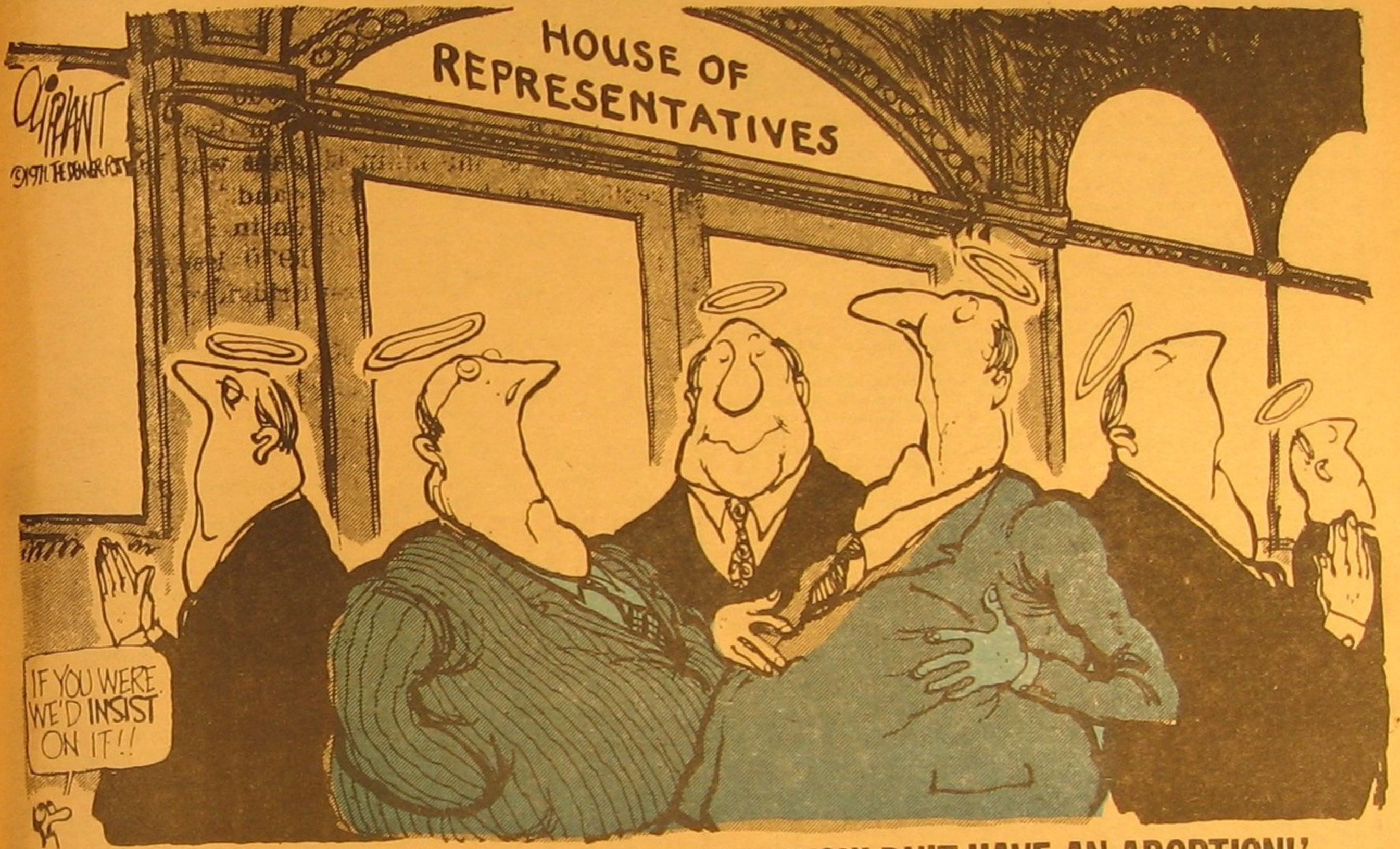


DIRECT ACTION

NO. 40 MAY 10 1973 20 CENTS

A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER



'WELL, IF I WERE PREGNANT I CERTAINLY WOULDN'T HAVE AN ABORTION!'

REPEAL ALL ABORTION LAWS!

Labor in Power: The Record
National Wage Case
Victorian Elections
Protests Against French Tests
The Road to Freedom by George Novack

DIRECT ACTION

No. 40 May 10, 1973.

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EDITORIAL

REPEAL ALL ABORTION LAWS!

The question of a woman's right to abortion has emerged in the past few weeks as one of the most important issues currently polarising society. It has become clear that the fight of women for the right to abortion, to the right to full control over their bodies and their reproductive processes is an important struggle which is challenging some of the most fundamental attitudes and institutions of this society. Lined up in opposition to the right of women to abortion are some of the most reactionary forces - the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church along with other religious leaders, right-wing politicians, the Ustasha...

At present these forces are on the offensive. They recognise that the traditional role of women in the family and in society is being threatened by the increasing militancy of women demanding their rights. They have decided to use the issue of abortion, and in particular the occasion of a reform bill being put before Federal Parliament on May 10, to try to reverse this trend and push back the women's movement. There are more far-reaching issues at stake than mere concern for the foetus.

The Catholic church in particular, through the so-called Right to Life Association has been using its enormous tax-free wealth and apparatus to mount a powerful campaign against the bill. This campaign rests on demagoguery and distortion, playing in the cruder way upon people's emotions. Foetuses are referred to as "children" and are even portrayed visually in their expensive propaganda material as wearing pig tails and standing upright. Concentration is on photographs of foetuses over 20 weeks of development, preferably in garbage cans. The emotion-laden terms of "killing" and "murder" are used to obscure the real issues involved: the rights, the safety and the whole course of life of pregnant women.

What comes through clearly in the position of these so-called "Right to Life" supporters is that the rights of men, of children and even the rights of foetuses come before the rights of women! The foetus is even described as being "in charge of the pregnancy". What is also apparent in the anti-abortion campaign is that the organisers, spokespeople and writers are predominantly

Contact Socialists In Your Area

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MELBOURNE: SWL, SYA, 136 Queensberry St., Carlton 3053. Ph 3473507
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BRISBANE: SWL, SYA, 40 Union St., Spring Hill 4000.
CANNBERRA: SYA, P.O. Box 1733 Canberra City, ACT 2601. Ph 477306 (John).
HOBART: SYA, P.O. Box 12 55N G.P.O., Hobart 7001.

... I would like to get in touch with the Socialist Workers League
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Inflation Accelerates

BY DAVID NIZOZ

The practice of "open government" has been applied to Australia so far in a very uneven manner. The Government policy with regard to a wage freeze has so far been disclosed in bits and pieces.

Any disclosure in regard to the actual implementation of any "prices and incomes policy" will have to wait at least to the Premiers' Conference on May 10. But "open government" does apply to the release of statistics. The Treasurer, Frank Crean, had indicated some days beforehand that the magnitude of the increase in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) was about 2 per cent. Thus there were no surprises all around when the real figures were released. An increase of 2.1 per cent was only slightly more than what was expected.

The early leakage of the figures has been used cleverly to underplay the significance of the increase. Consider, however, the following facts. The increase is the highest for any March quarter for 21 years. For a person on the average weekly wage the increase means a leap of \$2 a week in the cost of living. Because of rising food prices, (in particular staple foods like potatoes which went up 9.5 per cent) people at the lower end of the scale are going to be hurt even more severely as they spend a higher proportion of their income on such commodities.

The figures are quite obviously strong indicators of the seriousness of the situation. It is just not good enough to say that total inflation for the past twelve months amounts to "only" 5.7 per cent. It may be true that one can't derive the annual inflation rate simply by multiplying the quarterly figures by four owing to seasonal factors but inflation figures comparable to the Korean War "boom" of the early 1950's are being projected. The Institute of Political Affairs has been projecting rates of up to twenty per cent per annum. The figures may be biased by the Institute's opposition to many Labor policies but nevertheless they give an indication of the seriousness of the situation. There is no question, however, that the kind of inflation experienced in Australia at the moment is of the magnitude of the period of the Korean War - the worst in the Second World War.

The expectation of increasing inflation is not confined to the businessmen of the IPA or cynical bourgeois politicians like Snedden. The Reserve Bank of Australia in a statement issued on April 18, the very day the CPI figures were released, stated: "In view of the current and prospective increase in activities and the outlook for price increases..." (emphasis added). To the bank the prospects of increased inflation seem quite reasonable.

The Labor Government by now has to accept an increasing share of the responsibility for allowing inflation to continue, instead of just blaming its Liberal predecessors. Some type of action is seen as necessary, but the Federal Treasurer, Frank Crean, has been leading the charge against any measures.

There is one remedy that Crean has approved - a wage freeze. Alas he is unable to implement it. He needs the co-operation of the States. This is the essence of his excuse for the lack of activity by the Government. In a press conference he said the Government can't do anything about restraining prices until it gets co-operation from the States.

In more immediate terms the crux of Labor's anti-inflationary effort is being directed through the Prices Justification Tribunal. The mouthpiece of that wing of the ruling class advocating a wage freeze, The Melbourne Age, has advocated the use of the Tribunal as well as similar State bodies as part of the "incomes policy". However, no one has taken the Tribunal only to firms having turnover of over \$20 million and only those outside retailing, and eliminating penalties for price raising, make the Tribunal even weaker. Company Directors can only be fined for refusing to disclose information.

Even if the Prices Justification Tribunal had powers to act on price rises it would still be powerless in the international arena. A very large proportion of current inflation is exported from the US and Japan. There are two mechanisms for the transmission of inflation. One is direct through the higher prices paid by US importers, for beef for example. These raise the price in Australia. The other is indirect. As the price of wool went up after a large increase in demand from Japan, graziers stopped slaughtering their sheep. This in turn led to price rises for mutton and other meats.

No Prices Justification Tribunal can stop such price rises. No "incomes policy" can freeze these prices. The only way to protect worker's incomes from erosion is by instituting a system of monthly automatic wage rises based on a genuine cost of living index controlled by the trade unions and to have this system written into all contracts and awards.

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The moderate increase granted in the 1973 national wage case has been welcomed by union officials, as expected. But unexpected was the fact that some employers representatives also welcomed the Arbitration Commission's decision.

The commission granted in a unanimous decision a combined increase of \$2.50 (flat rate plus two per cent of the award rate). On the more 'generous' side, the commission awarded an increase of \$9 in the minimum wage. The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) presented a very well argued and substantiated case. Its advocates, Robert Jolly, presented a case for \$12.00 in the weekly award rates generally and a \$13.80 rise in the minimum wage.

The rise in the minimum wage lifts it to around the \$60 mark nationally. (The national variations are less than a dollar each way). The \$9 increase represents, of course, a much higher proportion of the unions' claims than an increase in the ordinary raise.

Undoubtedly there were two main reasons for the higher increases than the last few years. One of them was summarised very well in an article in the Sun, Sydney, May 8; "During the proceedings, the unions demanded that the minimum wage be raised to \$60 a week."

The actual increase falls considerably short of the unions' claims. For a person on \$70 the increase amounts to \$3.90. Even if the basic award is higher at say \$80, the rise only amounts to \$4.10. Actually an award of \$192 is required for anyone to receive the increase argued for by the ACTU.

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Reactionaries Organise Against Abortion

BY NITA KEIG

"Abortion is a Woman's Wrong!" read the banner stretched out in front of the Sydney Town Hall prior to a "Right to Life" meeting on Sunday April 29. Dozens of male "Right to Life"ishers (bouncers) sporting special labels, with the help of similar numbers of Town Hall attendants and State police patrolled the hall confiscating placards belonging to abortion rights supporters and attempting to stop heckling (sometimes physically).

The meeting filled up with what was predominantly a middle-aged audience. The meeting was to be typical of those held throughout Australia over the past few weeks. There were coloured slides projected onto an enormous screen, supposedly depicting "babies" being "pickled" and "scraped away". The commentator would introduce you to "a prime piece of abortion material" or "a typical candidate for abortion". Alternatively, the foetus was referred to as "he", "him", or "himself". Jim Cameron, NSW Liberal MLA spoke at the conclusion of the slide show. He spoke of the "tragedy of a child-to be born and never to know his mother's embrace..." Several people were taken outside, feeling sick during the evening.

The highlight of the evening was the appearance on stage of four young girls in long white dresses, some with guitars, who sang "Diary of an Unborn Child" of which a typical refrain was "Oh Mother, must I die... Oh Mother, must I die?"

Melbourne Abortion Rally

BY DOT TUMBEY

At 6.00pm on Friday, May 4, about 1000 people, the majority women, rallied in Melbourne's City Square to demonstrate for repeal of abortion laws.

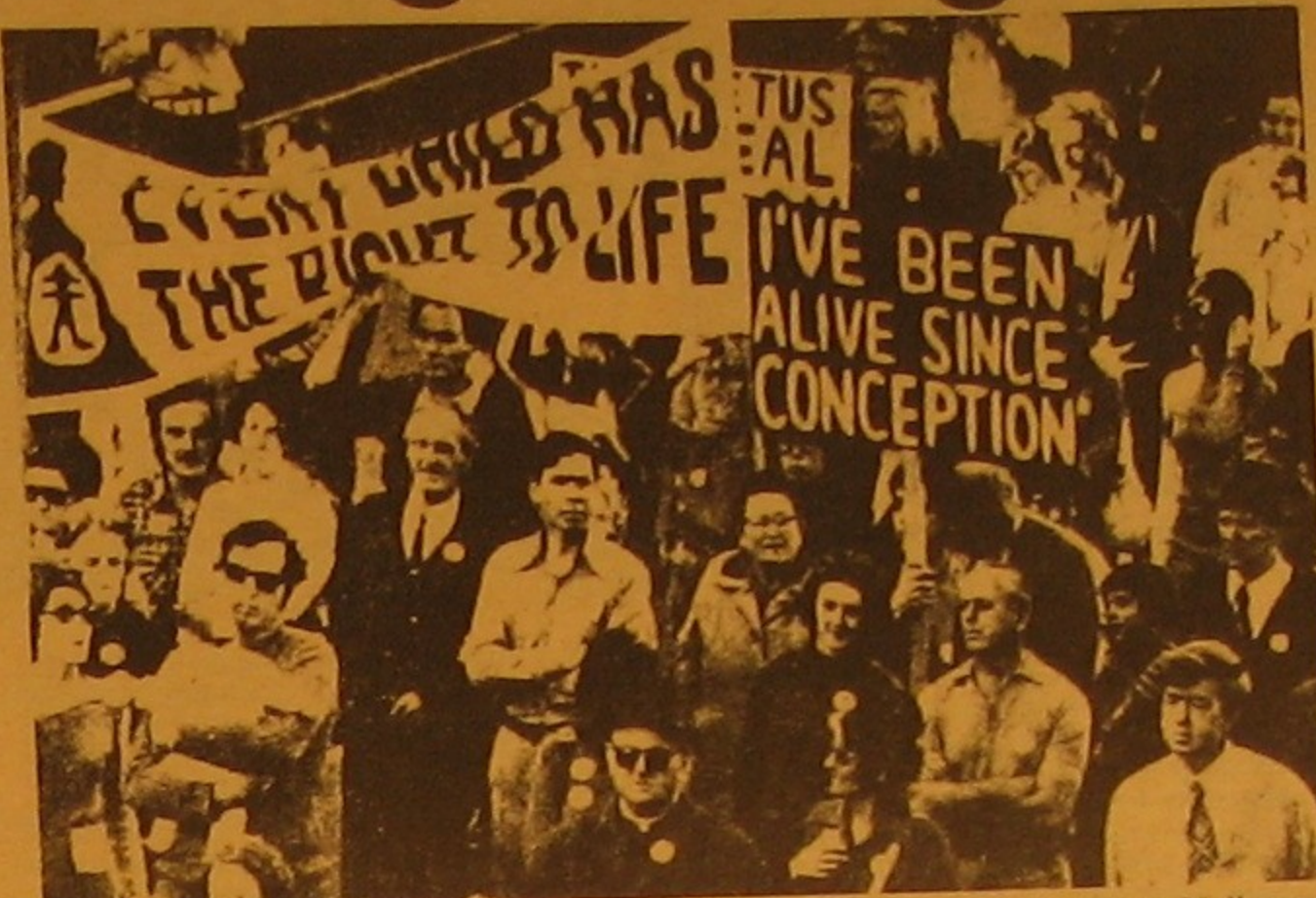
Jon Coxedge, a prominent member in the Socialist Left of the Labor Party, and ALP candidate for the seat of Balwyn in the coming State election, addressed the rally. Coxedge said that if elected to parliament she would introduce a Private Member's Bill to legalise abortion.

Originally the Right to Life Association had planned a rally against abortion for May 4 also, but after the abortion rights rally was set for that date they changed their plans and instead set their march for May 6, a Sunday.

The rally was organised by the Women's Abortion Action Coalition, which brought together the Abortion Law Repeal Association (ALRA), the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), the Humanist Association and various women's liberation groups, as well as the individual supporters of women's rights. The rally was followed by a spirited procession around several city blocks with placards and chants calling for repeal of anti-abortion laws. A popular chant was: "Make it legal, make it safe". Placards emphasised that it was the right of women involved to make their own decisions, moral and social, on the issue of abortion.

The role of the Roman Catholic Church in the Right to Life Campaign was recognised and attacked by many of the demonstrators. A street theatre group wheeled an effigy of the Pope around the city, chanting 'love the foetus, oppress the child' - an obvious reference to the inconsistency of the Right to Life in their attitudes to the rights of the living. The forces behind Right to Life - the people who so vigorously defend the sanctity of the lives of foetuses, are the same people who supported Nixon's genocidal war against the people of Vietnam and could not offer much more than an embarrassed silence in explanation of events such as the My Lai massacre. For it seems that life is only sacred when it is unborn.

The procession ended with a march back to City Square with speakers addressing the crowds of shoppers. The success of the demonstration indicates the depth of feeling about the abortion issue among thousands of women and augurs well for even larger actions on May 10 and June 30.



"Right to Life" demonstration in Melbourne

Another speaker was Dr Arthur Crawford, surgeon and Liberal Member of the Queensland Legislative Assembly who recently made news through his recommendation that homosexuals might be "helped" by undergoing cerebral surgery.

This meeting was typical of the crude emotionalism on which the anti-abortionists rely for their support. A radio advertisement which is now played on at least ten radio stations features a foetus which talks! After starting with the amplified heartbeat of a foetus, a voice is heard saying, among other things "... my mummy doesn't want me and wants me killed but I don't want to be killed because I want to live like you". A newspaper advertisement pictures a sporting team with one member missing. The caption reads: "David didn't make the team because 16 years ago his mother had an abortion."

The feelings and life of the mother to

people who invent these sickening pieces of distortion is completely immaterial. The woman is purely an instrument of reproduction, a glorified incubator with neither feelings or rights. The utter callousness displayed by these people towards women reveals the extent of their "concern for human life". An unwanted pregnancy is but a temporary "inconvenience" to a woman - the child can always be adopted. Even rape does not justify abortion. (Rape is very hard to prove, remember!)

What lies behind such attitudes is basically the belief that women should enjoy bearing children, and have no right to feel otherwise, and secondly, that sexuality for women is only sanctioned if it results in childbirth. These attitudes are fundamental to the ideology that a woman's rightful place is within the home and family, as the bearers of her husband's children, and that women are naturally

inferior and ought to be submissive to men.

This issue is assuming more and more importance as it forces people to come down on one side or another - either on the side of oppressive laws which deny women the most elementary control over their own bodies, and champion the rights of the unborn or the embryo against the lives of those already living within an established network of human relationships, or on the side of those who support the right of women to determine the course of their lives and the right of children to be wanted.

The Right to Life Association has mobilised people to this point in demonstrations and rallies of thousands of people. The Roman Catholic Church has put all its energies into a campaign to defeat the Lamb/McKenzie bill of May 10. Hundreds of children at Catholic schools have been encouraged to write to politicians and have signed petitions condemning the bill. The Right to Life Association has distributed hundreds of leaflets with lists of suggested points to be made by letter writers, and listing the DOs and DON'Ts of this exercise. One point which stood out was "DON'T ever refer to your religious affiliations". It has produced and distributed massive quantities of expensive publicity material.

This mobilisation however, has not decided the outcome of the struggle. Opinion polls persistently indicate that the overwhelming majority of people in Australia support the right of women to abortion - in some form or another. Tens of thousands of women today are ready and willing to fight. When these women move into action, no matter how well-financed, will be able to stand in their way. In their struggle women have real and living interests to defend - those of their children and their sisters everywhere. It is the women's movement which stands for the right to life - the right of people to live in real economic, political and social justice.

GEORGE NOVACK TO TOUR AUSTRALIA

George Novack, one of the foremost marxist scholars in the world today, will shortly be undertaking a speaking tour of Australia. Novack will give public lectures in Sydney, Brisbane, Canberra, Adelaide and Melbourne as well as addressing Socialist Education Conferences in Sydney and Melbourne.

George Novack was born in Boston in 1905 and educated at Harvard University. He is a former research associate for the

Fund for the Republic and has served on the steering committee of the Socialist Scholars Conference. He has lectured at major universities in the US, Canada and Mexico and has been a staunch defender of civil liberties.

Novack will be giving several talks while

in Australia including lectures on the meaning of Life: A Marxist View; Socialism and Humanism; Politics and Philosophy; and also lectures on the Transitional Programme and Building the Revolutionary Party at Socialist Education Conferences.

The tour is the second sponsored by the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League in conjunction with DIRECT ACTION. Recently Evelyn Reed, the prominent U.S. women's liberationist, made a successful tour of Australia. (See story Page 4)

Anyone wishing to attend the Socialist Education Conferences in Sydney May 25-27 and Melbourne June 1-3, should contact the SYA branch in their state. (See Page 2).

PUBLIC MEETING

THE MEANING OF LIFE: A MARXIST VIEW

A LECTURE BY

GEORGE NOVACK

- SYDNEY: Tuesday, May 22, 7.30 p.m. Teachers Federation Auditorium, 300 Sussex Street, Sydney.
- BRISBANE: Wednesday, May 23, 7.30 p.m. Trades Hall, Wickham Terrace, Brisbane.
- CANNBERRA: Thursday, May 24, 7.30 p.m. Studio Hall, Griffin Centre, Civic Centre.
- ADELAIDE: Wednesday, May 30, 7.30 p.m. SYA Hall, 287 Rundle Street, Adelaide.
- MELBOURNE: Thursday, May 31, 8.00 p.m. Guild Theatre, Melbourne University.

\$1.00 DONATION, 50c SEC. STUDENTS



Evelyn Reed Completes Successful Australian Tour

BY NITA KEIG

Evelyn Reed, the prominent United States feminist and independent Marxist anthropologist, has completed a successful two week speaking tour of Australia. Reed addressed public meetings in Sydney, Brisbane, Canberra, Adelaide and Melbourne.

The tour was an enormous success with capacity and overflow audiences at many meetings. Reed was speaking on two topics during her tour: "The Women's Liberation Movement in the United States Today" and "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?" All told, almost 4,000 women and men attended her public meetings and university talks.

The tour got off to a lively start at Macquarie University in Sydney where Reed, addressing 300 students (a majority of them women) on the topic "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?" raised the hackles of several males who were irritated by Reed's statement of a well-known fact that in some primitive societies, women could lift heavier weights than men. In fact, some males were worried by the whole content of Reed's talk which explained that women have not always been the second sex—in primitive communist societies women played a more prominent role in social and cultural life than males and, moreover, this did not lead to the domination and degradation of one sex by another.



Melbourne meeting at Assembly Hall

The nervous reaction of some of the male audience and the enthusiasm of much of the rest of the meeting about these points showed how important the myth of woman's biological inferiority has been in oppressing women and conditioning them to believe that they are "born inferior". Reed explained that an understanding of the history of women in early society could help women to gain the confidence to struggle for their liberation today.

Approximately 500 women and men attended the main public meeting in Sydney and about 600 attended a meeting held at the University of NSW. These meetings

lectured on what had become known as "The Woman Question". However, only in the past five or six years have people wanted to listen, and the topic has changed to "Women's Liberation". So it is not a question any longer but a struggle and a clear objective.

After concluding the Melbourne section of the tour where 500 attended the Assembly Hall to hear her speak on "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?", and 600 heard her at Melbourne University on "The Women's Liberation Movement in the US Today", Reed returned to Sydney where she spoke at the opening rally of the Socialist Youth Alliance Fourth National Conference, SYA cosponsored the visit along with the Socialist Workers League, Australian sympathising organisation of the Fourth International.

Reed, in her talk to the conference compared the current radicalisation to the difficult period of the fifties and described how the new situation opened up enormous possibilities for making consistent gains in terms of building revolutionary organisations. The women's liberation movement is one of the powerful forces that is part of the movement to transform society that is now gathering pace.

The press coverage became more intense as Reed's tour progressed. Television, radio and newspapers all wanted to interview the person that one news editor had dubbed "The Grammy of Women's Liberation". Reed pointed out that in spite of the intentions of the article, the phrase had a certain validity. For years she had

High School Actions in June

BY MIKE JONES

The coordinating committee of the National Education Action Coalition which met in Sydney over Easter has decided on what forms of action will be taken by the different affiliates of the NEAC in June. The originally proposed national strike has been cancelled mainly due to lack of finance and resources.

In Sydney and Melbourne the actions will be double offensives. On Wednesday, June 6 there will be pickets in both cities demanding democratic rights for school students. The following Saturday, June 9, marches will be held as a continuation of the Wednesday actions.

The South Australian Education Action Group is not planning a large scale action at this stage. The EAG is currently taking round a petition which will be presented to the Minister for Education on June 6. They expect to have between five and

ten thousand names on it when it is presented to the Minister.

As yet, no plans have been made for any action in Brisbane. The old Queensland Secondary Students' Union has recently given way to an Education Action Front, but at the moment the group is still small.

The next few months are going to be very important for the secondary student movements in all parts of the country. With Education Week coming up in New South Wales shortly after the June actions and similar events in other states likely to take place around the same time, the opportunities are very good.



YES, SOMETIMES WE'RE A LITTLE LATE...

This is the second issue of our new expanded 24 page format. The long Easter holiday this year means that we dropped a week in our schedule. But our difficulties are not just due to the holiday season. We're also using outdated equipment and methods and we've only got a small staff.

So the last issue we started a fund drive. A supporter of our paper has agreed to donate up to \$2500. That is, for every \$1 we can raise, our benefactor will add another. That means for every \$1 you, our readers send us, we get a total of \$2. So we're shooting for \$5000.

Now that sounds a lot but it's our bare minimum needs. Unfortunately it doesn't go to line the pockets of the poor and their supporters. It goes to the big companies. They are charging us exorbitant prices to purchase much needed equipment. But we then use this equipment against the whole profit-motivated system of exploitation and war. It's a funny contradiction but as Lenin pointed out, the last capitalist will sell the rope that hangs the second last capitalist.

We hope to purchase the rope in the form of a new typesetting machine and a head-line. This will improve not only the speed with which we can produce our paper — but more importantly its format

and attractiveness so more people will want to read it. We can't spread our ideas by telepathy — we need to attempt to keep up with the enormous and sophisticated propaganda machine of capitalism. By the way — we don't have any secret funds. We're not getting any raffle proceeds for political favors and neither is there any Moscow gold coming our way! We rely entirely on you, our readers and supporters. So send in your contribution now!

We got off to a slow start. At this rate it would take us nine months (!) to get our \$5000. Now we accept all size donations but we would like to get some wind in our sails with a couple of big ones. The spaces below are therefore not just for show....

We are up to \$73, that is \$146, so keep it rolling in...
I donate \$50 . . . \$20 . . . \$15 . . . \$10 . . . \$5 . . . \$2 . . . \$1 . . .
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National Wage Case

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2
phased that the May 1972 increase has been totally inadequate. Another small increase would place the future of the national wage case in jeopardy the unions warned the commission." (Emphasis added)

The other reason for the change is obviously the Labor Government. Unlike the Liberals, who supported the employers, the ALP Government supported the ACTU case. J.B. Sweeney, a member of the ALP Industrial Relations Committee, argued the Government's case in support of the ACTU. As Judge Moore who presided over the commission said, the commission took special notice of the Government's assurances that the economy could take a large increase.

The commission also took into account the fact that award rates over the last year only increased at the slow rate of three per cent.

For all the praise the commission received from the Labor Minister Cameron who called the decision "one of the most realistic in recent years" the decision in reality is quite disappointing. If the decision is approximated in percentage terms, it amounts to something around four per cent, well below the inflation rate which is expected to gallop at up to ten percent per annum.

But perhaps the worst disappointment did not lie in any of the awards. It lies in the perennial rejection by the commission of the quarterly cost of living increases. While quarterly adjustments based on the Consumer Price Index fall far short of a monthly adjustment based on a genuine index kept by the unions it is certainly a progressive step. The quarterly adjustment was abandoned in 1953 by the now defunct Arbitration Court.

Subscribe To Direct Action

SUB DRIVE OVER

Without as yet having the full figures for our sub drive, it looks like we have gone over the top. We set a target of 500 new subs by the publication of this issue. As of last issue we had 378 new subs but a big effort over Easter and on May Day appears to have got most areas

in its first submission since the abandonment, the Labor Government did not emphasise the adjustment sufficiently. Australian workers were thus deprived of a useful weapon to fight inflation.

The employers' reactions were more varied than the almost unanimous welcome by the unions. While George Politis of the Employers' Federation was upset at the \$850 million wage rise is going to cost, Mr Darling, a fellow employers member spokesman considered the wage rise 'reasonable'.

The reluctance of some employers to condemn the Arbitration Commission for the increase awards follows from their understanding of the long term economic perspectives. The improvement in economic conditions generally combined with the more efficient management of the economy by Labor, allows the employers more room to manoeuvre.

Taken in the context of a possible wage freeze within the next twelve months, the national wage case indicates that the ALP Government feels no need to throw a special sop to the working class before introducing a wage freeze. It indicates that a wage freeze is not on the order of the day immediately. A higher and more substantial wage rise could indicate a more immediate wage freeze perspective. Alternatively, a meagre award could indicate an immediate perspective of confrontation with workers militancy. The middle course chosen indicates a temporary reprieve.

Overall, following the high expectations over the past few months, it can be recognised that despite the more progressive approach of the Labor Government, the Arbitration Commission only serves the employers' interests. It diverts workers from real avenues of struggles to legalisms. Even under the most favorable circumstances the workers' demands will be curtailed by this institution.

I enclose \$. . . for . . . issues of DIRECT ACTION. (10 issues for \$1)
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The War in Indo-China Goes On

BY GORDON ADLER

Contrary to what is being spread around by most of the daily papers (and, unfortunately, a lot of people on the left) the war in Indo-China is far from over.

On April 13, troops of the Saigon army crossed the Mekong river and invaded border areas of Cambodia, in violation of the cease-fire agreements. Between April 16 and 19, US B-52 and fighter bomber aircraft renewed the bombing of Laos, the US halted the clearing of mine fields from North Vietnamese harbours, and US aircraft resumed aerial reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam. The saturation bombing of Cambodia by US fighter-bomber aircraft based in Thailand continues at the rate of 250 strikes per day, almost as many as in the larger area of South Vietnam during the intense bombing phase last year, and in addition an average of 60 B-52 bombers every day unloads up to 30 tons of bombs each on the populated villages of Cambodia.

According to New York Times correspondent, Bernard Gwertzman, writing on April 21, "Secretary of Defence, Elliot L. Richardson said in an interview that the Administration was seeking by its latest actions 'to send a message' to Hanoi through means other than diplomatic protests. He said that Hanoi should interpret the moves as 'signals of possible retaliatory actions'. He also said that Administration officials had in the past not foreclosed the possibility that the United States might invoke other extreme measures."



Members of Cambodian freedom fighters womens production brigade.

Nixon himself threatened further direct attacks on North Vietnam in a speech on May 4, in which he attempted to justify US aggression by allegations of violation of the January 27 agreements by North Vietnam. The allegations were couched in extremely vague terms, and consisted essentially of charges of 'infiltration of men and materiel into South Vietnam'. In a belligerent speech, colored by the necessity of distracting attention from the Watergate scandal, Nixon asserted the right of the US to continue to be a major power in Asia.

"We shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us, or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security."

Nixon thus clearly revealed that US aims in South East Asia have in no way changed since the signing of the ceasefire agreements. Only the means of attaining these ends were modified temporarily for tactical reasons. The record of the Nixon regime should leave no doubts about Nixon's willingness to resume full-scale war against North Vietnam if this can be done without the resurgence of mass protests in the United States, and if the neutrality of China and the Soviet Union can be counted on.

Nixon is attempting to blackmail Hanoi into accepting violations of the ceasefire by the forces of the Thieu regime, which is blocking attempts to carry out the provisions of the ceasefire requiring the holding of elections throughout South Vietnam and which is attempting to seize areas held by the Provisional Revolutionary

Vietnam Peace Delegation Visits Australia

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

Six delegates representing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam arrived in Australia for a three week visit, to promote their continuing struggle against US imperialist aggression. They are Nguyen Van Chi, Le Duy Van and Vu Quang Chuyen from the DRV, and Nguyen Van Tien, Le Hai and Le Mai, from the PRG.

The delegation will visit most major centres in Australia. They will also hold talks with trade union leaders to enlist greater financial and political support for their struggle. The visit opened with a lunchtime rally at Sydney Town Hall on April 26. The meeting was chaired by Labor's Federal Minister for Overseas Trade and Secondary Industry, Dr Cairns.

The delegation condemned Nixon's continued aggression against the peoples of Indo-China. The rally was bitterly attacked by the daily press, with pious statements to the effect that the "glorious tradition" of Anzac Day was being undermined. (It was considered especially insulting that this rally took place the day after Anzac Day.) The impact of the antiwar movement has done much to undermine such militarist traditions.

In fact, the Vietnamese visit has only been made possible — even under a Labor Government — by the success of mass antiwar demonstrations and the winning of a majority of Australians to a position of opposition to US aggression in Indo-China.

**ALL US MILITARY FORCES OUT OF SOUTH EAST ASIA!
STOP THE BOMBING OF CAMBODIA AND LAOS!
RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
RECOGNISE THE PRG!**

Demonstrate Sat. May 19
ASSEMBLE CIRCULAR QUAY WEST 10 AM
MARCH TO HYDE PARK FOR RALLY

ary Government under the terms of the agreement. The US accuses Hanoi of large scale infiltration of men and supplies into South Vietnam, of failure to use their influence on the Cambodian insurgents to help bring about a ceasefire in Cambodia, and failure to use their influence on the Pathet Lao to move promptly toward the formation of a coalition government in Laos.

Nixon is demanding that the North Vietnamese abandon the South Vietnamese liberation forces in the face of attacks by the Saigon army, that they force the Pathet Lao into a subservient role in a US controlled coalition, and that they force the Cambodian insurgents to accept the Lon Nol regime at a time when it is in imminent danger of collapse. In other words, North Vietnam is being asked to accomplish for US imperialism the tasks the United States has been unable to achieve for itself. Otherwise Nixon will order further massive air attacks on Hanoi.

The most immediate concern of the US administration is obviously the fate of the Lon Nol regime. Under strong US pressure on April 18 Lon Nol reorganised the 'government' in Phnom Penh by extending the control of the regime to a group of four, including Sirik Matak, the man most favored by Nixon at the present time. If Lon Nol falls, the Nixon administration is ready with another strong-arm man to replace him. Such changes however, are unlikely to stem the tide running against the beleaguered puppet regime in Phnom Penh. The corruption runs so deep that it affects the armed forces at every level. Without popular support, with an uninterrupted series of defeats for its armed forces despite the intense US bombing, and with reports of government troops going over to the side of the liberation forces, the position of the Government is growing

desperate. Nixon has asserted that the war in Cambodia results from 'North Vietnamese aggression' yet even the US forces give little credence to this claim.

In The New York Times of April 21 Malcolm Browne reported from Phnom Penh. "Official American sources here said today (April 20) that since the Vietnam ceasefire three months ago, there has been no documented evidence that Vietnamese Communist troops are serving combat roles in Cambodia."

Nixon is desperately anxious to save the Phnom Penh regime, and to establish a firm lease for US domination through a stable regime in Saigon. If this cannot be achieved through the ceasefire accords, the US may try to seek its objectives by a further major assault on North Vietnam. Whether Nixon chooses this alternative will depend very much on an estimate of the likely response of the Soviet Union and China to such a renewed outbreak of war, and on the political situation in the United States. The stench of the Watergate affair is everywhere, and an escalation of the war would produce a further series of big anti-war demonstrations throughout the world.

A critical point has been reached in the Indo-China war. Nixon's plans must be defeated. The anti-war movement must respond to the fresh acts of violence and threats by demanding the ending of the bombing of Cambodia and all acts of aggression against the people of Indo-China. All political prisoners must be released from Thieu's jails. Australia must withdraw recognition and all support from the Thieu regime. The Provisional Revolutionary Government must be recognised as the legitimate government representing the people of South Vietnam. All opponents of the war should march in Sydney on May 19 in support of these aims.



Jim Cairns and Nguyen van Tien at Sydney meeting.

SYA Conference Plans Coming Campaigns

BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

From April 20-23 revolutionary youth from across Australia gathered in Sydney for the 4th National Conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance. The conference marked the culmination of a period of intense political activity by SYA, and was reflected by the many new subjects under intensive discussion.

In addition, the political situation facing SYA had undergone significant developments which demanded evaluation. On an international level there was the Indo-China ceasefire and the betrayal of the liberation forces by the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies who consecrated their deals with the United States. In Australia itself the people at the conference saw for the first time in their lives, the election of a Labor Government and the changed political environment which went with it. Secondary students moved into action against the education system with the national September 20 strike and the feminist movement continued to assert its massive potential for mobilisation and anti-capitalist action.

The conference was launched by an opening rally which was addressed by Evelyn Reed, representing the Socialist Workers' Party and presenting greetings from the Young Socialist Alliance, the organisations supporting the Fourth International in the United States, Peter Rotherham, a member of the National Co-ordinating Committee of the New Zealand Young Socialists, Jim Percy, National Organiser of the Socialist Workers League, Australian sympathising section of the Fourth International, and Margaret McHugh who spoke on behalf of SYA. Coming on top of a highly successful speaking tour of Australia the speech by Evelyn Reed was a high point of the conference, and represented to those present the historical heritage of the international movement SYA is setting out to build in Australia.

The first report of the conference proper was on the international situation. Centring on Indo-China, the report analysed the meaning of the ceasefire agreement and its repercussions throughout the world. The report argued that Indo-China was still the pivotal question in world politics and that the ceasefire had settled none of the underlying contradictions behind the war, whose outcome could only be decided by struggle.

"The US remains poised and it is only a matter of time before it opens the doors to renewed bombing of Vietnam, as the puppet regime of Thieu is increasingly threatened. Recent reports of intensified clashes and repeated warnings by the US point very clearly to this."

JOIN US!

The Socialist Youth Alliance is a revolutionary organisation of high school, university and working youth. Our goal is socialism. We aim to establish a society where the resources and industries are owned and democratically controlled by all who use them, instead of by a tiny handful of profiteers. A planned economy can translate the world's resources and technology into a decent life for every human being.

Only the action of masses, spearheaded by the working class, can bring about fundamental change. The antiwar, women's liberation and gay liberation movements are fundamental to this process. We participate in these and other struggles to help win their demands. Our strategy is based on mass actions around a program of democratic and transitional demands. SYA is on the side of the Vietnamese, the Palestinians, the Irish and all oppressed

people who are fighting for their liberation.

We support struggles in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China to establish socialist democracy and oust the privileged bureaucracies. We support the Labor Party as the expression of the political consciousness of the working class. Within this context we struggle to build a revolutionary wing which unequivocally takes up the demands of oppressed groups and whose program is a class struggle one, totally in the interests of the working class.

() I want more information on SYA.
() I want to join SYA.
NAME
ADDRESS
POSTCODE PHONE
Post to SYA, PO Box 160, Glebe, 2037.



Evelyn Reed addressing conference. Also on platform - Margaret McHugh, Jim Percy, Peter Rotherham, and Steve Painter.

Going on the international report dealt with the sell-out of the Vietnamese revolution by Moscow and Peking in pressuring liberation forces into the settlement, and emphasised that in no way should revolutionary support a settlement which extracted concessions by military force, as the Communist Party had done by supporting the 'Sign Now' demand.

"SYA and the Challenge of the Youth Radicalisation", a document which sets the basic perspectives for SYA, was then presented by Nita Keig on behalf of the National Executive. It outlined the objective causes of the youth radicalisation, its future prospects and the lessons it held in store for young revolutionaries;

"The radicalisation is not just a catchword for a temporary social phenomena, but rather it represents a dynamic process which is undermining the hegemony of bourgeois ideas, challenging some of the fundamental institutions which prop up capitalism and giving the masses of people an understanding of class society and the confidence to fight it. The breadth and scope of the radicalisation

shows that it is continuing to spread, and although it will grow at an uneven pace, it will not be reversed."

The document went on to stress the importance of continued anti-war work and the necessity of building coalitions around the principled demand that the US get out of Indo-China completely and without conditions. It pointed out that any initiatives in regard to staging mass mobilisations in the near future would depend on the highly volatile situation in Vietnam. Emphasis was also placed on the feminist movement which was seen to offer enormous prospects of growth, particularly as the central issue of abortion is being thrust into the political spotlight all over Australia.

In the two and a half years since its founding conference SYA has grown to become the most important revolutionary socialist youth group in Australia. The document assessed the prospects for further development in the following terms.

"In recent months we have seen new opportunities open in the areas of campus and secondary school work. Never before have we had such a healthy base on campus and this is aided by the vacuum of political leadership in many student struggles which are going on at this time. We are the sole tendency intervening in and building the secondary school movement, a movement whose potential is seemingly unlimited."

Concretising the above perspectives for the student movement, two very important documents were presented. They were 'A Socialist Strategy for the Campuses' and 'A Socialist Strategy for the Secondary Student Revolt.'

Each of these documents explained the vitally important role which the student movement, on both the secondary and tertiary levels will play in the future growth of SYA and the extension of its influence. They looked at the evolution of the international student movement since the massive explosions of 1968, showing that it had far from exhausted its potential, as the recent events in France and our own experience demonstrate. Using the transitional approach to the student movement outlined in previous documents, the two resolutions put forward practical slogans and courses of action for the campuses and schools, whereby SYA student activists could

assume a leading position in the student struggles of the day, linking these to a broader programme of socialist revolution.

'A Socialist Strategy for the Secondary Student Revolt' placed particular importance on the campaign for democratic rights within the schools which were given high priority for deep involvement by revolutionary socialist youth:

"Through its strategic relations to the youth radicalisation, the school revolt can have a vital effect on the relationship of forces on the left, and in society as a whole. SYA's ideas have won hegemony in the organised secondary student movement, and growing numbers of radicalising students are coming to its ranks."

Coming immediately after the election of Labor, the next document, 'Labor and Youth' was of particular relevance. It reaffirmed the position of unconditional (yet critical) support for Labor in the elections and began the process of forming a strategy to win Labor youth to the perspective of revolutionary socialism. Analysing how the radicalisation had affected the Young Labor Associations throughout Australia, the document saw important openings for SYA in this regard - and noted some not insignificant successes which have been won already.

The final day of the conference was taken up with reports on organisational tasks and projections, plus workshops on sales of DIRECT ACTION, literature, recruiting and education. Expansion of SYA's organisational capacities was accorded high priority. Discussion on the final day of the conference also took place on the questions being discussed within the world Trotskyist movement, in preparation for the Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International later this year.

During the conference a special fund drive was held to launch SYA's activities after the conference on a firm financial footing. Over \$600 was raised, \$500 of which was raised in an appeal at the opening rally.

The conference testified to the period of 'qualitative growth' and 'cadre building' which had preceded the conference. The Socialist Youth Alliance now takes up the 'challenge of the youth radicalisation' stronger and more confident than ever - as the youth component of Australia's reflection of the world-wide resurgence of revolutionary Marxism.

Victorian Campaign for Abortion Gathers Pace

BY LEITHA NILSEN

The Victorian campaign for the repeal of all abortion laws has increased in intensity with the introduction into Federal Parliament of the Medical Practice Clarification Bill and with the onset of the state elections. Within the Victorian ALP support and pressure has been continually growing for a change in the existing abortion laws, despite attempts by the leadership to neutralise the issue by treating it as a matter of conscience for each individual member of the Party. However pressure from the rank and file of the ALP to make the abortion issue part of Labor policy has intensified in the last year, culminating in a motion being carried by the ALP State Council last August, calling for abolition of all anti-abortion laws. The State Health and Welfare Policy Committee has discussed the issue over a period of months and has urged that the legalisation of abortion in Victoria be included as part of Labor policy in the State election campaign. Joan Coxedge, the ALP candidate for the electorate of Balwyn, as part of her electoral platform, has pledged to introduce a private members bill on abortion if she is elected to state parliament.

The leadership of the State ALP has refused to acknowledge the growing pressure and has persistently skirted and attempted to suppress the issue. Clyde Holding, leader of the State ALP campaign at Spring Vale Town Hall on April 30, again reasserted his opinion that the abortion issue should remain a matter for individual conscience, in response to a question from a feminist, he stated that he personally was not in agreement with what he called 'abortion on consent'. However, as a conservative, half-hearted attempt to stem the mounting tide, Holding has stated that if elected Premier, he will hold a royal commission into all aspects of abortion, with a State Labor Government acting upon its recommendations.

The commission would be headed by a Supreme Court judge. Its terms of reference would include an investigation into the number of abortions carried out in Victoria (legal and illegal); the psychological, social and economic factors which lead women to seek abortions; and the inadequacy of provisions made for family planning, unwanted children and unmarried mothers. The whole concept of a commission and its proposed structure indicates the desire by the leadership to hold back the repeal of abortion laws by placing it in the hands of a reactionary archaic legal system that is highly unlikely to concede on an issue which has such profound social consequences for the role of women in society.

Outside the ALP support for the repeal of abortion laws is becoming increasingly vocal and more organised. The abort-

ion rights movement has heightened its activity in response to the proposed Federal bill, the state elections and the campaign being carried out by anti-abortion forces, centred around the Right to Life Association and a number of clergymen. The Women's Abortion Action Coalition (WAAC) in Melbourne has seen increasing numbers of women joining in its activities and succeeded in uniting independent pro-abortion organisations and individuals, to struggle a round the issue. Women's liberationists, women from the ALP, Women's Electoral Lobby and Abortion Law Repeal Association have joined forces in a move to unite and direct the activities and energies of diverse groups supporting abortion repeal. WAAC has planned a number of actions in the near future, these including two demonstrations (May 6 and May 10) calling for the repeal of all abortion laws, and a public meeting (May 6) where David McKenzie will be among the speakers.

The Abortion Law Repeal Association, in an attempt to exert pressure on the government, has opened a centre in Carlton to provide information concerning safe abortion techniques for doctors, and information about where women may obtain abortions. A mass letter-writing campaign has been initiated, both to the daily papers and to members of Parliament concerning the issue. The Women's Electoral Lobby is asking its members to write to all Federal MPs, urging them to support the Medical Practice Clarification Bill. However, these activities serve only as a part of an overall mass, independent campaign needed to fight for the repeal of abortion laws.

The Right to Life Association and the Roman Catholic Church have mounted a well organised and well financed campaign in Melbourne. However, forces supporting the right to abortion have been quick to respond. A demonstration in the city square by nurses protesting against the proposed abortion bill resulted in a counter-demonstration by another group of nurses supporting the Bill. The supporters carrying placards saying such things as "Carettes not coathangers", successfully intervened in the initial demonstration despite attempts later by city council officials to remove them from the square. A further step was taken when a number of catholic women staged a walkout from mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral on April 29 as a protest against a pastoral letter issued by Cardinal Knox condemning proposed reform of abortion laws. There is a growing campaign to fight for the repeal of the existing abortion laws, from both within the State ALP and outside of it in an independent movement. Despite the fact that abortion is not officially a part of Labor Party policy it has in reality become the central issue in the state election campaign.

Queensland Abortion March

BY JANE BECKMAN

Activity in Brisbane around the abortion issue has been increasing and shows no sign of abating. On Sunday, April 29 abortion rights supporters staged a counter demonstration to oppose the Right to Life Association and impress upon the MacPherson area Liberal Party conference that women are determined to fight for the right to have abortions. Both forces marched around Surfers Paradise, 40 miles south of Brisbane. After the march, demonstrators surrounded the doorway of the Queens Hotel where the Liberal conference was in progress. Several of the Right to Life people presented a petition to Eric Robinson, Federal Liberal member for MacPherson, who expressed his solidarity with their views and at the same time refused to listen to the abortion rights supporters. Soon after this, the latter were subjected to some completely unwarranted police harassment. They were ordered to disperse and in the resulting confusion one woman was arrested. Names were taken and banners and leaflets were confiscated. The woman who was arrested was released on \$20 bail after spending two hours in the police station singing 'I am Woman'.

Despite all this intimidation, jubilant cheers went up when it was discovered

that a motion had been passed stating: "The reform of the law in relation to abortion be considered to facilitate the obtaining of an abortion by any woman where qualified medical opinion considers that it is desirable or necessary for sufficient reason."

Although this motion is far from satisfactory it represents a victory for women on the road to the repeal of abortion laws. Even the reactionary Liberal Party has been forced to adapt to pressure. The Liberal conference did not pass this motion because it supports women's liberation because it supports women's liberation, but because people are beginning to understand the explosiveness of the issue and the power latent in the mobilisations of women. This realisation was reflected in a statement by the "Right to Life" representative in Canberra when he said that they would not support a proposed referendum in the ACT and Northern Territory if it seeks only women's opinions. The Right to Life Association depends in large part on the support of men on this question.

But these forces are against something they can never defeat - a women's liberation movement that is growing larger, more powerful, more militant everyday, as women rise up and refuse to accept the degrading role that society has given them.

Women in Revolt



NSW UNI. BACKS BILL

On Tuesday, May 8 a packed meeting of students at the Roundhouse, University of New South Wales debated a set of three motions concerning the bill reforming the existing abortion laws being put forward by Labor members Lamb and McKenzie to Federal Parliament on May 10.

The motions read: 1) that this meeting believes it is a right of any parliamentarian to bring a bill before Parliament, 2) that this meeting expresses its support of the Private Member's bill before Parliament relating to abortion, 3) that this meeting calls for the immediate repeal of all abortion laws, respecting a woman's right to choose.

At the conclusion of the discussion a vote was taken. The first motion was adopted just about unanimously and the remaining two parts overwhelmingly, with two-thirds to three-quarters supporting the bill and repeal of abortion laws.

What was interesting about the discussion, was that all the women who spoke in discussion supported the motions, and the vote revealed the overwhelming sympathy of the women present.

The decision to support the motions means that they now become part of the policy of the Students' Union. Telegrams were to be sent to Members Lamb and McKenzie expressing the solidarity of the student body with their bill.

NZ ABORTION ACTIONS

On Friday, April 13 national demonstrations for the repeal of abortion laws were held throughout New Zealand. The protests were successful and high-spirited despite rain which fell in all cities.

In Auckland 350 people marched, in Wellington approximately 170, and in both Christchurch and Dunedin about 100 people took part. All these marches were considerably bigger than on previous occasions, and had drawn in wider support.

In each centre, opponents of abortion tried to counter the demonstrations, in some cases going as far as stealing abortion banners and defacing publicity for the march. But nowhere did they appear in anywhere near the numbers of the abortion rights supporters. They followed the demonstrations in some cases, distributing leaflets.

The Women's Abortion Action Committees played a leading role in building and coordinating the actions. Other organisations involved were the Abortion Law Reform Association of New Zealand (ALRANZ), and members of the Values Party, women's liberation, gay liberation and the Labour Party.

Leading up to these demonstrations were forums and a showing of a film on Margaret Sanger's fight in the United States earlier in the century for contraception, as well as a campaign of poster and leaflet distribution.

Cathy Carroll, secretary of the Auckland Women's Abortion Action Committee, in speaking at a rally following the Auckland

land march, stressed that the fight for abortion was a fight for women's democratic rights. She called on all women "to join us in demanding that abortion be a woman's right to choose".

INADEQUATE CHILD-CARE

Spokespeople for the Greek and Turkish immigrant communities in Melbourne recently said that many immigrant families were forced to send their children back to Greece or Turkey because of the lack of adequate child care facilities. For families where both parents work, the lack of child care centres leaves no option but to send children to members of their family overseas. Recently a child of an immigrant family was killed when she fell from her parents' eleventh storey Housing Commission flat while both parents were at work.

MOTHER'S DAY MARCH



On Saturday, May 12, women in Sydney will march at 10 am from Sydney Town Hall to Hyde Park to demand among other things:

- * free 24 hour-a-day child care facilities
- * education and opportunity for full range of occupations
- * free abortion on request

The march will be held the day before 'Mother's Day' in order to highlight the real position of women as mothers in this society.

Recently it was reported that the Federal Minister for Social Security, Bill Hayden, had employed a team to investigate the possibilities of women being paid a family allowance to stay at home. If similar investigations such as those carried out recently in Britain, the United States and the Netherlands are any indication, this team will discover that women are worth a lot of money as mothers and houseworkers.

Their investigations revealed that the average time per week that a woman spends in working in the home is 85 hours.

The point however, is not that women be merely paid to remain at home but that they have full opportunities to work in whatever occupation they choose, and at equal rates of pay.

Women, when they choose to work outside the home should not be penalized because they are mothers but should have access to high-quality child-care facilities for their children, paid maternity leave and flexible working hours. On top of this, women must have the basic right to decide whether to be mothers at all, and if so, when they will. The demands for freely available, safe contraceptives and free abortion on request are essential to this right.



Above: Rain-drenched abortion rights demonstrators in Wellington.



THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

BY
GEORGE NOVACK

The cry of "liberation now" resonates all over the globe. It is the all-embracing slogan of diverse popular movements in this age of permanent revolution.

Wherever working men and women are ground down by exploitation, they yearn for relief from domination by the profiteers, whether or not they yet understand the basic causes of their discontent. The watchword is insistently voiced in colonial and semicolonial lands striving for political and economic independence from imperialism. It animates the simmering opposition to authoritarian rule that aims at democratizing the bureaucratized postcapitalist states. The call for freedom arises from oppressed nationalities and other sectors of the population in the advanced capitalist countries: the Québécois in Canada, the rebels in Northern Ireland, the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans, as well as from the feminist and gay liberation movements in the United States.

Mass struggles that have considerable political impact also raise significant philosophical issues. Here the major theoretical problem is the relation of freedom to necessity.

This is hardly a new question. Moralists, preachers, and philosophers have gnawed upon it for thousands of years. It found primitive expression in folklore, popular sayings, mythology (the Three Fates, Fortuna) and the creeds of religions (the Buddhist law of Karma, the Mohammedan doctrine of Kismet, the Calvinist belief in predestination). The arguments around free will and determinism have recurred in varying guises from Epicurus in Greece to our own time.

Christian theologians wrestled with the insoluble riddle of how divine foreordination and providence could be reconciled with free will. As the mechanical view of the world, popularized by the findings of physical science, pushed aside medieval ideas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rigid determinists asked how freedom was possible in a universe ruled by strict causality.

The classical German philosophers were preoccupied with this problem. Kant gave an answer that split human freedom from natural necessity by assigning two antithetical functions to reason. The speculative reason could not get to know reality while the practical reason could. The latter was unfettered by the causal laws that regulate phenomena because it had access to the noumenal self through the human will that was free. Freedom is directly experienced as a rational necessity in the sense of duty. This makes it mandatory for persons to act in such a way that their conduct served as a rule for everyone.

Kant's universal Golden Rule was exempt from all empirical conditions. As a categorical imperative it brooked no exceptions. Truth-telling was an absolute duty; no lie was ever justified. The friend of a fugitive from justice who had sought refuge in his house could not lie to the authorities about his whereabouts.

Hegel rejected the insurmountable dualisms between noumena and phenomena, the speculative and practical reason, and duty and desire that characterized Kant's theory of knowledge and ethics. He brought determinism into harmony with freedom by defining freedom as the recognition of necessity. Freedom, Hegel said, was inseparable from its own opposite, the determinate, in all manifestations of actuality and was in fact its highest expression.

Hegel's conception of the indivisible unity and reciprocal action of freedom and necessity in the dialectical development of reality was taken over by Marxism and his insight placed upon firm materialist foundations. Marx and Engels more profoundly criticized Kant's moral theory by exposing the class roots and social function that accounted for its theoretical defects.

In *The German Ideology* they explained the affinity between Kant's ethics, political liberalism, and the po-

sition of the German bourgeoisie. This brilliant analysis is worth extensive quotation as a sample of their method.

"The state of Germany at the end of the last century is fully reflected in Kant's *Critik der praktischen Vernunft*. While the French bourgeoisie, by means of the most colossal revolution that history has ever known, was achieving domination and conquering the continent of Europe, while the already politically emancipated English bourgeoisie was revolutionizing industry and subjugating India politically, and all the rest of the world commercially, the impotent German burghers did not get any further than 'good will.' Kant was entirely satisfied with 'good will' alone, even if it remained entirely without result, and he transferred the realization of this good will, the harmony between it and the needs and impulses of individuals to the world beyond. Kant's good will fully corresponds to the impotence, depression and wretchedness of the German burghers, whose petty interests were never capable of developing into the common, national interests of a class and who were, therefore, constantly exploited by the bourgeois of other nations."¹

The correlation of moral ideas and practical morality with specific class interests has been evidenced in the different ways freedom has been interpreted and applied. The ideologists of the successful democratic revolutions in England, America, and France did not have to seek recompense for the incapacities of their class on the field of action by vesting all power in an abstract free will, as Kant did. They addressed themselves to the ways and means of conquering and consolidating the concrete conditions of the freedoms demanded by the oppositional forces they spoke for. When in March 1775 Patrick Henry advocated armed resistance to British policy and cried out "Give me liberty—or give me death," he expressed the defiance of those Virginia planters and frontiersmen who wanted free importation of goods and slaves, access to the western Crown lands, relief from indebtedness to London merchants, and a say in taxation and who were ready to fight for independence in order to obtain them. Yet he did not have any thought of emancipating the Black producers of their wealth.

The struggles for freedom during the rise of capitalism had a dual character; they were both bourgeois and democratic, plutocratic and plebeian. They involved the conquest of economic liberties like freedom to trade, buy, and sell landed property, labor-power, and all other commodities on the market as well as the acquisition of religious, political, and legal liberties. The promotion of the rights of capitalist private property was interwoven with the establishment of such civil rights as freedom of worship and conscience, freedom of speech and assembly, a free press, the right to vote and be represented in a legislative assembly. The struggle for national independence and unification, for example, awarded a monopoly of the home market and control of the state power to the bourgeoisie along with the right of self-determination to the popular masses.

The freedoms secured during the bourgeois-democratic era were precious assets. Yet they did not deliver even the most favored peoples from bond-

1. Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, *The German Ideology*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964, p. 207.

age. The twentieth century has seen more extensive and strenuous efforts to defend acquired liberties from attack and to achieve new ones than ever before.

Pessimists and misanthropes would conclude from this unceasing and unfinished endeavor that the quest for freedom is an illusion that beckons humanity from one age to the next but forever eludes its grasp. Friends in bitter disappointment. Thus in *The Rebel*, Albert Camus, disenchanted with the vicissitudes of the Russian Revolution, proclaimed that every bid for freedom from the French to the Russian revolutions, though fully justified, has given birth to a renewed servitude and so "the name of freedom, springing from the depths of man's anguish forever through the Scyllian desert."²

Such a nihilist evaluation disregards the genuine degree of real freedom that has been attained over the million years of human evolution as well as the last several centuries. The historical record attests that freedom is not merely desirable but attainable. The liberties accumulated through the ages provide the indispensable springboard for their enlargement through the international socialist revolution.

Freedom is one of those very general social categories that can easily be empty of definite content unless it is related to concrete circumstances. The problem of freedom has to be approached not in the metaphysical manner of Kant, who elevated it above empirical reality, but in its actual connection with the historical process. It must be asked: How did freedom originate? In what ways has it evolved? What are its real constituents? Only by tracing its development through the successive stages of social organization can its essence be comprehended and its prospects be delineated.

Like everything in human life, freedom is a product of arduous efforts and continual struggle. It is not given once for all in the constitution of a state, or implanted in the spirit of the individual as the Existentialists claim. Freedom has not been given but taken, wrested by persevering manual and mental effort from successive possessing classes by agents of progress.

Freedom, as a historical phenomenon, originated with the emergence of our species from the animal state. After that it passed through a complex and contradictory course of development in which its content has been amplified and diversified and manifested in multifarious ways. This process of growth is far from maturity. The freedom that humankind aspires toward and is capable of has hitherto been actualized only in the meager and rudimentary forms. A review of its ascension from nonexistence to its present estate should make this plain.

When Rousseau asserted in his *Discourse on Equality* that "man is born free but is everywhere in chains," he was uttering a revolutionary sentiment, not a scientific truth. Freedom was, to be sure, born with the humanization of our primate progenitor but in that nascent state freedom was hidden in the still unrealized potential of the new mode of existence.

Within the precincts of nature, necessity and chance in their unending combinations and permutations reign supreme. There is no place for freedom as we know it in the prehuman and subhuman realm because the most elementary conditions for its occurrence are lacking. Its prerequisites were first brought into being by the hominid practice of laboring and its manifold consequences.

Freedom is a strictly social phenomenon, an outcome of the historical conditions generated by the evolving forces of production at humanity's disposal. Human-kind acquired the first measure of freedom as it began to break away from the restrictions of the animal kingdom. The scope of its liberties has broadened and their substance has deepened as our species has shaken off the limitations of the animal existence out of which it sprang.

Animals are not free; they are captives of nature. Every animal species remains riveted to the particular habitat to which its organism is adapted and is dependent upon the means of subsistence nature provides. The polar bear cannot survive in the tropics or the elephant in the Arctic; the koala bear requires the leaves of the eucalyptus tree for its diet. Each species is imprisoned in the cage of its own environment.

Humanity, on the other hand, is omnivorous and

2. Camus, Albert, *The Rebel*. New York: Vintage Books, 1959, p. 245.

can eat both animal and vegetable matter. We can live anywhere on the globe and now, through artificial means, in outer space.

Human freedom consists in the first place of throwing off the shackles of nature that hold all other living beings in an iron grip. How did our progenitors manage to break those chains? The first decisive step was taken when the hominids learned to use and make tools and weapons and put themselves to work for food and shelter, and clothing. Banding together and cooperating for these purposes, they developed speech, thought, and social intercourse.

By changing the materials of nature to suit and serve its needs, humankind changed itself. Instead of simply taking what is found in a natural state, humans created new forms of matter. In this refashioning they first gave new intentional shapes to existing materials; later through pottery-making and metallurgy they developed new materials.

Freedom is primordialily manifested in the degree of success achieved in casting off subservience to the harsh imperatives of nature, not in conforming to Kant's ethical imperative. Purely natural necessities were overcome with the aid of human contrivances which thereupon became essential to social existence. These constitute the content of culture.

Freedom has an intrinsically contradictory character. It is never found apart from natural and historical necessity as its basis. These opposing aspects of the human situation are inseparable; they are correlative concepts.

Three views of freedom and necessity

Philosophers have put forward three principal positions on the relations between freedom and necessity. There is the belief that determinism is false and freedom alone is true. This is libertarianism which is most uncompromisingly upheld nowadays by Sartre and other Existentialists. There is the contrary view that determinism alone prevails and freedom is unreal and unrealizable. That is the position of the strict mechanical determinists.

The strife between the rigid necessarians and the libertarians is foreign to dialectical materialism which rejects both either-or views as untrue and misleading. Marxism holds that determinism and freedom have been compatible traveling companions throughout history. They exist in a continuum of constant interaction and interchangeability. They are separable only in intellectual analysis, not in reality.

Other schools of thought (Spinoza and Hegel) have shared the same general viewpoint on this matter. But Marxism has added some highly important amendments to it. One is its distinction between different levels of determinism. While determinism is a universal feature of the real world, it is not all of one piece. The type of determinism manifested in the history of humanity is qualitatively different from the causality of either inorganic or organic nature, although they retain certain subsidiary features in common. Social determinism is rooted in the development of humanly created, accumulated, transmitted, and upgraded forces of production and the collective relations they engender rather than in the blind play of physical and physiological events.

The relative weights of natural forces and the artificial forces of production in shaping the course and characteristics of history has shifted from one social formation to another. Natural conditions play a far greater role in determining human existence in the primeval Stone Age of foodgathering than they do after food production and civilization come onto the scene.

At this turning point in progress still another kind of determinism was brought into play by the growth of the agricultural surplus product through a more complex division of labor and its appropriation by private owners. As humans gained greater command over nature through food production, the development of class divisions and exchange relations led to the loss of control over their decisive social forces. From then on humanity has been subjected to the grim determinism of the class struggle. This has persisted through various forms of social organization from slavery to capitalism and will endure until consumer goods are so cheap and plentiful that the fierce scramble for the necessities and amenities of life fades away.

Once that superior stage will be reached, a wholly new type of determination will permeate the activity of a society that has extricated itself from the tyrannies of both nature and class antagonisms. This new freedom will come from the self-determination by the whole human collective and its individual members of what they deliberately will and plan to do. The two main prerequisites for this prospective mode of freedom appropriate to a truly human existence are escape from domination by uncontrolled natural forces and freedom from uncontrollable social ones that breed alienated relations.

The development of freedom through history therefore proceeds from total subservience to external nature through increasing command over its forces as they become better known and put to use. This process had to pass through the fiery furnace of class society and will culminate in the acquisition of conscious mastery by associated humanity of all the elements, natural and social, that shape human life and its destiny.

PART 1 OF A 2 PART ARTICLE

The finest statement of what freedom is according to historical materialism was given by Engels in *Anti-Dühring*. "Freedom does not consist in the dream of independence of natural laws, but in the knowledge of these laws, and in the possibility this gives of systematically making them work toward definite ends.

... Freedom of the will therefore means nothing but the capacity to make decisions with real knowledge of the subject. Therefore the freer a man's judgment is in relation to a definite question, with so much the greater necessity is the content of this judgment determined; while the uncertainty, founded on ignorance, which seems to make an arbitrary choice among many different and conflicting possible decisions, shows by this precisely that it is not free, that it is controlled by the very object it should itself control. Freedom therefore consists in the control over ourselves and over external nature which is founded on knowledge of natural necessity; it is therefore necessarily a product of historical development."³

The libertarians maintain that freedom is irreconcilable with any kind of determinism. If human action is not exempt from determination, they assume it must fall under the sway of an unmanageable causal compulsion in which freedom can find no foothold. They do not understand that objective causal conditions provide the ways and means of promoting and realizing human aims and actions as well as confining and frustrating them. Furthermore, the same factors that block activity in a certain direction can facilitate it under other circumstances. Rivers and oceans that were impassable barriers became highways when boats were built.

No less one-sided is the obverse conception of the mechanical determinists that the life of humanity is governed by the same blind rule of chance and necessity as the cosmic and biochemical processes. It ignores the all-important fact that the labor and consciousness responsible for humanization introduced a qualitatively new factor into evolution. This was the possibility of deliberately choosing among alternatives and the increasing ability of the human species to perceive and realize a wider range of optional actions. These were the primal elements of human freedom.

The labor that demarcates the human from the animal is thoroughly teleological; it sets itself an aim and selects the means to accomplish it. Labor is rationally directed and expended. In order to carry out their purposes, the laborers must choose one thing rather than another and do one thing rather than another in a conscious manner.

Early humanity did not have much latitude of choice. The scope and content of its freedom were severely limited by the primitive means and materials of production, crude skills, minimal knowledge of nature and itself, and dependence upon the immediate surroundings. Nonetheless prehistoric humanity set into motion a new and higher order of causality whereby thinking beings selected different ways and means and utilized them to achieve desired and anticipated ends.

Humankind does not remove itself from the causality of the physical world when it takes advantage of its laws of operation for its own objectives. There is continual interaction between nature and the laboring collective which manipulates and bends to its purposes the subject matter around it. Humanity functions and advances by pressing into service objective physical forces from water and fire to electronic waves and particles which obey the laws of nature. Its purposive activities are thereby inserted as a new link in the concatenation of causes on this planet. The cumulative result of these of causes has been to open up new lines of development activities has been to open up new lines of development for our species. As its means of production have improved, humanity has become a more and more effective and decisive causal agent on its own account, though always in conjunction with physical conditions.

The changes in eating habits demonstrate the interplay of natural and social necessities. Because of our biology the human organism must recurrently supply itself with a certain amount of nutritious matter. This is a categorical necessity shared with the animals. That respect both are subject to the dictates of nature, the human mode of satisfying hunger is qualitatively different from animal foraging. Humanity does not simply seize and rend its prey or browse on plants and then digest them. It secured its food supplies by cooperatively hunting, fishing, and gathering, using

3. Engels, Frederick, *Anti-Dühring*. New York: International Publishers, 1970, p. 125.



and making instruments for that purpose. About five hundred thousand years ago humans learned to kindle fire and cook their food, making it more digestible and palatable.

The production of food through agriculture and stock-raising gave much greater freedom in this vital activity than direct dependence upon what raw nature afforded. The development of transportation gave access to larger supplies as well as more varieties of food. The making of new species of edible fruits and improved grains increased production while the perfecting of different cuisines enhanced the pleasures of the table. Chemical food-growing has even detached farming from the soil.

But the most powerful stimulus was imparted to freedom when consumers were separated from the producers of food through the growth of specialization. Some communities came to acquire certain necessities of life through trade. Athens, the freest of the Greek democratic city-states, was the first to depend upon imported grain supplies. This of course made it imperative for the naval and military forces of this imperial power to protect its lifelines.

The fundamentally new way of obtaining food through the exchange of commodities marked a new epoch. It enlarged freedoms and at the same time brought unprecedented necessities into operation because society fell under the stern sway of market and monetary relations.

Rousseau opened *The Social Contract* by asking: "By what conceivable art has a means been found of making men free by making them subject?" This puzzling paradox came about, not through any cunning scheme, but by the contradictory nature of progress in civilization. Up to now every forward step in relaxing the bondage of humankind to nature has resulted in greater subjugation of the toilers to the privileged possessors of wealth who exploit them. The master-slave relationship raised the dialectic of freedom and necessity to a higher power than in preclass times.

Social freedom involves both release from constraint and the ability to satisfy human wants and realize one's vital aims. These two aspects do not always coincide. The millions of slaves whom the Civil War emancipated from chattel status were not given the material means to become independent small proprietors and free producers on bourgeois terms and were thereby driven back into new forms of servitude. Increased freedom in one respect was followed by its deprivation in another.

The power of historical determinism and the contradictory character of freedoms in class society are exemplified in the development of American civilization since Columbus. The destruction of the freedoms possessed by some of its inhabitants was accompanied by the acquisition of greater freedoms by others. When the Western hemisphere was opened for European settlement in the sixteenth century, all preexisting types of social organization were presumptively offered an equal chance in a clear field. These comprised tribal collectivism, small farming, slavery, feudalism, communal colonies, and bourgeois production.

For the next five hundred years these various formations engaged in unremitting competition with one another for possession of the social economy in different regions of the continent. Their struggles ended in the mastery and monopoly of the bourgeois forms; the others were either exterminated or subordinated to the power of capitalism. Obviously the contestants were not really evenly matched and the losers suffered from insuperable handicaps.

This selection in the fight for historical survival is not deplored by supporters of the present system. But the outcome does raise certain questions. Why did capitalist relations win out? Was this necessary—or accidental? And if necessary, what determined the direction of the process and its result?

Marxism answers that the victory of capitalism was gained and assured by its more efficient mode of production and all that issued from it. Material and cultural superiority in productive power and firepower enabled its representatives to conquer all rivals.

ON THE PICKET LINE



Script Assistants Win Pay Rise

BY NITA KEIG

On April 29, 85 script assistants employed by the Australian Broadcasting Commission won substantial pay increases ranging from \$31 per week for Grade 1 assistants (a 34 per cent rise) to \$22 for Grade 2 assistants (41 per cent). The script assistants, who are all women, formed themselves into a sub-committee of the Federal body of the ABC Staff Association approximately a year ago.

In March of this year the script assistants again put forward claims (originally placed in November 1972) before the ABC management who promised to consider them, put them before the Public Service Board for approval and give a decision within two weeks. Eight weeks elapsed, and in the meantime, typists employed by the ABC were granted wage increases, giving them higher rates of pay than the script assistants. Although the typists' increases were fully supported, it demonstrated how the wage rates of the script assistants had fallen behind. A campaign was mounted by the assistants which soon brought offers which had met with the approval of the Public Service Board.

On Friday April 27, a lunchtime stop-work meeting of script assistants was held in Sydney to discuss their claims. The meeting rejected the offers of increases which fell short of their original claims. These increases, it was claimed by the management, were for increases of 28 per cent (six per cent less than the minimum increases demanded by the script assistants). However, it was worked out that some of the increases were in reality only for 21 per cent.

At this meeting the script assistants decided to take strike action until their claims were met. At 5pm on the same afternoon at Gore Hill, Sydney, a mass meeting of

is no doubt useful to the ABC management to be able to disclaim responsibility for rejection of the wage claims of its employees.

The militancy of the women, who did not have great numerical strength, and the support they received from their fellow-workers, were obviously important factors in the winning of this strike.

APWU Leadership Calls Off Ban

BY SOL SALBY

The leadership of the Amalgamated Postal Workers Union (APWU) has bowed to pressure and called off its proposed ban on the delivery of mail and telegrams to Opposition Senators.

The ban followed the stalling of the new Workers Compensation Bill covering public servants including postal workers. The combined forces of the three capitalist parties, Liberal, Country and Democratic Labor parties tried to frustrate the passage of the bill. They used their majority in the Senate to refer the bill to the Senate Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs for the investigation of several clauses.

Members of the APWU could see through all the verbiage that the purpose of the referral was to delay the introduction of the reforms proposed by the Labor Government.

The postal workers in the Western Australian district of the union proposed that all Opposition members be blacklisted, i.e. that no mail or telegrams be allowed to reach members of those parties in either house of Parliament. This was rejected in favor of a motion declaring black only those directly involved, namely Opposition Senators.

The postal workers also saw in the delaying tactics an attempt to water down the ben-

leadership that the rank and file was right in demanding the black-banning of the Liberals and their cronies. If such a support was available, then the leadership could have no possible excuse for backing down. Even if such support wasn't forthcoming a Labor government at this stage can't possibly reduce itself to the position of the Liberals and crush the ban. Thus the union bureaucracy didn't have any genuine rationalisation for the set back it dealt to militant action.

Liftworkers Strike Ends

BY GEOFF COLLINS

Two hundred lift maintenance workers in Melbourne have just successfully ended their seven week strike with a hard won wage increase of \$7 per week.

The men at first refused the \$7 offer from the employers because they felt their wage claim of \$10 was justified.

They were striking for a \$10 immediate wage increase, plus a log of claims. They came under heavy attack from the bosses' organisations who attempted to claim that some men were earning over \$12,000 a year and in some cases \$14,000 a year. They did not take into consideration that the men were often called out at all hours of the night and weekends to attend to faulty lifts.

This rising militancy in such a traditionally quiet union as the Electrical Trades Union shows that workers are not going to sit back and let rising costs eat into their pay packets.

The Acting Secretary of the Electrical Trades Union, Mr C. Faure, said that the log of claims and claims for a further increase would be taken before the Arbitration Commission. This is no answer to the 200 men who spent seven long weeks on strike for only a partial settlement of their claims. Their claims will now become bogged down in the Arbitration Commission, which represents the employers far better than the workers.

decided in the light of joint union - employer delegations to the Victorian Liberal Government on April 27 that a further meeting would be held on May 15 to determine the rank and file attitude to the Government's decision.

Building industry members have a history of over fifteen years of protests, with demonstrations outside the master builders' offices. They have continually called for the introduction of long service leave legislation. However, negotiations have only been carried out by the union leadership in the last twelve months.

If the decision of the Victorian Government runs counter to the needs of union members then the only course open for the union is to organise the mass mobilisation of union members until their needs are met.

Printing Worker Victimised

BY GEOFF PAYNE

Since April 18 this year OK cards of the Printing and Kindred Industries Union (PKIU) have been withheld in the proof reading rooms of John Fairfax and Sons and News Limited. The withholding of any new labor from the reading rooms is one of the steps that union members are taking in attempting to win reinstatement at John Fairfax for Roy Garner.

On Thursday March 23 the chief reader alleged Garner had been late. When he arrived for work on Tuesday April 3 he was told his pay was made up and awaiting collection. In fact Garner had still not been told he was dismissed!

The paucity of the company's case is glaringly obvious as there had been no warnings given regarding alleged lateness, no docking of wages and no signing for being late. He had previously worked at News Limited where he had never once been singled out for unpunctuality.

What then is behind the company's move? Could it be Garner's involvement in opposition to the war in Vietnam and activity within his union and the ALP? Even before Garner was placed on the payroll at the Herald his anti-war activities were known to the head reader, who had gone so far as to inform the union section chairman of this fact.

The arbitrary dismissal of a fellow worker and the implication this has for all unionists has been the basis on which Garner's chapel members have responded. The chapel executive sought unsuccessfully to have the threat of dismissal removed; Garner's fellow members then appealed for union intervention at a stopwork meeting.

Until now Roy has refused to accept his 'dismissal' and attempted to continue working on Thursday April 5, his attempts were frustrated and he was escorted from the building by a security man.

The union and all unionists should reject this 'right' of the employer to hire and fire. Even more insidious is the probationary period which must be served by all employees entering each shop. This breaking-in period can be used by the boss to intimidate rank and file activists by threatening them with the loss of their livelihood.

Some PKIU members have been critical of the branch secretary's apparent failure to uphold the principles involved and his attempt to dismiss the whole issue by arguing against a court hearing and suggesting that the union have him placed in employment elsewhere.

No doubt, all PKIU members will watch with interest the manner in which the current leadership pursues Roy Garner's victimisation, as the apparent failure to fight on his behalf so far has serious consequences for any other worker who is victimised.

Bureaucrats Ousted at Sydney May Day

BY WENDY ELLIS

This year's May Day march in Sydney was the biggest for several years. The changing political climate had taken its toll on the brass bands and marching girl formations stuck to by the "officials" over the past years. But gradually the new radicalisation of youth had replenished the ranks and the overwhelmingly youthful composition of many of the contingents this year pointed to the future.

The Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance marched with banners reading "Repeal All Abortion Laws", "Labor Must Implement Socialist Policies", "For Automatic Wage Increases Policies", "For Out of Living Rises", "US Out of the East Asia", "Solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution", "For Universities That Serve the Working People", "Democratic Rights for Secondary Students", "Gay Rights Now", "Free 24 Hour Child Care Centres", "For a Shorter Working Week with No Loss of Pay", "Every Fortnight Read the New 24 Page DIRECT ACTION - Published in the Interests of the Working People", as well as banners emphasising our revolutionary heritage and the need to build a real International party - the Fourth International. Our contingent was the biggest since SYA was formed in 1970 with over 130 people marching with us.

But on the whole the march was dull. The organisers had used the abstract slogans of "Unite Against Monopoly" and "Reconstruct Vietnam" as the official themes this year. There was not even the same sense of urgency around the Vietnam war that had led to militant displays on previous marches. Moreover, the abortion issue was to the rear of the consciousness of most contingents. At a time when a real drive is needed around this question to defeat the reactionary forces, the May Day committee persisted with a May Day Queen competition. Hardly a way to get militant feminists involved in struggle, and in using May Day as a weapon.

This year's May Day in Sydney was again preceded by protests from the women's liberation movement against the annual May Day Queen Competition. (This year the May Day committee officially changed the name to Miss May Day in a feeble attempt to appease their critics, but at the march the marshals persisted in making references to the May Day Queen.) This conservative and Stalinist (Socialist Party of Australia variety) dominated committee overrode the objections, revealing just how little they understood or supported the women's liberation movement.

The women's movement was not even permitted to express their views on the platform at the rally which followed the march, and nor were gay liberationists.

The organisers had the usual farcical



Part of SWL/SYA May Day contingent.

"rally" in the Domain lined up for us. Lionel Murphy, advertised as the key speaker, unfortunately "couldn't come". Not to worry, there was a speaker from the Union of Australian Women, a group representative of the old form of women's organisation, more in the line of an auxiliary than a conscious feminist group. (The clever hacks at the top had even hit upon the scheme of letting the UAW head the march, supposedly to offset criticism). Then we were to hear once more Pat Clancy, president of the Socialist Party of Australia and staunch Stalinist. No doubt - had the rally continued we would have heard the list of prizes for best contingent with the first prize going to (yes, you guessed it) the SPA and consolation prizes to various friends:

But we didn't even get to hear Clancy. A group of women's liberationists seized the platform in spite of the opposition of several hefty unionists and a few of Sydney's biggest cops. They demanded that they be allowed to explain their position on the May Day Queen and why they didn't march.

The youthful crowd obviously supporting

the militant feminists overwhelmingly took up a chant of "Let Them Speak". Lethargy vanished, everyone moved closer. Perhaps at last we would hear something above the usual platitudes and Stalinist hypocrisy.

The officials left the platform - but they took their loud-speaker. Clancy had another go at speaking from a safer position. But the crowd started chanting: "Bolshevism - yes! Stalinism - No!". This was too much, and like spoilt brats the bureaucrats retreated, sound truck and all. If we can't play, you can't borrow our loud speaker.

Then the meeting continued. Unfortunately the only other amplification available belonged to the sectarians of the Socialist Labour League who when approached with a view of a loan retorted "Get Out, Anarchists". Besides, they needed it for themselves as they summoned any straying members of their flock who became interested in the meeting: "Will all Socialist Labour League supporters please come over here!"

The theme of most of the impromptu speeches which followed emphasised the

need to have democratic May Days in future. The whole spirit of May Day as clearly indicated by the sympathies of the crowd for the women's liberation and gay liberation speakers is that it is the day of all the oppressed. It can become a tremendous occasion of working class solidarity in the struggle against capitalism and last Sunday we took a step along the road of making this the case. The challenging of the hold of these Stalinist bureaucrats over the entire organisation of May Day was very significant. Five or six years ago such a challenge would have been inconceivable - the oppositionists were so few. But the events this year demonstrated vividly the growth of the youth radicalisation, the growth of the various movements of the oppressed and the identification of large numbers of people with real revolutionary traditions and democracy within the workers movement.

Sydney May Day will never be the same again but from the humble start made of asserting the control of the rank and file marchers over the apparatus, we can move forward to make May Day 1974 a mass anti-capitalist demonstration of all the oppressed.

May Day in Melbourne

BY STEVE PAINTER

May Day, day of international solidarity of the working class, was celebrated in Melbourne with a march on Sunday, May 6. According to the Melbourne Age, 6000 people marched. A few days earlier on Tuesday, May 1 about 200 people rallied at the eight hour day monument to mark May Day.

The march proceeded from the Trades Hall to the Yarra Bank, passing the City Square where a 'rich to life' rally was in progress. Some marchers chanted 'repeal the anti-abortion laws' as they passed the City Square.

A notable feature of the march was the disarray of the Maoist forces. In previous years the Worker Student Alliance has been able to mobilise large contingents for May Day. However, this year the Maoist forces did not march as a body or attempt

to sell their press. It appears that their organisation is disintegrating largely as a result of the Maoist leadership's capitulation to bourgeois national chauvinism.

The Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance organised a large contingent of over eighty people which focused on the events in Vietnam. Banners such as 'Vietnam: the Struggle Goes On!', 'US Out of Indo-China!', 'No Peaceful Coexistence with US Imperialism', and 'Support the Right to Abortion' were carried by the SWL - SYA contingent.

At the Yarra Bank the meeting was chaired by Bill Hartley, a prominent figure in the Socialist Left of the ALP. Speakers included Bon Hull, a women's liberation activist who emphasised the importance of the campaign for the repeal of the abortion laws, George Crawford, chairman of the Victorian ALP, and members of the Vietnamese anti-war delegation which is presently in this country. The Vietnamese thanked the Australian anti-war movement for its part in the international movement in defence of their struggles.

While the May Day activities were proceeding, about 12,000 people participated in an anti-abortion march organised by the 'Right to Life' association largely through the Catholic Church. After the rally at Yarra Bank, many of the May Day marchers went back to City Square for a counter demonstration in favor of abortion.



Builders Mass Meeting

BY JOHN BARKER

On May 1 a mass meeting was held at Festival Hall of Victorian building industry members on a directive from the Trades Hall Council. The meeting was to inform the men of recent successful negotiations carried out with 23 employers' federation groups on the question of long service leave for building industry members.

Recommendations were passed that the membership expresses in the strongest possible terms its determination to obtain long service leave legislation. It was also

ABC employees was held to discuss the proposed strike. The meeting of 300-400 gave complete support to the strike. The General Manager of the ABC, Mr Duckmanton, then agreed to intervene on behalf of the claimants with the Public Service Board with whom the final decision rests. By Sunday April 29 representatives of the ABC management and the Public Service Board, had agreed to approve the wage claims and make them retrospective to December 1. The strikers subsequently resumed work on Monday 30. If the claims had not been met it was highly probable that other sections of ABC employees would have gone out on strike in support of the script assistants. The ABC Staff Association is attempting to dissociate itself from the Public Service Board so that it is no longer tied to its judgements on matters such as wages. It

efits proposed by the Minister for Labour, Clyde Cameron.

The anger of the rank and file was ignored by their leadership. Opposition to the ban by the president of the Public by the Minister for Labour, Clyde Cameron, the Post Master General Lionel Bowen and Labour Minister Cameron was considered more important than the reaction of the rank.

The union leadership was also intimidated by threats by the Liberal Senators to call them to the Bar of the Senate. Whatever the main force was which compelled them to resist the mass pressure and remove the ban hasn't been divulged.

The union leadership did not even try and persuade the ALP parliamentary



May Day platform occupied by women's liberation and gay liberation activists



IN THE NEXT ISSUE

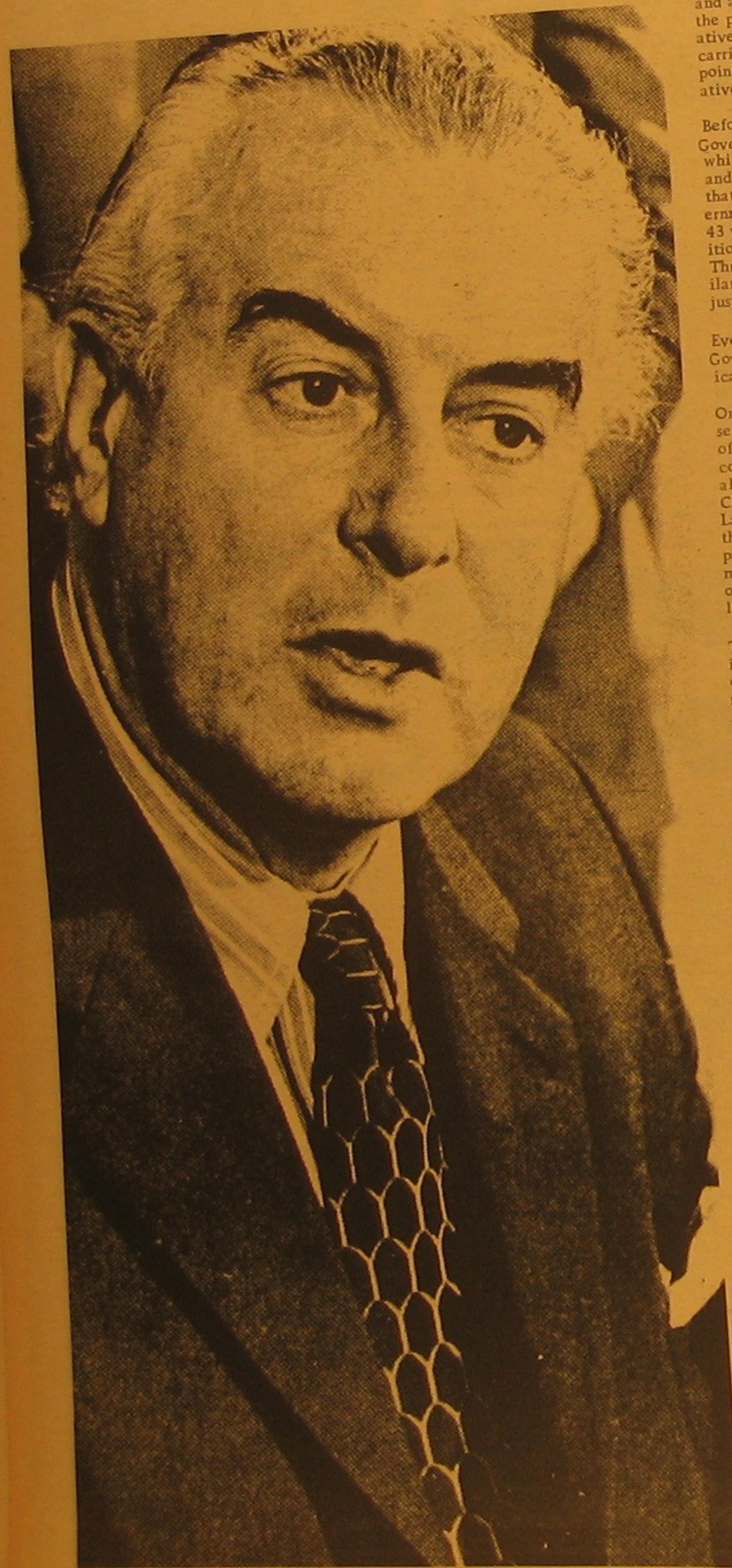
In spite of our 24 page format we are short of space this issue. We had to hold over an article on the Workers' Control Conference in Newcastle over Easter. But it will be in our next issue along with the second part of the article by George Novack on "The Road to Freedom" and the second part of Sol Salby's article on "Labor in Power!"



LABOR IN POWER

AN ANALYSIS BY SOL SALBY

PART 1: THE RECORD



Just before the Federal elections, The Sydney Morning Herald published an extraordinary editorial attacking the Labor Party. It had begun:

"Liberty, equality, fraternity", the slogan of the French revolutionaries who placed the old order with mob rule and terror and paved the way for the dictatorship of Napoleon, is a curious banner for an Australian political leader to carry under in this day and age. Yet this is the position raised by Mr Whitlam. "We want," he declared in his policy speech, "to give new life and a new meaning to the touchstone of modern democracy - to liberty, equality and fraternity." It is a theme which, in varying forms, he returned to throughout his policy. At first thought the idea of Mr Whitlam in a Liberty cap, leading a mob of sansculottes to destroy the bastion of society is mildly funny. At second thought, it is less amusing."

The editors of The Herald are, no doubt, even less amused by the first few months of the Labor Government. While they should be satisfied that Gough Whitlam has not led any revolution, they are possibly enraged by some of the new Government's actions.

Any balanced sheet of the Labor Government is by necessity only of a preliminary nature. There are more than two and a half years still to run in the life of the present Parliament. A mere quantitative balance sheet has already been carried in several union journals. The point, however, is to consider the qualitative aspect.

Before one can evaluate and analyse the Government, there are some factors which should be borne in mind. First and foremost it has to be remembered that Australia has not had a Labor government for 23 years. And it is actually 43 years since the last time a Labor opposition has been triumphant at the polls. Thus, in most people's memories, similar experiences to the last few months just do not exist.

Even if it is only by default, the Whitlam Government appears to be the most radical government Australia has ever seen.

On the surface, the record speaks for itself. Within thirty minutes of taking office, the Labor Government abolished conscription, released those people already in the army, and recognised China, East Germany and North Vietnam. Labor Caucus elected the chairman of the Victorian Vietnam Moratorium Campaign, Jim Cairns, as its most senior minister. Three cabinet ministers lashed out at Nixon's escalation in December last year and so on.

These and many other activities of Labor in office dismayed a sizable proportion of both the Australian and international ruling class. Nixon, of course, did not appreciate being called a 'maniac' by Minister for Labor Cameron; nor did he appreciate the remarks by the Minister for Minerals and Energy, Reg Connor, who said: "There are only three certainties in life today - taxes, death and successive, progressive and ever more frequent devaluations of the US dollar." But with the exception of a small extreme right-wing section of the ruling class aside, the vast majority have resigned themselves to Labor rule. Only Maxwell Newton's Jobsons refers to the Australian Cabinet as 'Whitlam's black panthers'.

The wide-spread surprise at Labor's actions commenced only after the elections. Labor's victory in the polls was widely recognised as being inevitable. The state of the economy with unemployment reaching record level, the complete bankruptcy of the Liberal party, the increased radicalisation expressing itself in anti-war and other types of mass action and the increased militancy of workers' struggles all justified the confidence of the Labor machine.

Some of the origins of the new Government's actions can be seen in the election campaign. The vast number of Labor supporters who attended the campaign rallies were young people and as Laurie Oakes and David Solomon observed in their book *The Making of an Australian Prime Minister* "... the loudest cheering and footstamping occurred whenever Whitlam mentioned Vietnam, the abolition of conscription and aboriginal land rights." Herein lies the root of Labor's radical policies. The Labor Party is a very different type of party. Despite its brief capitalist programme and pro-capitalist leadership it is a working class party. Its organisational links with the working class through the trade union movement mean that it is very much susceptible to mass pressure.

The mass pressure was reflected on all issues around which Labor has taken radical steps. These were all issues around which mass mobilisations have taken place over the past few years. The most important issue which falls into this category is the Vietnam war. Besides the abolition of conscription, Australia's remaining military advisers were withdrawn from South Vietnam and military aid to the Thieu regime ceased during Nixon's murderous bombing of Vietnam last year. During the height of the bombing Whitlam was also forced to send a protest note condemning the bombing.

Of course, the Government did not go as far as it could have done in supporting the Vietnamese people's struggle for self-determination. It did not even go as far as some of its own members wished it to go. Recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was not followed by recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Thus Australia at the moment only recognises the Thieu regime as the sole government of South Vietnam.

In other spheres the new foreign policy reflects the same combination of pressures. The question of sporting contacts with South Africa is a classical example. Sporting contacts with any racially selected teams were stopped on Labor's first day in office. On the other hand, Whitlam has hastened to assure the South African Government that trade relations are not going to be affected. While all trade contacts with the illegal regime of Rhodesia were stopped, action against the Rhodesia information centre has been extremely slow. The Prime Minister has recently criticised Japanese capitalism as he suspected it of continually trading with the Smith regime. But generally the new Government has offered very little in the way of concrete aid to the people of Zimbabwe.

So the basic aims of Australia's foreign policy have not been changed. These are in the usual journalistic jargon, to stabilise the South East Asia region politically, economically and militarily.

The 'radical' policy of the recognition of China is part of a new method of achieving the old foreign policy objectives. Taken in the context of improvement of relations with the right-wing government of Indonesia and with the complete Australian silence in face of the collapse of the last remnants of democracy in the Philippines, the hollowness of Labor's policy becomes apparent.

Essentially the new foreign policy is based on what has been called 'the new reality of a world system based on peaceful co-existence.'

This is clearly the next stage following the Nixon-Mao detente, and the combined betrayals by Moscow and Peking of the Vietnamese revolution. As a result of the Vietnam experience, imperialism on a world scale is seeking (and getting) the co-operation of the Soviet and Chinese leaders in holding back the revolt in the colonial countries. Australian governments have a part to play in this.

The role of a go-between, of a 'neutral' mini-imperialist power which is still allied to the United States, Japan and other imperialist powers, but which attempts to join the neutral countries in various international bodies is the role reserved for Australia. The new Australian Government can at the same time be acceptable both to the Suharto dictatorship in Indonesia, to which it gives considerable military aid, and to the Chinese Government to which Labor directs its radical face.

The Singapore spy-base debacle was the clearest exposition to date of just what the new foreign policy was all about. Suddenly everything of the past and instead the Labor leadership was exposed as not only propping up the Lee Kuan Yew dictatorship in Singapore, but also having a spy base in South East Asia. This spy base appears to have been used to spy on the workers' states of China and North Vietnam and its information exchanged directly with the intelligence services of the US and Britain.

But Labor in office has more than just a foreign policy.

The growth of the women's liberation movement and the increased consciousness of Australian women has been reflected in Labor's policies. One of the Government's first acts was to repeal the notorious 27.5% luxury tax on contraceptives. It has since placed oral contraceptives on the Pharmaceutical Benefits List and cut their price as well.

It has also foreshadowed other aspects of progressive legislation. It has introduced new maternity leave provisions for Commonwealth employees, including twelve weeks on full pay. The Minister for Labor, Clyde Cameron, has indicated the Government's intention to expand job training for women. Social Security Minister Hayden has defended the right of mothers who choose not to marry and have extended pensions to single mothers. The Department of Social Security is to investigate the possibility of family allowances to all mothers. In announcing this, Hayden said that women must be given the free choice to work or stay at home to look after their families and not be forced through economic necessity to work outside the home.

Undoubtedly the Labor record comes through with flying colors when compared with the total anti-woman stand of the Liberal Party. However, once again the Labor record fails to be complete. Labor does not have a clear cut policy in support of the right of women to control their own bodies. It prefers to hide behind the veil of a 'conscience vote' on the issue of abortion. Two Labor MPs, Tony Lamb and David McKenzie have given notice of a bill to legalise abortion in the ACT. Not all Labor MPs are planning to support the bill. In fact, while Whitlam, Hayden and others have lined up in favor of the bill, the vast majority have lined up against it.

In other domestic policies the dual nature of the ALP is not always as clear. The classical case is immigration. The old policy which aimed for maximum growth has been substituted by one based on quality not quantity. The school of thought amongst the ruling class which emphasised this factor has won out. Migrants are still being imported as cheap labor. What has changed is that the emphasis now is on skill rather than sheer numbers. The new policy is thus based on no apparent discrimination. Superficially at least, the remnants of the White Australia Policy have been abolished. However, the actual number of non-white immigrants coming to the country and their total amount is almost certain to fall. The reason lies in the new system where sponsorship by relatives and employers is going to be the main criterion in the selection of migrants. As the population of Australia is overwhelmingly white there will be very few non-white people arriving in the country. On this particular score the mass pressure on the ALP has failed to change the Government policy. In fact, it is probably worse than in predecessor. The only improvement has been in the significant extensions of civil liberties to migrants.

The score on education is the same. Labor is reducing inequality in education and making education work better for capitalism. The abolition of tertiary education fees is one of the most welcome steps taken by the Whitlam Government. Undoubtedly more money for education will mean that more and more students of working class origin will be able to get higher education. At the same time it has to be realised that more and more of these highly educated people are needed to run modern industrial society. It has also to be remembered that Education Minister Beazley used the abolition of fees in order to destroy the independence of student government and in particular to threaten the very existence of the Australian Union of Students (AUS) by refusing to pay their fees and giving university administrations the potential power to cut all student finance.

There are many other examples of such actions. Some, like the relatively substantial increases in Social Security benefits, reflect more the tendency to reform; others reflect the leadership's subservience to capital.

During the early days in office, the Government, which reopened the equal pay case and argued successfully for equal pay for women, refused to take a similar course and reopen the national wage case. The result - no increase was granted. In the second national wage case since it took office, the Government supported the application of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) for a substantial wage increase, particularly in the minimum wage. But, in the context of a wage freeze being contemplated, that action tends to reflect quite dubious intentions. Any discussion of Labor's economic policies has to be seen in relation to the international economic situation. The international recession of 1969-72 appears to be over. Thus some of the problems confronting Australian capitalism appear to have lost their urgency. Unemployment is falling, inflation on the other hand is rising rapidly. But the relative position of the Australian ruling

class vis-a-vis its overseas counterparts has improved with exports growing at 10 percent per annum and imports only at 1 percent. The fundamental difficulty remains the eternal choice between crisis and inflation. The trade-off relation between the two appears to be more and more unfavorable. For example inflation, which used to run at an annual rate of about 3 percent for the current unemployment rate of about 1.5 percent, is now running at a rate exceeding 8 percent.

There is no question that the inherent instability of Australian capitalism's external position combined with the basic contradictions of capitalism on a world scale means that the principal questions facing Australian capitalism and the government which runs its state have not changed.

Prior to the elections it was thought that the main direction of Labor's attempts to turn back workers' militancy was through the Cameron proposals. This was the name given to the brainchild of the ALP's Industrial Relations Committee which suggested that the basis of industrial relations be changed from awards fixed by the Arbitration Court to voluntarily negotiated contracts supervised by the court which would carry heavy penalties when breached.

Under mass pressure, the most vicious form of the proposals was rejected by the 29th Commonwealth Conference of the ALP in 1971 in Launceston. The abolition of the penal clauses of the Arbitration Court by the new government is a victory for the working people of Australia. While the danger remains that the Cameron proposals can be reintroduced at some stage in the future, at present they seem to be out of favor as a means of forcing the working class to reduce its standard of living and reduce the dilemmas facing Australian capitalism.

The scenario for the imposition of a wage freeze is highly clouded. One possible variant which illustrates the nature of the Labor Government is the imposition of an immediate price freeze together with a substantial national wage case increase. This will be followed by an outcry from the employing class. However the outcry for outside consumption will soon be replaced by glee. For the price freeze will be evoked to justify a later introduction of a wage freeze. Labor can thus use its "socialist" image and its working class allegiance in order to wrest concessions out of the working people which a Liberal Government could get only at the risk of an open revolt.

The imposition of a wage freeze will not be lightly considered. The improved position of the Australian capitalists internationally, the end of the recession and the benefits of its better management of capitalism means that it is not as urgent as before. The Whitlam leadership is going to gauge its actions carefully, testing the reactions of both employer and worker at every step.

Meanwhile, Labor's actions in the external arena have been welcomed by leading economic circles of Australian business. The Government has managed to end the tremendous capital inflow for speculative purposes, and in fact has reversed its direction. The external threat to indigenous capital has been reduced. The pre-emptive revaluation of December 23, 1971 has allowed Australian capitalism to maintain a favorable position internationally.

The restrictions on foreign capital add fuel to the fire of nationalism that the leadership of the ALP is fostering at the moment. The projected new flag and national anthem only form a part of the new Australian nationalism. Many of these new nationalist features have been underestimated or simply ignored. The new Government, since taking office has been referring to itself as the "Australian Government" instead of the "Federal" or "Commonwealth" Government. (The Sydney Morning Herald led the reactionary forces in switching the title to the "Labor" Government.) The Australian nationalism fostered by Whitlam and his ministers is a reactionary nationalism. It is the nationalism of an oppressor nation. It is being fostered in the workers' movement in this country from an onslaught on all capitalists - Australian and foreign - to an attack on merely foreign capitalists.

The Whitlam leadership of the ALP, riding on the tide of its December victory, has opted for a "left-wing" image. The radicalisation in Australia has deepened so far that a conscious effort to take action in a radical way is being maintained. Nothing illustrates this trend better than a comparison with the New Zealand Labour Government. The best example concerns

sporting contacts with South Africa. Gough Whitlam cancelled all tours of racially-selected sporting teams on his first day of office. Norman Kirk preferred to hedge around it, but in the end he too had to cancel the Springbok tour. The same result was achieved in two different ways. The decisive action by the Whitlam Government showed its understanding of the mass pressure that was likely to be applied. The move resulted in increased popularity for Whitlam and a successful attempt to align himself with the anti-apartheid cause.

Generally most action taken up to date by the Labor Government falls into the category of low cost measures. It is true that equal pay for women, for which the Government argued, is going to cost a large amount to the employer, but most of the other measures, including the abolition of many tax loopholes were very cheap indeed.

The relations between Labor and the capitalist class are clearly at one and the same time both cordial and tenuous. Laurie Oakes and David Solomon have described the role of capitalists in organizing the Labor campaign, in particular the role played by newspaper publisher Rupert Murdoch. The help, both financial and otherwise, given by these people to the Labor Party played a role in the Labor victory. But these members of the ruling class realise that, unlike their Liberal predecessors, the new Cabinet members are not free in their actions. They continually have to take various actions which are unfavorable to the bourgeoisie. The leaders of that wing of the ruling class which have opted for a Labor Government did it as a second choice. Ideally they would have preferred conditions to remain the same and to keep the Liberal Party in office.

The ALP in power has already encountered one of its biggest obstacles - the state machinery. The first glimpse was given in the actions of the secretary of the Department of Defence, Arthur Tange. His obvious opposition to Labor and Labor policy was displayed on several occasions, particularly concerning Australian military intervention in Singapore and Malaysia. But a much better indication was given during the visit of Yugoslav Prime Minister Bjedic. The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) refused to supply the Government with details of the activities of the fascist Ustasha organisation. In fact, ASIO personnel conspired with other public servants to hide vital information from the Labor Government.

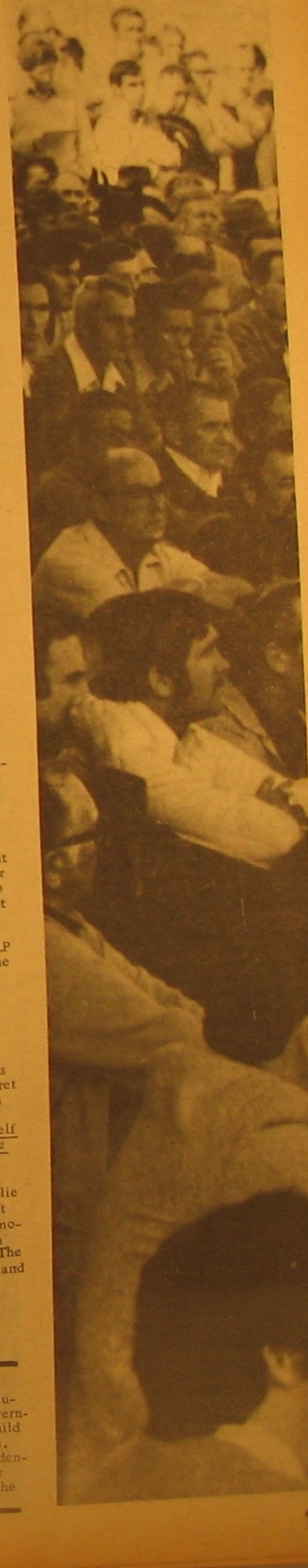
No matter how much effort the Labor Government puts into running capitalism more efficiently and no matter what different factors give it more leeway, Labor will still face certain difficulties. They are: the problems of the hostile attitudes of the state apparatus and the contradiction between pressed for from below and good relations with Australian capitalism. While the first set of problems have already been encountered they have been relatively minor compared to the latter ones.

But it is the latter ones which will present the ALP with its real dilemma. Sooner or later the Whitlam leadership will have to show its true colors. Whitlam's attempt to wrest himself free of the trade union movement and even the ALP machinery can not be successful. So long as the ALP remains organisationally connected to the labor movement, he will fail in his attempt.

The Labor leadership will have to confront its members and supporters. Its policies are incapable of solving the problems facing the working class. This does not mean that socialists should regret the Labor Party coming into office. On the contrary it is a great victory. This is particularly so as Labor has shown itself to be just as susceptible to mass pressure in office as outside.

The way forward for socialists does not lie in ignoring the Labor Party and does not lie in simply dismissing it as social democratic and reformist. Nor does it lie in uncritical support for the Labor Party. The policy of the Socialist Workers League and Socialist Youth Alliance expounded in DIRECT ACTION has been confirmed. The need to build a left wing to fight inside the Labor Party for socialist policies is more than ever valid.

Next issue the concluding part of this feature will discuss the approach revolutionary marxists take to the Labor Government and our program for action to build a left-wing alternative to Whitlamism. We will discuss the views of other tendencies on the left in regards to the Labor Party and make some projections for the coming year.



Interview with Peter Rotherham: The Radicalisation in New Zealand

Peter Rotherham is the Wellington co-ordinator of the Young Socialists in New Zealand. Peter was the co-ordinator of the Auckland Mobilisation Committee Against the War in Indo-China in 1971-1972 when he was a student activist at Auckland University. He is currently a student at Victoria University, Wellington. A founding member of the Socialist Action League, Peter came to Australia to attend the Fourth National Conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance.

DIRECT ACTION: To what extent has the new radicalisation been reflected in New Zealand?

Rotherham: The radicalisation which has been occurring on a worldwide scale throughout the sixties has also been reflected in New Zealand to a significant degree. For example, mass anti-war demonstrations in 1971-72, the growth of the women's liberation movement which at the present time is focussing around the abortion question, the beginnings of the gay movement, the rise of the Polynesian rights movement, all indicate that the radicalisation has been affecting New Zealand society to an extreme degree.

DIRECT ACTION: The most widely covered manifestation of the radicalisation has been the forcing of the cancellation of the 1973 Springbok tour. Can you tell us how this was stopped?

Rotherham: Throughout New Zealand the actual opposition to sporting contact with South Africa tended to deepen from about 1969, the opinion polls showed a marked increase in the opposition to the tour, so that even by the time the 1973 tour came around, something like 50% perhaps even more of the New Zealand population opposed the tour, and of course this was reflected on the campuses, in the unions and even in the Labour Party itself. It was the mass opposition to the tour which extended throughout the whole country which in fact stopped it.

DIRECT ACTION: What role did the Labour Party Government play in the cancellation of the tour?

Rotherham: Opposition to the Springbok tour was reflected not only on the campuses, but also in the Labour Party itself. This placed the Kirk leadership of the Labour Party under a great deal of pressure. Throughout the whole time however, the Kirk leadership was trying to appease all sections of society. While making anti-tour noises on the one hand, it was also trying to appease pro-tour forces on the other. By hedging on this issue for so long, the Kirk leadership showed how spineless it was on the whole question, how it wasn't prepared to stand up for the principles which had been established at Labour Party conferences.

DIRECT ACTION: How significant a victory do you see the cancellation of the tour to be?

Rotherham: It is significant to the extent that it is a partial victory for the anti-tour movement in that it has obviously forced the tour to be called off. At the same time it shows that the Labour Government had to concede to a very large section of New Zealand society. On the other hand, it is still possible that another tour could be planned for 1975 with the so-called merit selection. Selection by merit means that it is possible that a token black or a token coloured could be included in the next team predicted to come to New Zealand in 1975. It means that some form of mixed trials could take place. The important thing to remember is that these would be simply token gestures. They would represent no breaking down of the apartheid regime whatsoever, and therefore should be opposed by all anti-tour forces. It would appear that the Labour Party could be involved in working out some kind of rotten compromise with

the South African Government, in an attempt to undercut the anti-tour movement and derail the forces working against South African racism.

The most visible section of the organised anti-tour movement in the country involved those who favoured a disruption strategy. This was the strategy which said that if the Springboks get to New Zealand, then matches will be disrupted, the team will be harassed at every possible opportunity and so on. An important point to emphasise is that this disruption strategy and the threat of disruption did not stop the tour. What did stop the tour was the mass opposition to it throughout the whole country and the deep division that this caused.

If anything, the disruption strategy did more to damage the anti-tour movement in the sense that the bourgeois press used it to try and identify it with the whole anti-tour movement and make capital out of the "law and order" issue. A number of right-wing forces began to organise to counter the movement as a result. However, it remained the mass opposition which halted the tours and not the foot-stamping of the disruptionists.

DIRECT ACTION: What other steps has the Labour Party taken and how do you evaluate the new Government?

Rotherham: The Labour Government is still riding high on its landslide victory of late 1972. This means that Labour has a mandate for change from a large section of New Zealand society. But the actual record so far of the concrete things it has done and changes introduced is extremely poor. Apart from the cancellation of the Springbok tour it has done very little. For example, the Labour Government is still toying with the abortion question. It has made a number of statements about reforming the French laws, it has talked of opposing the French tests, it has spoken of getting out of the Seato and Anzus pacts but it has done very little. To this point, it appears to have spent most of its time trying to convince the New Zealand capitalists that it isn't going to upset the economy and that the New Zealand bourgeoisie can have the utmost faith in the kind of measures the Labour Government is going to introduce.

Of course, the Labour Government is far more susceptible to mass pressure than the National Party in New Zealand. This means that when a movement grows up around the abortion question or the Vietnam war or something like that, then these movements begin to find their reflection within the Labour Party. This is perhaps most obvious in Kirk's opposition to the war and the statements relating to Nixon's bombing of North Vietnam during December of last year. Of course, words come easier than actions, and in terms of concrete actions the Labour Government

has done very little against the United States' military role in South East Asia, by completely withdrawing New Zealand troops, breaking all military alliances with the United States etc. Despite all this, the Young Socialists give unconditional support to a Labour Government.

This means that we supported the election of a Labour Government without any conditions on the type of policies a Labour Government should raise. This support was based on the fact that the Party is in fact the political expression of the New Zealand working class at this time. The Labour Party is based on the trade unions of the country and was founded by the working class in an attempt to create a party which represented the interests of the working class of the country. That said, however, we must realise that the Labour Party is still led by a right-wing leadership and that it is a totally reformist party which will never make a revolution and is, in some ways the biggest block to the development of a revolutionary movement. The way in which we organised to assist in the Labour victory in 1972 was through the launching of a Socialist Labour Campaign. This campaign said quite clearly and unequivocally, "Vote Labour!" but at the same time raised criticisms of its leadership. For example, one of our central slogans was "Bring the Real Issues into the Elections!" and these real issues in our view were the war, abortion, the tours and so on.

DIRECT ACTION: Recent activities of radicals in the Labor youth in Australia have recently dismayed many Labor politicians. Have you had any similar experiences?

Rotherham: Yes, there have been similar experiences. For example, in 1972 the Labour Youth Conference in which members of the Young Socialists participated, passed a whole range of motions dealing with the nationalisation of all basic industries, opposition to the war, opposition to the tours and one motion censuring the Labour Party leadership for its support of the deregistration of the Seamen's Union in late 1971. This Labour Youth conference certainly dismayed the Labour Party bureaucrats. When this report came to the main Labour Party conference some days later, the report was censored by the Labour Party leadership. Large sections of it had been cut out, and a great controversy broke out on the conference floor over this anti-democratic action, and it was blown up in the press.

It appears, however, that Labor youth in this country is far better organised and extensive than in New Zealand. In New Zealand, there are very few established and viable Labour youth branches. There are, however, large numbers of young people in the Labour Party who have been influenced by the youth radicalisation and

who support radical politics and are working in the Labour Party to present their views and have them adopted as Labour Party policy.

The Labour Party officials have reacted to the activities of radicals and revolutionaries within the Party and this is best exemplified by the way in which the Socialist Action League was proscribed in the middle of 1972. This proscription took place in response to the launching of the Young Socialists for a Labour Government Campaign and also was connected with the activities of the Young Socialists in the Labour Party Youth conference. So far, this proscription hasn't meant much in that the Labour Party leadership hasn't attempted to weed out members of the Socialist Action League or Young Socialists. Nevertheless, it does have at its disposal this paper motion which it can use at some stage in the future when it feels in a stronger position to actually take action against socialists in the Party. For this reason, the Socialist Action League, Young Socialists and any other members of the Labour Party who support the right of individuals from these organisations to participate in the Party are fighting against the proscription and are continuing to protest against it and demand that it be reversed.

DIRECT ACTION: The question of abortion has already divided the Australian Labor Party. You have mentioned that the New Zealand Labor Party has refused to commit itself but what are the pro-abortion forces doing?

Rotherham: Potentially the abortion issue is important enough and controversial enough to also divide the New Zealand Labour Party in the same way. In fact, at some stage in the future a similar situation is going to develop. At this point, however, the abortion movement in New Zealand is a relatively new movement and mass marches have only occurred over the past one or two years. The issue, however, isn't hitting the headlines day after day as it is here at the moment. As I said, the Labour Party has been forced to make some token statements about liberalising the laws but has done very little. The Young Socialists believe that a woman's right to abortion and its struggle to repeal all abortion laws is a central issue and are working to actually make it that and mobilise support for the right of women to abortion.

DIRECT ACTION: How are the anti-abortion forces organised in their attempts to turn back the tide of the pro-abortion forces?

Rotherham: The anti-abortion forces in New Zealand are organised in an organisation called Spuc (Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child). Like in Australia, they have support from the Catholic Church hierarchy, from a wide range of right-wing forces etc. They also, of course, use the same methods which I have seen in Australia - all kinds of ghastly and distorted, emotive films and slides of foetuses and so on. The frantic manner in which the anti-abortion forces are mobilising in response to even the smallest movements for the repeal of the abortion laws, perhaps indicates that these forces realise the potential power of the abortion movement in New Zealand and also realise just what kind of an issue it is going to become in the near future.

DIRECT ACTION: The antiwar movement in New Zealand mobilised 27,000 people in huge demonstrations on July 14, 1972, six months after the withdrawal of New Zealand troops from Indo-China. Can you explain why the antiwar movement kept on, in contrast to Australia where it virtually collapsed after the troop withdrawal?

Rotherham: The important thing to remember of course, is that the antiwar movement in New Zealand, relatively speaking

Review: Palestine Forum

REVIEWED BY SOL SALBY

The Zionist propaganda machine in this country has hitherto been unchallenged. The obvious hostility of the capitalist press to the Palestinian cause has never been offset. Only some of the left-wing papers in the country have supported the Palestinian people's struggle for self-determination. The term 'Arab terrorist' is more often heard than 'Palestinian freedom fighter'.

The appearance of a new publication, Palestine Forum, published by the Friends of Palestine is therefore more than welcome. The Friends of Palestine is the main solidarity organisation with the Palestinian people in New South Wales.

Palestine Forum does not hide the fact that it is basically an Australian edition of the London Free Palestine. A large proportion of the articles are reprints, but the Australian content includes some of the more interesting and well researched articles.

The current double issue, 2-3 April - May 1973, contains a whole range of articles. The front page compares the recent murderous Israeli attack on Palestinian leaders in Lebanon on the night of April 9-10 with another massacre carried out by the Zionists exactly 25 years ago, to the day, at the village of

Deir Yasin. At least 254 people were murdered by Zionist thugs on that day. Valuable information is provided in another article on the gaoling of Al Fatah leader, Abu Doaud in Jordan.

A lengthy Palestinian Briefing column provides a long list of short items. It includes a large amount of hard to come by news. Did you know that the Hebrew Writers Association in Israel had decided not to accept Arab language authors in its ranks? The ban also applies to Arabs

writing in Hebrew.

One of the special May Day features concerns the exploitation of Arab workers in Israel. The changing role of the Palestinians from just being expelled from their country and providing the land to a large reserve of cheap labor is clearly outlined, using Israeli Government sources. The most clear-cut indictment of Israeli capitalism comes from an article taken from the Israeli daily Yediot Aharonot (Latest News).



Solidarity demonstration of Americans in Lebanon

Other Australian contributions include 'What Borders?'... by Michael Scott, a well researched article, 'Israel and the Left', by John Bechara and an excellent rebuttal of an editorial in The Australian by Palestine Forum editor, Anthony Maron.

Besides providing a large amount of information unavailable elsewhere, Palestine Forum provides several background articles on Israeli terrorism in Palestine, Arab villages destroyed in Israel and an interesting contribution by a special correspondent on the circumstances surrounding the airline murders. The correspondent suggests foul play on behalf of the Israelis as the reason why a French pilot with 12,000 hours flying experience should have strayed off course into Israeli occupied territory.

Palestine Forum is undoubtedly the best effort to date by members of Australia's Palestinian and Arab community in their effort to combat Zionist propaganda. No one who is interested in the Middle East or the just struggle of oppressed nationalities for self-determination can afford to miss it.

For subscriptions and further information write to Friends of Palestine P O Box 162 Pennant Hills, NSW, 2120. The subscription rate in Australia is \$2.00 per year. Elsewhere \$6.00 air mail.

DIRECT ACTION FORUMS

Sydney
at 139 ST JOHNS ROAD, GLEBE.
Friday, May 11, 8pm.
"THE GAY LIBERATION MOVEMENT"
Jeff Hayler, a Sydney Gay Liberation activist discusses the developments and revolutionary potential of Gay Liberation.

Friday, June 8, 8pm
"REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA"
A talk on the revolutionary movements in Latin America, the role of guerrilla groups, mass movements and the different regimes with particular emphasis on Chile and Argentina.

Thursday, May 17, 8pm
"LABOR TO POWER IN THE STATE ELECTIONS"
Jim McIlroy puts forward the revolutionary case for the victory of the ALP in the Victorian elections.

Thursday, June 14, 8pm.
"A REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY FOR THE STUDENT MOVEMENT"
Peter Conrick discusses the revolutionary approach to campus struggles and the strategy of the "Red University" and its application in Australia.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

was as big as the antiwar movement in the United States in terms of the mass marches that were organised in 1971 and 1972. The significant factor, of course, is that even after the New Zealand troops had been withdrawn, a march was held which quite clearly came up to the size of those marches which had been held in 1971 at the height of the war. There were enough people in the anti-war movement at that stage, and leading it, who clearly saw that the mass action approach was most important and that the "Out Now" demand was the central demand of the anti-war movement. They weren't prepared to see the anti-war movement derailed into things like medical aid for North Vietnam, seven point peace proposals and "Sign Now" demands. In other words, the leadership of the antiwar movement in New Zealand at that point was strong enough to fight off any attempt to demoralise the antiwar movement, and to fight off any attempt to derail the antiwar movement into more apolitical forms of activity.

DIRECT ACTION: The New Zealand antiwar movement reached the same proportion as the United States movement. Has this been the case with the black movement?

Rotherham: Obviously, the Young Socialists are going to play an extremely important role in the struggle for social change. The radicalisation taking place and, like the radicalisation taking place throughout the world, has affected mainly young people, and the Young Socialists actually grew out of this social phenomenon. They represent socialist youth organisation in New Zealand. I think this is the first time it has ever been seriously attempted in New Zealand. The Young Socialists is well on the way towards at least building itself as a national organisation, and from there going on to build itself as that mass revolutionary organisation.

DIRECT ACTION: No, it hasn't. While the radicalisation in New Zealand has affected many sections of society, it has also developed unevenly and this means that the Polynesian movement is still relatively small. It's been built at this point, primarily by young Maoris and Polynesians and its being built around the questions of reintroducing the Maori language in schools, the question of land rights, discrimination in housing, jobs and so on.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

LIKES 24 PAGES
Dear Editor,
Congratulations on your new 24 page DIRECT ACTION. Its better than ever and certainly justifies the price rise to 20c.

The new column 'On the Picket Line' is a big advantage along with the increased coverage of international news. Also keep up the coverage of the abortion campaign. DIRECT ACTION was way out in front in concentrating on this issue.

One criticism: the In Brief column is good - but there should be more shorter articles in the rest of the paper. Its hard to manage to read everything as it is.

Anyway - good luck with the fund drive - enclosed is my contribution.

Best wishes,
Karen Levitt

LETTER FROM CEYLON
Dear Comrade,

I last received "Direct Action" No. 29 (dated 27.10.72). I was eagerly awaiting the next issues, but to my greatest disappointment no D.A. came. After hopefully waiting for two months I write this letter.

From the D.A. I was able to follow closely the activities of the SYA as I am a firm believer of Trotsky's "permanent revolution". It was most helpful, reading about the Australian working class and their struggles in D.A.

I hope you have not stopped sending me D.A. If you have stopped sending the D.A. because my sub has expired please say how much I owe and I would certainly oblige.

I sincerely hope you will not fall me. Waiting anxiously.

Yours
R.K. (Sri Lanka)

P.S. I would like to correspond with a pen-pal from your country, who is also interested in the 4th international and the world socialist movement.

I am 19 years old, and I am going to college. I hope you will be able to help me in this too. Sorry if this is any trouble.
Thanks.

SMUGGLING DA
Dear Comrades,

I am a fourth form student at the above High School in Western NSW. On a recent visit to Sydney, I was fortunate enough to attend the "Boycott the French" demonstration in Martin Place on Thurs. 19th April. While I was there I bought a DIRECT ACTION with which I was very impressed. I see fit to tell you that I don't agree on all your policies, but generally they are in accordance with many of my ideals. Anyway, I would like to subscribe to DA, and so to keep a continuous supply, I was wondering if you could possibly reserve a copy of the next DA until I get home from boarding school when I can then send you a subscription for the paper. Then you could send out my copy, preferably to the care of the above address, as my parents are ardent capitalists, and would like to see me brought up the same. I feel, rightly, that I am entitled to take my own action though.

Thanking you greatly for your consideration,
D.P.

STALINISM, BUREAUCRACY, CUBA
Dear Comrades,

As a young student of Marxism, I would like some things cleared up. Firstly, could you briefly explain how the Stalinist bureaucracy arose and was successful in Russia? (How will I ever be able to answer my adversaries who say communism will never work?) Secondly, I have read in different places that bureaucracies will always be set up in the Third World, where it is mainly backward and agricultural, while in the highly industrialised countries of the west, such a stage will not be necessary. Why is this so?

Thirdly, the Cuba of Castro and Che is not regarded as bureaucratically deformed, but it is not Trotskyist, and is not exactly a democracy. Will political revolution occur in Cuba?

Anyway, victory to the World Revolution!
Yours,
Judy Kwok.

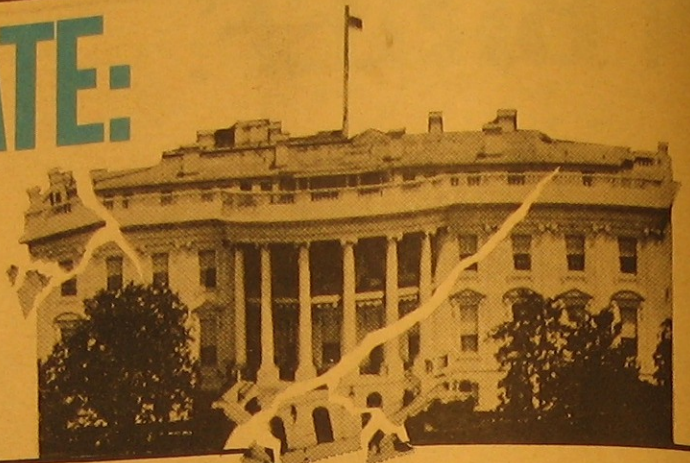
(You did not enclose your address, Judy - if you send us your address, we will be able to thoroughly answer the questions you have raised, in a way that is obviously impossible through this column. -Ed.)



Anti-tour protest in Christchurch

WATERGATE:

NOW MORE THAN EVER, NIXON'S THE ONE



BY CHRIS GRAHAM

Nixon's last-ditch attempt to dissociate himself from the Watergate conspiracy was finally aborted on May 5 with the disclosure by John Dean, a top-level White House adviser, that Nixon had organised the suppression of the truth of Watergate.

Dean's disclosure is the latest link in a process of chain reaction. Following the revelations of Watergate defendant James McCord directly implicating the Nixon administration in the organisation and suppression of the Watergate conspiracy, official after official admitted his role in the affair - and then fingered someone higher up. Now the finger is being directly pointed at Richard Nixon.

What needs to be exposed however, is not only Nixon's complicity in the Watergate conspiracy, but the whole nature of his administration and the interests it represents. The question of Nixon's violations of the US constitution is important for us only insofar as it exposes the inability of the capitalists to even stick to their own legal "restrictions" in a period when the days of the system they represent are numbered.

THE "WATERGATE SEVEN"

On June 17 last year five men were arrested at the Democratic Party's national offices at Watergate. The five men were James McCord, security chief of the Committee to Re-Elect the President (appropriately nick-named CREEP), Frank Sturgis, Virgilio Gonzalez, Eugenio Martinez and Bernard Barker. They were indicted on charges of conspiracy, burglary and wire-tapping on September 15. Also indicted were Howard Hunt, a high level White House consultant who was one of the burglars' contacts, and Gordon Liddy, finance director for Nixon's election campaign, who refused to give information on the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

At the time Nixon denied White House responsibility for the Watergate affair. But even before the trial of the Watergate seven, events were to prove the contrary. The procession of dismissals and "resignations" which followed soon showed the complicity of the Nixon administration in organising the Watergate bugging, and then attempting to suppress its publication.

On July 1 John Mitchell, formerly Nixon's attorney general and then his campaign director, resigned. He was followed a month later by campaign treasurer Hugh Sloan. In addition McCord and Liddy were sacked from their positions.

But the trial of the Watergate seven, which opened on January 8 this year was to provide the most damaging revelations which were to totally discredit the Nixon administration. Hunt, Gonzalez, Sturgis, Martinez and Barker all pleaded guilty. McCord and Liddy pleaded not guilty and were convicted on all counts on January 30.

WHITE HOUSE IMPLICATED

When the defendants came up for sentencing on March 23, James McCord dropped a bombshell from which the Nixon administration has not recovered. He handed the presiding judge, John Sirica, a letter charging that the Watergate seven were acting on orders from the White House and that they had been pressured into "pleading guilty and keeping silent". McCord charged that "perjury occurred during the trial in matters highly material to... the government's case," and further that "others involved in Watergate

were not identified during the trial when they could have been by those testifying".

McCord substantiated his charges at a Senate committee hearing set up to investigate the Watergate affair. (The Senate had voted 70 - 0 in favour of setting up this inquiry.)

The March 30 issue of The New York Times reported on the substance of McCord's remarks: "John Mitchell... approved the espionage activity and served as 'overall boss' of the team that mounted it. John Dean, counsel to the President, sat in on a planning meeting... and later reported that the operation had been approved." (McCord apparently did not say who had given the approval.)

"H.R. Haldeman, the White House Chief of Staff knew what was going on... Robert C. Mardian, former assistant attorney-general in charge of the Internal Security Division, had been in contact with McCord, who invoked the Fifth Amendment... when asked the circumstances. Charles W. Colson, former special counsel to the President, was thought by McCord to have received a detailed plan of the Watergate operation from Howard Hunt, who pleaded guilty to the conspiracy."

In addition, McCord implicated Jeb Magruder, second in command of CREEP, in the Watergate conspiracy. Magruder has since admitted his complicity.

Following McCord's revelations, Patrick Gray, acting head of the FBI, was accused of suppressing evidence by handing over 82 FBI reports to Dean. In the face of mounting evidence that the White House was responsible for Watergate, Nixon was forced to retract his previous denials of this responsibility on April 17. This followed the publication of an opinion poll which showed that 42 per cent of Americans believe that Nixon was suppressing the truth about Watergate.

Nixon now embarked on a full scale purge of his staff, in order to conciliate public opinion - and to dissociate himself. Most of the above-named White House staff have been dismissed or have "resigned".

In his address, Nixon formally admitted that the White House was responsible. He of course disavowed any knowledge or

approval of the conspiracy on his part. But this "innocence" was exploded by a report in The Washington Post which claimed that Nixon had in fact been aware of what was going on and later by the damning disclosures of John Dean.

Dean, unlike Haldeman and Ehrlichman, refused to resign gracefully from his White House position and hence was "asked to resign" by Nixon. His stubbornness caused considerable concern and can be seen as an important contributing factor in Nixon's decision to gag - under what is called "executive privilege" any of his associates from speaking about conversations they had with him on the Watergate affair.

Despite this Dean has spilled the beans. He revealed that in September last year he had been called by Haldeman to Nixon's office where he was congratulated by Haldeman and Nixon on his attempts to cover up the bugging. They were pleased that no person higher up had been indicted. Nixon was quoted as saying, "good job John. Bob (Haldeman) told me what a great job you've been doing".

Nixon's statements, like his record of "frankness and honesty" about the My Lai massacre and the suppression of the Pentagon Papers, were revealed to be absolute distortions. Great interest is now being focussed on the move of some Democratic members of Congress, led by Bella Abzug, to investigate the possibility of Nixon being impeached. A survey conducted by The Boston Globe revealed that 49 per cent of those questioned felt that Nixon should be impeached if he knew of the Watergate conspiracy and tried to cover it up later.

WOULD YOU BUY A USED CONSPIRACY FROM NIXON?

In fairness it must be stated that not all the world is against Nixon. He has found support from an unexpected source - the Soviet bureaucracy.

Despite extensive reporting of the Watergate affair internationally, a total news blackout on Watergate has been imposed in the Soviet Union, according to a May 7 Reuters report. Apparently the Moscow Stalinists have hushed up Watergate pending Brezhnev's summit talks with Nixon in Washington next month. This is a devastating example of the Moscow bureaucracy's policy of "peaceful coexistence"

with imperialism.

Of course, the Moscow bureaucracy has "contingency plans" in the event of the Watergate crisis not receding before the summit talks. But these plans seem to be based primarily on whether Nixon will still have the credibility (?) to implement decisions on strategic arms limitations and increased trade with the USSR.

Or perhaps even the Stalinist bureaucrats are reluctant to criticise methods which so closely parallel their own.

THE MEANING OF THE WATERGATE CONSPIRACY

Nixon and whatever is left of his cohorts will no doubt attempt to pass off the Watergate affair as an "isolated incident" just as they did with My Lai. But just as events were to show that My Lai epitomised US imperialism's whole conduct of the Indochina war, a whole series of events related to Watergate showed that it was not the exception, but the rule, that you've been doing.

For example, in connection with the trial of Daniel Ellsberg, - charged with procuring and publishing the Pentagon Papers, it was revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) obtained the evidence against Ellsberg by illegal wire-tapping. Ellsberg's lawyers are moving for a mis-trial on the grounds that such evidence is not legally admissible.

The whole nature of Nixon's election campaign was exposed by the Watergate affair. It was revealed that not only the Democratic Party's national offices, but also the offices of more progressive Democrats were bugged.

But the most important revelations of Watergate concerned Nixon's attempts to suppress the truth about the war in Vietnam, which has played a major role in the radicalisation of millions in the US and elsewhere. Watergate revealed what the anti-war movement knew all along; that the pro-war demonstration of 18 thousand hard-hats was organised and financed by Nixon. (The "finance" included bribing the construction workers to participate.)

Furthermore, following Nixon's blockade of North Vietnam last year the White House claimed that letters to the administration were 2-1 in favour of the blockade. As a result of the Watergate disclosures, it was revealed that this resulted from a massive write-in campaign of White House staff organised by the administration to misrepresent the depth of opposition to Nixon's aggression.

And finally, an equally important question must be raised. If Nixon is prepared to go to these lengths to suppress capitalist parties, then the mind boggles at what measures must be taken against the working class and its allies, oppressed minorities, women, the anti-war movement and so on.

The Watergate affair has shown clearly how the Nixon administration works. And flowing from this, it shows the workings of the capitalist system, whose interests are protected by the Democratic and Republican Parties. Neither party has any vested interest in getting to the truth of Watergate - nor the truth about the war in Vietnam, the exploitation of labor, the oppression of women etc. They represent the decaying capitalist order, in whose interests they have advanced a massive campaign of lies and deception about all these issues around which working people are radicalising.



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