cold war" forced the Kremlin to liquidate the bases of capitalism in those countries and to transform them into workers states. In June of 1948 the first great crisis of Stalinism erupted, in the shape of the Soviet-Yugoslav split. The Yugo-

slav Communist party was expelled from the Cominform on charges reminiscent of the prewar Moscow trials—the Yugoslavs were fascists, spies, etc. But, for the first time, the Kremlin's hegemony over the workers states and the Communist parties as a whole was challenged—challenged by a party that had led the armed struggle during the war and had, against Stalin's advice, pursued that struggle until it had established a workers state. Stalin extended his repression in the East European workers states in order to prevent any spreading of the Yugoslav split. But the Yugoslav affair was his first big setback, at the very moment that the Soviet Union was at the peak of the glory reaped from its resistance during the war and its victory over Hitler's armies.

October 1949 saw the victory of the Chinese revolution, that too despite the advice Stalin gave the Chinese Communist party's leadership, namely, to make a deal with Chiang Kai-shek. The collapsing Kuomintang regime took refuge on the island of Taiwan (Formosa), where it would thenceforth survive only by grace of U.S. military aid. The victory of the Chinese revolution had immense repercussions, which have developed through the years and which we shall summarize as follows:

1. A huge shift in the overall relationship of forces on an international scale, to the advantage of socialism.
2. A tremendous impetus to the colonial revolution, which thenceforth would spread from one colonized continent to another; outbreak of the Korean war in 1950; continuation of the Vietnamese revolution, first against French imperialism, later against American imperialism; extension of the colonial revolution to Latin America and victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba in 1959; extension of the colonial revolution to the Middle East, to North Africa in the 1950s, then to Black Africa from 1960 on.
3. Extension of the crisis of Stalinism. In the course of the postwar period, enormous upheavals also occurred in the economically developed capitalist countries, in the capitalist countries based on a colonial structure, and in the workers states. Let us review them.

In a great many colonial countries, we witnessed a quasi withdrawal by the imperialist nations (principally Britain; others, to a lesser extent), in which these colonies acquired formal political independence while at the same time an economic hold on them was maintained. These new—and indirect—forms of domination constitute what has been called *neocolonialism*. In several cases, American imperialism has supplanted the colonizing imperialism in its function of economic hegemony. Indigenous bourgeois leaderships of a special type appeared (Peronism, Nasserism, Sukarnoism, etc.). Sometimes they played along with mass movements—a dangerous game. In the case of Cuba, the revolution won victory under a leadership which, although it did not originate in the working-class movement—and certainly not in the official Communist movement—made the revolution a socialist one. Finally, in the colonial movements there are a number of leaderships that either try to seesaw between West and East, or gravitate for a time around the workers states without, however, effecting their countries' social transformation into workers states.

The growth and development of colonial revolutionary movements persisted. But—with the exception of Cuba in Latin America—receiving neither sufficient solidarity from the working-class movements in the imperialist centers nor a correct political line from the workers states, it was difficult for them to find a political orientation that would permit them to resolve, in the least costly way, the problems posed by the economic and social backwardness of their countries.

The Soviet Union's isolation, unbroken since 1917, had come to an end—in the West (the "people's democracies" of Eastern Europe) as well as in the East (China and the Democratic Republics of Vietnam and Korea). Then, on the American continent, socialist Cuba was born.

To the Soviet Union were added workers states which, with the exception of Czechoslovakia and East Germany, were less developed economically than the first workers state. Following a rocky period of postwar reconstruction in which Stalinism, faithful to its concept of "socialism in one country," shamelessly pillaged the neighboring countries, the Soviet Union's progress was so tremendous that it became the world's second greatest economic power. In the new workers states of Eastern Europe, the new forms of property ownership also, generally speaking, brought about great economic progress. This, however, did not serve to improve the living standard of the masses to any considerable extent. In their initial period, these states had the same internal regime that the Soviet Union had experienced under Stalin. But the growth of the new relationships of production did not entail the growth of Stalinism. The latter proved incompatible with the former. The crisis of Stalinism thus began to become evident under the impact of various factors—the police state's ever greater brake on the Soviet Union's economic progress; the contradiction between the needs of the other workers states and the Kremlin's policies; the rising revolutionary tide throughout the world. The Communist parties were no longer inevitably and automatically aligning themselves with Moscow. China was to play a very special role in the crisis of Stalinism.

In Western Europe, the Communist parties, which had generally increased in size at the war's end, did not succeed (with exceptions such as France, Italy, etc.) in becoming rooted in the working class. The Social Democratic parties remained, or again became, the majority working-class parties.

As noted above, the crisis of Stalinism began with the Yugoslav events in 1948. This crisis, for all practical purposes, has never since stopped growing (onset of "de-Stalinization" after Stalin's death in 1953; East Berlin events in June 1953; Twentieth Congress [of the CPSU] and events in Poland and Hungary in 1956; Sino-Soviet conflict; Czechoslovak crisis, etc.).

The absence of a revolutionary victory in the economically developed countries was not without influence, for a time, on the "de-Stalinization" process. Among other things, it determined the protracted nature of this process and the fact that it was largely kept under control by the Kremlin bureaucracy. For the most part, the "socialist camp" remained under Moscow's hegemony. China's break with Moscow shook the Kremlin's authority in the Communist world to a tremendous extent, without contributing to any decisive advance for revolutionary Marxism.

In the highly developed capitalist countries, some very surprising phenomena occurred. There was general agreement among economists—both bourgeois economists and those in the labor movement, Marxist or not—that following a postwar period of reactivation and reconstruction, a serious economic crisis would occur. Marxists, basing themselves more particularly on Lenin's concepts of imperialism, believed that the loss of the colonies would contribute to the disintegration of the imperialist centers. Yet, far from disintegrating, for about fifteen years the capitalist world experienced boom, an unprecedented economic prosperity interrupted not by crises but only by "recessions" of varying but always limited size and duration. This led to what was called the "consumer society" or "neocapitalism," which on the surface seemed no longer to correspond with the capitalism that Marx had analyzed.

In this unparalleled prosperity, the European workers' movement, the oldest organized movement with the oldest Marxist tradition, experienced stagnation and even a pronounced political decline. The Social Democratic parties tended, even formally, to renounce socialism in order to become "people's parties"; the Communist parties "social-democratized" themselves; the left social-democratic tendencies dissolved; the revolutionary vanguard steadily dwindled. The socialist movement, born in Europe more than a century ago, raised in the perspective that a socialist revolution in Europe would precede the economic, political, and social development of other areas of the world, no longer corresponded to this image of yesteryear.

In the course of the first world war and in the early years of the October Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky had foreseen the possibility of victorious socialist revolutions in the colonial countries, paralleling those in Europe. But from 1948 onward, revolution was in full swing on capitalism's periphery, while in the imperialist centers the workers' movement was, or appeared to be, at a lower ebb than ever before in its entire history. And finally, in the countries where capitalism had been overthrown, the bureaucracy seemed to be entrenched, with the working class passively submitting to its domination.

A capitalism deprived of its colonies yet flourishing more than ever, with a working class shorn of political aspirations and almost exclusively preoccupied with its standard of living; in the workers states an extension of the new relationships of production, with bureaucratic domination maintained and without any workers' mobilizations; in the colonial countries a revolutionary upsurge, based essentially on the peasantry—all this largely explains the proliferation of theories denying, in one way or another, the historical mission of the proletariat as formulated by Marx, whether in classically capitalist countries, colonial countries, or workers states (the class nature of the last-named also gave rise to a multiplicity of theories). It was not possible to grasp the totality of the process immediately. In the midst of the tremendous pressures brought to bear on the entire world, and inevitably on the Trotskyist movement, delay was unavoidable.

The Crises in the Trotskyist Movement

It was impossible to deny these contradictory events and to cite, in lieu of explanation, all the great classics of revolutionary Marxism on the revolutionary mission of the proletariat, etc. In order to answer the profusion of theories successfully and to be able to act, it was necessary to proceed to an examination of the situation with the help of revolutionary Marxism, to seek therein the key that would permit an explanation of this new situation, to see what adjustments, rectifications, and enrichment had to be brought to revolutionary Marxism. This was possible only while participating in the class struggle at the same time, testing the evaluations of the new situation in the fire of battle. And this is what the Fourth International tried to do, in a situation rendered all the more difficult by the fact that it was operating in a political scene such as no revolutionary tendency had ever before

encountered. In addition to the enormously complex picture of the world that has been sketched here, the International was faced with the obstacle of two old, organized workers' movements, which came to life only when fighting revolutionary currents. The "workers state" factor, which, from 1917 on, had given a new dimension to working-class politics and which, in the form of Stalinism, had for so many years influenced the working-class movement, introduced—together with the existence of several workers states in the underdeveloped areas of the world—increasingly complex effects.

In order to understand the problems and tasks with which the Fourth International was faced, in order to understand the positions it took during the years in which these changes occurred, in order to judge its activity as objectively as possible—it is quite necessary to grasp the size and scope of the changes produced in the aftermath of the second world war. It is quite necessary to grasp this state of affairs in order to have a Marxist explanation of the internal difficulties the Fourth International experienced, especially its crises and its splits.

A detailed history of the Fourth International will not fail to examine each of the crises and splits, to study their various stages, the primary and secondary positions defended by this or that current or faction, the role of individuals, etc. But such a historical study can have value only if it is written from a Marxist view of the total picture, with a correct appreciation of the general causes at the root of these crises and splits, and of the main orientations which, aside from any specific position, conflicted with each other. It is this philosophy of crises, as it might be termed, that we will indicate here as an indispensable prerequisite. A number of our adversaries, incapable of doing this, find themselves reduced to mumbo-jumbo in describing this period of crises and splits, embellishing their account with more or less inane bits of gossip.

Let us start with a point that is not without significance. A big to-do has been made, and is still being made, about the crises the Trotskyist movement has gone through.

of colossal forces that tear up not only tiny vanguards, but bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups, workers' mass organizations, etc., as well. (It would be easy to draw up an impressive list.) The International Trotskyist movement's theoretical base is an invaluable instrument for relating the divisions that antagonistic forces tend to produce. But a theoretical base, no matter how powerful, is not without limits, especially in face of material forces that can at certain times assume considerable size in a few countries or groups of countries. As we shall see, in every crisis and split it is easy enough to uncover which factor (in the given circumstances) assumed undue proportions for a group of members—to the point where they left the International.

Subjectively, the situation was aggravated in numerous cases by the fact that since the organization was tiny, it was viewed by some as a secondary factor, to which too much importance should not be attached. Cutting it in half did not seem to matter much, numerically speaking, especially for those who believed they had found the orientation that would permit of rapid growth. These feelings were rendered all the stronger in view of the disproportion between the objectively revolutionary character of the situation—the important tasks this set—and the clearly inadequate forces and means at our disposal, a disproportion that continually weighed (and still does) on our movement. Such feelings are the exact opposite of those that prevail in mass organizations where the members, responsible to large masses and aware of the role of the organization *per se*, are loath to initiate splits—even when serious differences arise within these organizations.

We are not saying that crises and splits can be explained solely by the above-mentioned factors. Factors of a personal nature, for example, also played a role. But in order to have a clear understanding of history, the most general elements have to be placed in the forefront; without them the actions of other factors could not acquire significant weight. Within a period of about fifteen years,

the most important changes in history took place; changes embodying the transition from capitalism to socialism while the major revolutionary forces were still under reformist or Stalinist leadership; changes, moreover, affecting essentially the most backward, not the most economically advanced, countries in the world. This situation favored the rise of multitudinous theories denying the validity of Marxism. It also gave rise to tendencies and currents in the Trotskyist movement that to a certain degree held a distorted view of the situation; believed they could bank essentially on one or another aspect of the situation; and did not believe they had to consider the Fourth International, as constituted, a political force. As is always the case, those who broke away were not aware of the process they were part of—nor where it would lead them.

It is also worth noting that, with rare exceptions, those who broke with the Fourth International and did not take part in the 1963 reunification soon found themselves—if not politically nonexistent—with reduced forces, despite any expectations they might have had or the forces at their disposal when they left. Nor should we view this as an accidental result. Rather must we examine the causes of this phenomenon—not causes of a personal nature because there was no lack of determination or capability on the part of the individuals involved. This situation must be attributed to:

1. The fact that they embarked on a politically incorrect course.
 2. Their separation from the international movement, which, by its very international nature, was best able to resist the colossal forces at work in the world and to correct its own errors when they occurred.
- The International is not a fetish; it does not generate miracles. But, despite its numerical weakness, the very nature of the organization, centralized and democratic at the same time, makes it a force that can best prevent any national distortion and resist the pressures exerted throughout the world by all kinds of forces (state powers, mass movements with all kinds of leaderships, etc.).

[To be continued]

Ἄν θέλετε νά εἰσθε ἐνήμερος τῆς καταστάσεως στήν Ἑλλάδα, ἐγγραφεῖτε συνδρομητής στό

Intercontinental Press

"If you want to keep up with the situation in Greece, subscribe to *Intercontinental Press*," urges one of our partisans in that country. You don't need to know Greek to read *Intercontinental Press*. It's written in straight-forward English, issued on a weekly basis (except during August and the Christmas holidays). Fill out the subscription blank and mail it in with your check.

Socialist Books
P.O. Box 151, Glebe, 2037.
Name.....
Address.....
Postcode.....

() Enclosed is \$10
() Enclosed is \$20
() Please send a sample copy (40c)

The High School Movement - History and Perspectives

by Greg Adamson

On September 20, probably for the first time in Australian history, secondary students in all states are uniting in national action to advance and defend their common interests. The September 20 actions are the initiators of an on-going national secondary school rights campaign, a campaign which is unique with respect to previous radical high school activity. A chronic weakness of most high school radicalism has been its scattered, ununited nature. For this reason the fact that many secondary students now see the importance of the national character of the campaign is a qualitative gain for the secondary school movement. The environment in any school is in such a fluid state that student radicalism can rise to great heights and fall away again in a period of only three or four weeks. Action in one city can by its coordinated nature succeed where a single school body is unsuccessful. For example, if the administration of one school takes particularly repressive measures against the students, the publicity gained by sympathy strikes in other schools may exert pressure on the school involved where action of the students involved had failed. In the same way, the stability of a national high school rights campaign puts the student population in a much stronger position with respect to the repressive school system (which is itself very well coordinated nationally). It is much harder to coordinate a campaign between all states than to organise within one area or city. Yet the momentum of a national campaign can achieve what no effort in one city can do. And since the same types of rules, regulations and circumstances oppress secondary students throughout Australia, students have a common obstacle which unity in action can defeat.

The decision to organise a national student rights campaign incorporating demonstrations and strikes on September 20 was not spontaneously thought of by students simultaneously throughout Australia. It was a conscious decision taken by students in Melbourne who from their own experiences felt the need for it. While there are many objectionable things about school, ranging from the autocratic rule of schools and arbitrary invention of rules and regulations to the exam system and restriction of subject choice, it is under the broad heading of student rights, including equality of education opportunity, that students could best unite to fight and improve the education system. The experience of these Melbourne students also warned them of the futility of "official channels". The response and enthusiasm from a Melbourne demonstration of students on May 31 this year left a greater impact on Melbourne schools than would have resulted from months of petitions and delegations. Following this success, the need to spread the campaign

interstate (for some of the reasons outlined above, and others) was seen and members of the Victorian Education Action Group (which had organised the May 31 demonstration of 3,000 students) called on students in other states to help build a national campaign. In Adelaide where there is a tradition of school strikes, both media and students reacted favourably to the idea. Activists in Sydney and Brisbane agreed with the need for the cam-

campaign and visits from a Melbourne student helped them to initiate the campaign. With help in publicity from Sydney, Canberra students built their activity and correspondence to other centres gave the campaign a really national character.

Thus a national student rights campaign was formed, with branches or organised supporters in each state, and published a

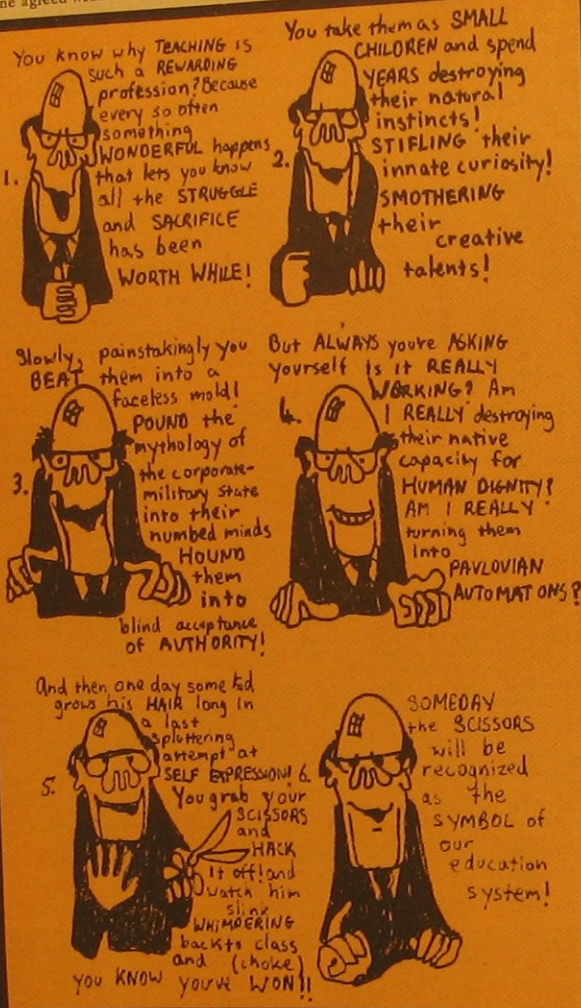
badge advertising the first action of the campaign - student strikes, demonstrations, and associated activity.

With these activities now under way two points should be noted. Firstly, the campaign has not abstractly decided to try to get student support and then take some action. The campaign has built itself on and advertised itself by the September 20 action. Abstractions are easy to misplace, but such declarations of intent as the campaign has made get the active support of students and the attention of the media. This has included a centre page spread in the "National Times", a ten minute television interview with the Sydney campaign coordinator and other students on "Current Affairs", numerous newspaper reports (especially in Adelaide), not to mention the part "Direct Action" has played in supporting the campaign. A large section of the media assert that all school students are "children" that any school radicalism is "manipulated by external influences". This is just one step down from such things as calling the campaign movement "a communist plot", such accusations have now lost most of their credibility. (It is unfortunate that members of the Communist Party of Australia have themselves fallen victim to this mythology, accusing the campaign of being influenced by outside forces.)

The second point about the high school rights campaign is that, although it is seen as an ongoing campaign, what comes after September is undecided. In most centres some sort of meeting will be held in the following week. The purpose of these meetings is to gather the activists who show their support for the campaign, elect some sort of standing committee, and prepare proposals for later national consultation.

Soon after September 20 students become entirely involved in yearly exams, and the holidays come as soon as these are all over. Also there will probably be no immediate results after the actions. Over this period any high school activity goes into a period of dormancy. If contact between student activists is retained over this period, then preparations for the 1973 school year could be made in the holidays. A national conference of these activists with discussion of past experience and future plans would serve this purpose.

So long as the campaign retains the clear goal of democratic rights for students, keeps a mass action perspective and remains independent of any other single organisation, it is assured of the active support of large numbers of students. For such an organisation is capable of uniting thousands of students, and of advancing their interests.



High School Revolutionaries - France 1968

by Dave Riley

The most unsung, and yet most extraordinary sector participating in the French May-June upsurge in 1968 is probably that of the high school students.

French high schools, or lycées, were even more strictly controlled and isolated from day-to-day reality than Australian schools. By way of discriminatory exams and the arbitrary decisions of the teachers themselves, the high schools were closed to the great majority of students from working class families. Those students were channelled off into technical schools at about the age of fourteen.

In the high schools (most of which were also segregated by sex) the course of study was heavily weighted towards the old time "classical education" - the good old Latin or Greek, etc. Those "fortunate" enough to survive the French lycée system faced at its end the hated "baccalauréat", similar to Higher School Certificate with the guarantee of higher education once the exam was passed. Usually, 13 percent survived the "baccalauréat".

Vietnam to CAL (Revolutionary Communist Youth - a Trotskyist Youth group), its allies and the PSU (United Socialist Party - a left centrist formation) set up an anti-war coalition. It was called the National Vietnam Committee (CVN) and it spawned scores of regional committees in much the same way as the Moratorium movement in this country. A litter of CVN committees sprang up in the schools and, in spite of headmasters' opposition, proved so successful that late in 1967 it was decided to mobilize high school students much more energetically for political action.

As was the case in the universities, the radicalizing impetus amongst French lycées was the war in Indochina - just as in Australia and elsewhere the same story can be told.

The movement, known as the CAL (Lycee Action Committee) sprang directly from the radicalization within the CVN movement. It began around a 24 hour strike organized in eight Paris high schools in

December, 1967. The strike was called in support of a demonstration protesting government cut backs in social security benefits. It proved 80 percent effective amongst the schools participating.

First Committees

The authorities, shaken by the strike, moved in to crush the leaders. As a result a member of the JCR was expelled from Lycee Cordoret. Some 500 students from all over Paris participated at a demonstration; one week later 1,800 students from all over Paris participated at a demonstration at Cordoret and battled with cops who were sent to prevent the students from entering the school.

From that point on the CAL began to blossom. Contact was established with some 50 schools in Paris and another 30 in the provinces; a bulletin of co-ordination was put out; a provisional leadership was elected; and new actions organized. The most important was a strike on Feb 26 supporting a teachers strike on the same day, with the students projecting their own demands.

For the rest of the year, CAL had planned a campaign around the examination system in the high schools. At that point the events of May 1968 took over.

Link up

The events at the two Parisian universities, Nanterre and the Sorbonne, had reached a crisis by May 3 when police invaded the Sorbonne. The street fighting on the 3rd and the rush of demonstrations that followed during the next week immediately had an impact amongst the Paris lycées. Classes were cancelled as high school students abandoned their work to discuss the situation. Many rushed to join the demonstrations.

On May 10 the CALs called an all day strike in all Paris lycées and 10,000 students marched to join the great demonstration which ended at the barricades.

As in all other sectors of the society, thousands who were previously non-political or unorganized poured into the movement.

CONTINUED PAGE 15