

# DIRECT ACTION

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## THE ARAB REVOLUTION



# DIRECT ACTION

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Number 2 October, 1970

## MORATORIUM: KEEPING UP THE MOMENTUM ROD WEBB

While the May Moratorium was seen as something very significant in Australian political events, it has taken the September Moratorium to show us just how far-reaching the political and social effects of this type of action are.

It took the September Moratorium to show us how much the governments (State and Federal) fear the clear-cut proposition that if they don't withdraw troops from Indo-China now, we will do all we can to bring about a stoppage of business in the country.

Some may dismiss moves like the vitriolic denunciations and slanders in Parliament, harassment of Moratorium organisers and police repression on September 18 as hysterical over-reactions by unstable politicians. While this view contains an element of truth, it is equally valid to say that this reaction was part of a carefully calculated plan to make political capital out of its momentum. True, the tactic was a miscalculation but the assumption on which this miscalculation was based remains correct: audacious mass protest against the war in Indo-China threatens the very foundations of the present government. The enormous amount of time and effort wasted by the governments in attempting to thwart the movement is sufficient testimony to this. It follows that the most effective weapon we have yet devised in defence of the Vietnamese revolution is that which is seen to hurt the ruling class most. Obviously, revolutionaries don't need to be educated the September 18 way, they don't need to be told that the capitalist class lies in terror of mass action, whether it be street action or strike action or both. And obviously it would be nice if the liberals, pacifists and the rest of the working class could be educated in a less brutal way. But that's not the way it works, and it never will.

Anyway, they all know now; at least all those who marched on the Friday and many more who watched it on television. And they didn't need the simplistic sloganeering of the so-called anti-imperialist caucus to prove the point to them. All they needed was to participate in or watch a large, determined, all-inclusive protest based on concrete demands which, if met by the present government, would constitute the complete capitulation of an era of Australian political and social assumptions.

This of course, is the movement's strength, and any deterioration in its present character would result in a corresponding diminution of its political effectiveness.

MASS ACTION: Melbourne Moratorium's culminating action on September 18.

that the possibilities of a dismal December action are far from certain, the most important error of judgment is their idea of what the movement should be. Once you remove the mass demonstrative aspect from the movement, the movement is not worth having, because you have removed that aspect which hurts the government the most. Once the action is relegated to the level of poets, singers, writers and speakers, the movement is no longer a powerful threat to the government. Gorton didn't ban Gregory because he was to come here and speak against Australian foreign policy; he banned him because he was to speak at a Moratorium rally which was part of a whole day of strike action.

Another form of deterioration, that proposed by the Adelaide Moratorium, is discussed in another part of this paper. It is unlikely that this view will gain much currency in Sydney and one can venture to suggest that this is because the Sydney movement has a more heterogeneous character than Adelaide, and is therefore more aware of the folly of such adventurism at this time.

An interesting sidelight to this is that while certain CPA members in Adelaide find themselves aligned with the more adventurist policies of the leadership, their colleagues in Sydney joined forces with the more conservative "no demo" sections. At least the Sydney members have already admitted their mistake. These episodes only serve to highlight the current ideological disarray within the CPA, although they are not alone on the Left in their ill-defined and capricious attitude towards the anti-war movement.

What brings us to the final point. With a movement of such diverse character as the Moratorium, it becomes increasingly beholden on socialists within that movement, as their ranks decrease in proportion to the whole, to endeavour to create a movement which can both effectively increase in size going analysis of the objective conditions of the movement after two moratoriums.

We can no longer afford to make mistakes, because these mistakes can not only destroy our own credibility; they can threaten the future of the whole coalition and, rising out of this, the future growth of socialist consciousness in Australia.

The September Moratorium in Melbourne was simply the biggest and most successful demonstration the Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament has ever called. It was conducted entirely on their terms. The Moratorium Secretariat has for some time been able to ignore with impunity any calls for greater representation from student and other militants, to successfully ignore demands that more work be done to gain greater worker participation and for generally more responsible and democratic attitudes, e.g., towards the marshalling.

What actually happened? 50,000 to 75,000 people turned out on the day. This was a tremendous victory to the Moratorium movement, in view of the premature nature of the demonstration, the inadequate organisation and Bolte's pre-Moratorium sabre rattling. But it was a testament to the political determination and revolutionary potential of the Melbourne masses rather than to the political aptitude of the Moratorium Committee. For all the mistakes of the May Moratorium were repeated and accentuated. All that SYA activists had argued and predicted in the debate between May and September were glaringly obvious on the day.

After the Treasury Gardens meeting the march proceeded as planned to a successful sit-down in Bourke Street. As in May, the prevailing political tone was "peace now". After the sit-down, the demonstration proceeded along the agreed route only to be led straight into a police-controlled cul-de-sac on the farthest edge of the city. The march was to have continued to the Princes Gate intersection for a large culminating rally, but it was clearly impossible to continue without a major bloodbath - steel barricades were backed up by rows of foot police, mounted police and buses, vans and trucks. The predictable polarisation of the demonstration then occurred, with the spontaneist "revolutionaries" (including some of the marshalls) urging the demonstration to go through the barricades and Dr. Cairns pleading for non-violence. As usual, it was the masses who were left in between, absolutely bewildered. We were out of the public eye, on the edge of the city, the crowd was fragmented, undisciplined, confused and the police itching for an excuse to get stuck into them. Cairns announced that the organisers (no doubt

# Melbourne Moratorium

Jill Jolliffe

Sam Goldbloom and himself) had agreed to a police request that the meeting be held at this point instead of Princes Gate. A splinter group from the Monash/Latrobe spontaneists broke away to "do their own thing" with the police in a side street (they were rumoured to have eventually reached Princes Gate). Under these demoralising conditions the meeting was held and the Melbourne demonstrations ended. Various groups afterwards went various ways, the police herding them along - some to Melbourne University, some back to the middle of the city, nobody knowing very much of what was going on. The Melbourne Moratorium was run out of town.

## Organisation

What was the problem and why? Whether or not the Cairns/Goldbloom faction had done a deal with the police is a moot point - it is possible that they agreed to hold the meeting out of town as a concession for the police allowing the Bourke Street sit-down to go on. Police comments that Dr. Cairns had done a good job were rather apt. But we cannot condemn them without evidence and such a surmise only evades the real ideological question of why these people are in the position where this can be a possibility; how is it possible for them to act in such a high-handed, bureaucratic manner and why is there no effective Left opposition to them?



The fact is, that the march should not have proceeded past Bourke Street knowing that it would not be allowed to reach its destination. Why did it? Assuming that it proceeded because the organisers did not know what was going to occur near the Flagstaff Gardens, one must ask why didn't they? The answer is obvious - the marshalling system was totally irresponsible. The marshalls are politically crucial in two ways:

(a) in terms of representation - if they had actually had control of the situation at Flagstaff Gardens, if they could have determined events, could they have made a decision acceptable to the overall political feeling of the movement?; and

(b) in terms of organisational responsibility.

The three head marshalls were Bernie Taft of the CPA, Robert Doming (CPA member) and Ted Poulton. The two latter are acknowledged Weathermen.

Two out of the three are CPA members. None of them can justly claim to represent any radical student group. (Poulton does claim to; he is on the Moratorium Secretariat as a student representative, but he is not a student nor representative of student thought). Thus they fall down on both counts - two of the three are grossly irresponsible, and politically, the three head marshalls are highly unrepresentative.

On the day, they were incapable of executing a simple task like checking the route ahead. If they had, we would (I hope) never have proceeded past Bourke Street. Furthermore, they had no

hope whatsoever of influencing the crowd. They had neither the political authority nor the organisational ability to prevent groups leaving the march or to prevent the police breaking it up. They couldn't even guarantee a minimal requirement - a public address system - as usual, it broke down. There was no alternative system on hand!

They did not have the political authority because they were totally unrepresentative, and they did not have the organisational ability because the Weatherman mentality is incapable of understanding how a mass movement works. How could it? What sort of madness would give a person who subscribes to the ultimate philosophy of spontaneism and bourgeois individualism a position of authority in a mass movement?

## Workers

The second Moratorium was characterised by lack of organised worker participation even more than the first. Once again the lack of large-scale supportive strike action was worrying. The demand SYA put for greater worker participation in

resolution carried to put greater emphasis on worker involvement. But the workers' council never got off the ground, largely through the obtuseness of our allies on the extra-parliamentary Left. Neither the Bakery group nor SDS saw fit to seize the initiative offered, for their own respective sectarian and liberal spontaneist motives. Neither perceived the opportunity to wrest leadership from the Stalin Peace Prize candidates who continue to resist change within the Moratorium organisation. So the workers' council failed.

Yet it should not have been necessary to establish such a body to work for greater industrial participation, in that the Secretariat was already bound as a matter of policy to working to this end. An organised large-scale propaganda assault was made on secondary schools with good results. Why was there no similar assault on factories? The answer of course is that the CID clique is simply not interested in introducing working class politics into the campaign, because they do not see the working class as a motive force for social change. Their politics are reformist and only by in some way counterbalancing their domination of the movement will the worker participation increase.

## The Left

What then, are the alternatives? How should revolutionaries work in the Moratorium committee?

What we said after May 8 applies doubly now:

"The correct approach for a revolutionary would be to make an unashamedly frontal approach to the Australian public through the mass machinery established by the Moratorium, therefore assuming their capacity for political change, and ability to realise the true nature of Australian society, instead of side-stepping, because it might impede 'militancy'. Such militancy is illusory and only emphasises the need to establish a real revolutionary movement, a Left alternative in the anti-war movement". "Organise", June 1970.

There is at present no group within the Moratorium which is capable of providing any intelligent Left alternative to the leadership. The pro-Marxist groups are tame revolutionaries - they are completely co-opted in that they are only capable of making romantic revolutionary noises which the leadership can afford to be amused by, but not of organising for a prolonged struggle for at least a proportionate voice for the Left in the Moratorium.

SYA members must be prepared to fight to gain a meaningful voice for the Left in the Moratorium. They must be prepared to attend meetings religiously, to vote as a bloc and to fight consistently around demands for:

(1) The devotion of Moratorium energy and money to a campaign for greater industrial worker involvement;

(2) Real representation to be given to militant students and workers (of all factions) in the organisation of the Moratorium;

(3) Greater politicisation of the campaign, for example the election of marshalls on an openly (instead of covertly) political basis;

(4) An insistence that the committee work at every point in a democratic, mass way instead of a bureaucratic way.

The first post-September 18 Moratorium meeting has now been held at which, after facing demands for explanation over the course of the march, chairman Sam Goldbloom glibly moved on to the next item on the agenda. A motion of no confidence in the Secretariat and chief marshalls put up by SYA member Rod Quim forced the debate. An amendment to debate the question in an open meeting of the Left was lost in favour of an amendment to confine the debate to the accredited delegates who make up the Secretariat. In other words, criticism of the leadership of the Moratorium is to be confined to the leadership. There is no necessity to consult the masses on the question of building a mass movement!

Despite the forced exclusiveness at the meeting the debate is absolutely crucial in the politicisation of the Moratorium and should be the occasion for socialists to offer an exhaustive and uncompromising criticism of the balls-up that marred Melbourne's second Moratorium.



The SYA lives and breathes in Melbourne. An affiliated branch has been formed. It has begun regular meetings, found headquarters, organised "In The Year of the Pig" screenings, conducted a successful public meeting (see report below) and initiated an already-successful recruiting and publicity campaign. Practical political work, classes and a holiday/study camp are all on the agenda.

Fraternal relations between SYA members and activists in the Palestinian community are strong. SYA policy, enunciated by Sol Salby, found a sympathetic response from the 100-strong audience at Melbourne University on Sunday October 11. In informal discussion after the gathering, ideas for joint SYA/Palestinian activities were advanced.

The planning of the second Socialist Scholars' Conference to be held early next year has developed farcical overtones. The present format envisages the usual useless "Marxist" academics delivering lectures from on high to the masses. Despite protestations to the contrary, the organisers are sticking rigidly to this traditional format. The "Arena" coterie of cupboard Maoists (as in "cupboard drinker") who are organising this romp along with the Monash revolutionaries, seem to think that objections to the elitist and highly irrelevant concept of the conference can be met by adding a few worker gurus such as Ted Bull and Clarrie O'Shea to supplement the academics.

One organiser of the conference was actually quoted as saying that he doesn't believe that all socialists are capable of understanding economics! If, as Humphrey McQueen recently claimed in the columns of "Old Mole", "Arena" is distinguishable for its intervention in the revolutionary struggle in Australia, we should see a real revolutionary upturn around January 1971.

While religious and bourgeois nationalist speakers dominated the function, the memorial for Gamal Abdul Nasser was a significant day for Melbourne's Arab community. Denied any real participation, Palestinians expressed some resentment. Obviously Melbourne's conservative Arab elders found Nasser's revolution more palatable than the revolutionary perspectives presented by the Palestinian vanguard of the Arab world.

A screening of the 25-minute "Palestine Will Win" netted \$370 for the Palestinian movement in Jordan. The film, made by Palestinians, gives an outline of the catastrophe. Technical inexperience notwithstanding, the film gives indication of new direction in struggle.

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# ADELAIDE MORATORIUM REPORT

Bill Glavin

The Adelaide Moratorium march began as planned with a rally at 1.00 p.m. on Friday the 18th at Elder Park. The demonstrators were entertained for about an hour and a half with anti-war songs and speeches by some of the VMC organisers, union leaders, etc. The demonstrators were then asked to form 4 abreast, arms linked, with those not wishing to be involved if arrests were made at the sit-down, falling on the back part of the march. No details of when or where the sit-down was to be held were mentioned.

There were about 4000 to 5000 marchers: the majority were young but there was a fair smattering of workers, women's groups, Christian groups and a group of Anglican monks. There were also a few fascists who remained on the sidelines, but the much publicised "Mimtemen" failed to appear. The fascists present remained on the other side of the road and handed out a patriotic Red Peril-type pamphlet produced by the "Freedom Vigilantes".

There were a couple of minor incidents involving bystanders as the march moved slowly up King William Street to North Terrace, about 400 yards from the starting point. Police moved slowly ahead of the march and the first few ranks of the demonstrators were escorted by police greys. At the intersection one or two of the organisers made an incredibly stupid on-the-spot decision to hold the sit down.

Everyone involved had expected the march to follow its planned route along King William Street, around Victoria Square and then back, with the sit down at an intersection on the way back. This appeared to be the most logical and effective way of causing maximum disruption to the city, this being the only reason for holding a sit in at all. The organisers and marshalls did not even announce that the marchers should sit down, so naturally there was considerable confusion when the marshalls started urging people to crush in around a small circle in the centre of the intersection.

After about 10 minutes of street-theatre and singing, the stand in (nobody sat) was ordered by an inspector to disperse (not to move on, as was widely reported). Very

few of the marchers even heard his directions. Then, without warning, police on foot and horseback charged the crowd. The resistance of the crowd was mainly passive and ineffectual and in the next 10 minutes about 100 people were arrested, several injured and many brutally man-handled to the waiting convoy of police vehicles. There were many cases of deliberate and unwarranted assault by

police on demonstrators before and after they were arrested. A canister of gas was dropped into the crowd and some of the people arrested have claimed that they were gassed in the police vehicles.

The cops soon managed to clear the street, but the demonstrators re-grouped on the steps of Parliament House in a hostile mood after the unprovoked display of police



terrorism. The demonstration continued on the Parliament House steps until about midnight with a wall of cops five rows thick lined up on the footpath and in the road. There were dozens of random arrests. The cops used the flying wedge tactic to smash a path through the demonstrators to get to their selected (?) victim. In all a total of 141 people were arrested.

Dunstan, conveniently out of town at the time (this seems to be his favourite evasion now - he was also conveniently out of town when the ALP withdrew support from the Moratorium) immediately issued a deliberately vaguely worded statement to show his concern at the whole affair, and has since instituted a Royal Commission to investigate the violence and the reasons for it.

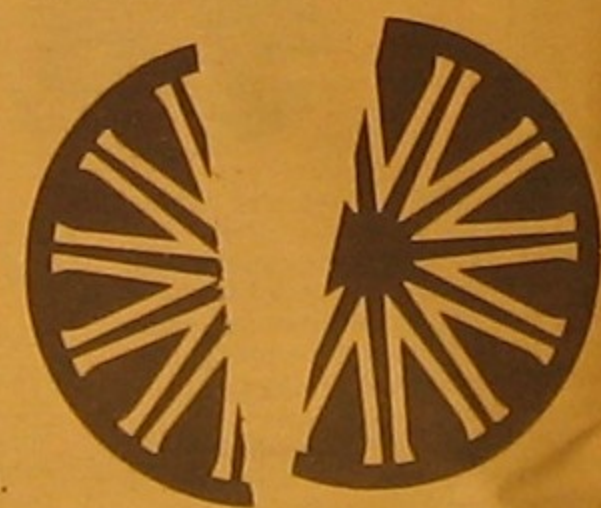
We can confidently expect that the Royal Commission will achieve nothing but will smother the issue of the Indo-Chinese war and our part in it under heaps of "law and order" bullshit. This will continue the trend initiated by the people who profit from the slaughter in Vietnam - a trend lately aided by the ALP.

The capitalist interests that profit from the war in Vietnam are seeking, quite successfully, to keep the issue of the Indo-Chinese war as the point of debate. "The rights of people to use the streets", "violence on the streets", and "mob rule" has been much publicised by the capitalist press while the violence inflicted on the Vietnamese people by US-Australian imperialism is conveniently forgotten. The ALP and those trade unions that supported the ALP's galloping retreat from the Moratorium helped immensely to shift the focus to the demonstration itself and took their stand on the side of the law and order interests.

The ALP's withdrawal of support from the Moratorium is a clear indication of its opportunistic, vacillating policy on Vietnam. We cannot expect the ALP to do anything to endanger its imperialist alliances without the pressure of a massive anti-war movement to force it to do so.

It is important that the movement should not be wavered or sidetracked by the police tactics and capitalist propaganda. We must continue to defend our right to march and strive to build an effective mass movement against the Indo-Chinese war and imperialism.

concrete and principled and accepted by the widest sections of all people opposed to the war. Beyond this aim, revolutionaries should seek to influence all sections of this larger movement to their point of view, but this aim should not be exclusive of the primary one: it's no use waving the red flag if no-one turns up to watch you.



It might be worthwhile to speculate on the particular local circumstances that effected a change in the thinking of the

Adelaide leadership. Probably the best indication can be gained from one of the most often-repeated arguments of the meeting: "The ALP sold us out last time, this time we can do without them".

Is it possible, then, that the leaders were acting out of spite, and that their underlying aim is to get back at the ALP? For a revolutionary, however, the only justification for a tactical turn of such significance, would be a corresponding significant change in objective conditions. Our guess is that the leaders' leadership reasons lie somewhere between pure spite and objective change.

At the moment, left-wing hostility towards the ALP is nowhere as high as it is in Adelaide. This reaction is inevitable once a social democratic party achieves power and has the opportunity to display its limitations. It is highly likely that the present mindless reaction to this state of affairs springs from a failure to understand these limitations before a few



## SYDNEY Sue Andrews

Organisational needs arise themselves, without summoning, in all the spheres of interest to socialists. The latest is in the Sydney Women's Liberation movement. A despairing letter was circulated to all the contacts of the main groups in Sydney recently. In this a number of basic questions of organisation surfaced eg. need of people to take responsibility for literature, newsletter, finances, locality groups, internal education program, and premises. These questions seem obvious and basic yet the real problem of organising these spheres has been ignored by those who have so far dominated women's liberation. Such approaches as "structures are bureaucratic" or "chairmen stifle discussion" in the long run don't build movements, only personal followings, and once the people involved become more than a clique the demon "organisation" comes unsummoned. All this was shown more clearly at the meeting on October 6 which resulted from this appeal to W.L. supporters. The meeting proceeded in chaos because of the idea that it is "bureaucratic" to elect a chairman. The discussion rambled and often was dominated by a couple of people either arguing between themselves or making decisions about agenda procedure and who should speak.

No concrete decisions were made - no-one has to commit themselves to anything much because there was no voting, so no place for reasonable debate. Somehow a roster system was planned for manning the headquarters during certain hours of the week (to be publicised) committees were volunteered to take care of literature and the newsletter. There was no discussion of the abortion campaign, which, two months ago, was the high point of women's liberation activity. It seems to have been a burst of activity which has not been maintained after having been virtually initiated by W.L.

Two main groups were represented. Firstly, the Clebe group, which is centred at the headquarters at Glebe Pt Road. Members of the Clebe group have put out a couple of issues of a

newsletter and generally maintained these headquarters as well as starting up quite a comprehensive library of W.L. literature. Secondly, the working women's group, which, appears to have been very active over the last period. They have produced their own leaflets and have distributed them at some factories. Regular meetings of a dozen or so have been held and now a "pub crawl" is planned to distribute more literature. The other groups represented, such as Sydney, N.S.W. and Macquarie Uni's and Balmain, gave a depressing picture of lack of continuity and recruitment.

This seems to be a dismal picture and as long as some people in W.L. refuse to face the fact that W.L. needs some basic structure, it will remain so. Cries for "organisation" at that meeting cannot be ignored. The complaints that W.L. seems to be aiming nowhere and that now recruits quickly drop away, should be taken to their logical conclusion. If there is no program and activity around which people can be recruited, if there is no structure which can cope with basic organisational work like finance and correspondence, obviously people aren't going to stay around for long. It's all very well to hope that the "sisterhood" of W.L. will keep us all together and magically we will find the awakening masses of oppressed women flocking to the ranks. If W.L. has no aims and no structure and people even wonder if W.L. is revolutionary or not, then W.L. will continue to become disorientated and frustrated.

As was stated before, such a tactical turn requires justification in the light of objective situations. But nothing has changed. Whitlam has played the bourgeois democrat before, ribs have been broken before, and the working class still sleeps in the suburbs. The broken ribs and the denunciations are subjective characteristics of an unchanged objective situation. And a turn to the left of the Moratorium at this stage is a subjective reaction arising out of a failure to understand the nature of social democracy. Maybe when the ribs are healed the leaders will get back to politics. Let's hope so.

# WOMEN'S LIBERATION

## TEETHING PROBLEMS

### ADELAIDE Barbara Burns

Since a branch was established here, little progress has been made towards widening the organisation or carrying out rigorous campaigns for the emancipation of women.

The movement in Adelaide has a very small membership and is practically unheard of outside the university campus. Meetings are held at the university and very few people are aware of them. Most of the 20 or so members, of whom 3-5 are men, are students. An urgent need exists for better premises away from the university for wider publicity so that women can be contacted and informed directly.

The meetings are disorganised and irregular so that quite often members do not know when they are being held. It is only by chance or direct contact with one of the organisers that one finds out about the meetings. When a meeting is held, there is an apathetic lack of interest by most people present; in fact, many leave before it is finished saying that they have something better to do etc. A chairman is appointed, but does not function and there is no planned agenda and the result is a general casual discussion on many subjects, with very few conclusions drawn. The executive is composed of four members but

As a result of the disorganised running of the movement, there are no plans for future campaigns. Abortion reform is a major issue and if a powerful and continuous campaign can be raised here, as well as in other states, women may soon have access to an abortion on request. A programme for equal working conditions, promotion and pay for women instead of their becoming a reserve cheap work force is important. In this society, a woman is trained to think of herself only as a mother and because she has not been trained, is used in unskilled jobs. Any woman who rejects the "woman's role" for individual development is met with resentment.

A meeting of Women's Liberation recently suggested changing its name to Human Liberation as a more favourable means of gaining support, but this is obviously not the answer. It must be realised that the woman's oppression is basically a social and political one, i.e., it is part of the capitalist society. Success of the movement will involve planning definite future programmes and raising the consciousness of women themselves to struggle for their rights. These campaigns can be around such things as right to abortion and equal pay. The work of starting to build a movement around these demands must be started now so the full potential of the Women's Liberation Movement can be realised. The Women's Liberation Movement should cease to become the latest fad for radicals and get down to the serious work of building a mass movement.

once again, they do not function. They give no reports at the meetings - suggesting that they have nothing to report - and the entire executive is very rarely present.

One of the few activities has been the production of an article in the daily newspaper and the distribution of leaflets at the Adelaide Royal Show, when an anti-consumer campaign was conducted. The article showed how unorganised and un-informed the movement is in Adelaide. There was a repetition of facts around the point "you have to be beautiful to be successful", and on the whole the article had little impact. It was merely a lot of words which could have been condensed to a small paragraph. There was no attempt at making an analysis or drawing conclusions and no mention of any solution which might be worked for. The issue was attacked at face value without considering any underlying social cause.

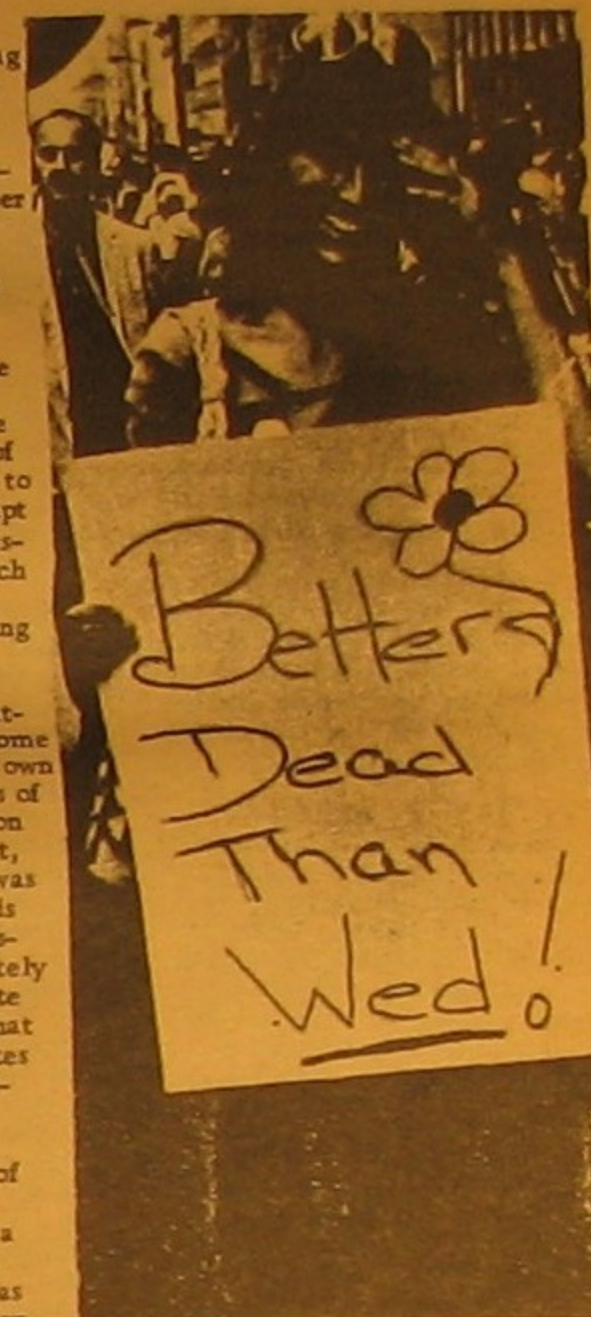
The Adelaide branch of Women's Liberation has made very little attempt to become familiar with the movement outside its own branch. No knowledge of the activities of other branches such as the programme on abortion in Sydney is available; in fact, it was thought that the Sydney branch was practically non-existent. Not enough is known of the movement throughout Australia and the world and there is definitely need for books and pamphlets to educate and familiarise ourselves. It is time that better contacts were made in other states and regular information letters and bulletins exchanged.

As a result of the disorganised running of the movement, there are no plans for future campaigns. Abortion reform is a major issue and if a powerful and continuous campaign can be raised here, as well as in other states, women may soon have access to an abortion on request.

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## U.S. WOMEN'S STRIKE

The Women's Liberation movement in the US has now graduated to true mass status since the enormous nation-wide demonstrations on August 26 last. The New York action drew 35,000 to 40,000 to a street march and subsequent rally, with lesser numbers in other US cities.

The actions were organised around the three demands of: free abortion on demand; free 24-hour child-care facilities controlled by the community; equal educational and job opportunities. Through these clear and relevant demands the movement has been built on solid foundations with the prospect of an on-going and increasing mass movement.

Photos on this page show the militant tone of the demonstration and point to the sort of actions that should be envisaged here.



## SOCIALIST RUNS FOR PRESIDENT

Frans Timmerman is running for the position of president of the Students' Union at the University of NSW. He is a member of SYA and is running on a socialist platform.

His basic policy consists of student/worker control, mass action in student politics, basic education reforms in the light of a socialist society, and the use of university facilities for anti-war and other political and cultural activities.

Specific campus policies include non-censorship of Tharunka (the student journal), opening of all university committees and course-planning by both students and staff.



## SPONSORS SPLIT

Bill Glavin & Rod Webb

At a sponsors' meeting held in Adelaide on October 13, a large majority voted to change the aims of the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign in South Australia.

When the aims came before the meeting to be reaffirmed, the following amendment was passed:

"Recognising that the war in Indo-China is part of a strategy of world-wide domination on the part of US imperialism and its allies, we support the PRG of South Vietnam and its programme for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the setting up of a coalition government in South Vietnam".

Motions of this nature have cropped up at every VMC meeting held in the past and have been defeated on the grounds that this type of aim can only be divisive in a broad anti-war movement. It has been strongly fought against on the grounds that it is the duty of all revolutionaries to build a mass movement a mass movement containing people of the most diverse motives and interests who can combine in action around a single effective demand aimed at ending the war.

It has been held in the past that the aims or demands of the mass movement should be framed so that anyone opposed to the war on any grounds will not be excluded.

The arguments in support of the alteration are interesting.

The "revolutionaries" said we should "tell the truth about the war" and avoid "insulting the workers by presupposing that the working class does not understand imperialism". They claimed that no-one would be alienated or excluded by the change in the aims. The last two

arguments are patently false to anyone who can see further than the confines of a well-stacked sponsors' meeting. Whitlam, if he is nothing more than a shrewd politician, has a better understanding of current working class consciousness than the Adelaide Moratorium leaders.

If the "revolutionaries" say that we must now tell the truth about the war, they are of course implying that the demand for "total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Indo-China" is dishonest. Strange then that this demand is the same as that of the PRG, whose cause all revolutionaries should defend in the most effective way possible. The question here then is, which is the better way to effectively defend the Vietnamese revolution? The answer of the Moratorium leadership is to severely limit the audience for their cause by drawing into the argument a type of rhetoric which does little to further the defence of the Vietnamese revolution by itself.

While it is conceded that support of the PRG is a more politically advanced demand, this demand, in practical terms, doesn't do much more to effect the disengagement of imperialist forces from Vietnam. On the other hand, the political effect, in Australian conditions, of such a demand being raised at this time as the main slogan of the mass movement, far outweighs any possible advantage the leadership may imagine they can gain by educating their present miniscule following to a greater awareness of the crimes of imperialism.

The Moratorium movement in Adelaide is, at this stage, much too small to be in any way effective in achieving its aim of ending the Vietnam war. If the leadership thinks differently, then we, and the Vietnamese, are in trouble. The movement must continue to grow, not just as a movement, any movement, but as a movement whose aims are both

# Women: Caste, Class or Oppressed Sex

BY EVELYN REED

What is the source of women's oppression? Those who maintain that women constitute a caste or class are led to the conclusion that it is not capitalism but men who are the prime enemy. This position leads to a false strategy in our struggle for liberation.

The new stage in the struggle for women's liberation already stands on a higher ideological level than did the feminist movement of the last century. Many of the participants today respect the Marxist analysis of capitalism and subscribe to Engels' classic explanation of the origins of women's oppression. It came about through the development of class society, founded upon the family, private property and the state.

But there still remain considerable misunderstandings and misinterpretations of Marxist positions which have led some women who consider themselves radicals or socialists to go off course and become theoretically disoriented. Influenced by the myth that women have always been handicapped by their child-bearing functions, they tend to attribute the roots of women's oppression, at least in part, to biological sexual differences. In actuality its causes are exclusively historical and social in character.

Some of these theorists maintain that women constitute a special class or caste. Such definitions are not only alien to the views of Marxism but lead to the false conclusion that it is not the capitalist system but men who are the prime enemy of women. I propose to challenge this contention.

The findings of the Marxist method, which have laid the groundwork for explaining the genesis of woman's degradation, can be summed up in the following propositions:

"First, women were not always the oppressed or 'second' sex. Anthropology, or the study of prehistory, tells us the contrary. Throughout primitive society, which was the epoch of tribal collectivism, women were the equals of men and recognised by man as such."

"Second, the downfall of women coincided with the breakup of the matriarchal clan commune and its replacement by class-divided society with its institutions of the patriarchal family, private property and state power."



The key factors which brought about this reversal in woman's social status came out of the transition from a hunting and food-gathering economy to a far higher mode of production based upon agriculture, stock raising and urban crafts. The primitive division of labour between the sexes was replaced by a more complex social division of labour. The greater efficiency of labour gave rise to a sizable surplus product, which led first to differentiations and then to deepgoing divisions between the various segments of society.

By virtue of the directing roles played by men in large-scale agriculture, irrigation and construction projects, as well as in stock raising, this surplus wealth was gradually appropriated by a hierarchy of men as their private property. This, in turn, required the institution of marriage and the family to fix the legal ownership and inheritance of a man's property. Through monogamous marriage the wife was brought under the complete control of her husband who was thereby assured of legitimate sons to inherit his wealth. As men took over most of the activities of social production, and with the rise of the family institution, women became relegated to the home to serve their husbands and families. The state apparatus came into existence to fortify and legalise the institutions of private property, male dominion and the father-family, which later were sanctified by religion.

This, briefly, is the Marxist approach to the origins of woman's oppression. Her subordination did not come about through any biological deficiency as a sex. It was the result of the revolutionary social changes which destroyed the egalitarian society of the matriarchal gens or clan and replaced it with a patriarchal class society which, from its birth, was stamped with discriminations and inequalities of many kinds, including the inequality of the sexes. The growth of this inherently oppressive type of socio-economic organisation was responsible for the historic downfall of women.

But the downfall of women cannot be fully understood, nor a correct social and political solution worked out for their liberation, without seeing what happened at the same time to men. It is too often overlooked that the patriarchal class system which crushed the matriarchy and its communal social relations also shattered its male counterpart, the fratricide - or tribal brotherhood of men. Woman's overthrow went hand in hand with the subjugation of the mass of toiling men to the master class of men.

The import of these developments can be more clearly seen if we examine the basic character of the tribal structure which Morgan, Engels and others described as a system of "primitive communism". The clan commune was both a sisterhood of women and a brotherhood of men. The sisterhood of women, which was the essence of the matriarchy, denoted its collectivist character. The women worked together as a community of sisters; their social labours largely sustained the whole community. They also raised their children in common. An individual mother did not draw distinctions between her own and her clan sisters' progeny, and the children in turn regarded all the older sisters as their mutual mothers. In other words, communal production and communal possessions were accompanied by communal child-raising.

The male counterpart of this sisterhood

was the brotherhood, which was moulded in the same communal pattern as the sisterhood. Each clan or phratry of clans comprising the tribe was regarded as a "brotherhood" from the male standpoint just as it was viewed as a "sisterhood" or "motherhood" from the female standpoint. In this matriarchal-brotherhood the adults of both sexes not only produced the necessities of life together but also provided for and protected the children of the community. These features made the sisterhood and brotherhood a system of "primitive communism".



Thus, before the family that had the individual father standing at its head came into existence, the functions of fatherhood were a social, and not a family function of men. More than this, the earliest men who performed the services of fatherhood were not the mates or "husbands" of the clan sisters but rather their clan brothers. This was not simply because the processes of physiological paternity were unknown in ancient society. More decisively, this fact was irrelevant in a society founded upon collectivist relations of production and communal child-raising.

However odd it may seem to people today, who are so accustomed to the family form of child-raising, it was perfectly natural in the primitive commune for the clan brothers, or "mothers' brothers", to perform the paternal functions for their sisters' children that were later taken over by the individual father for his wife's children.

The first change in this sister-brother clan system came with the growing tendency for pairing couples, or "pairing families" as Morgan and Engels called them, to live together in the same community and household. However, this simple cohabitation did not substantially alter the former collectivist relations of the productive role of the women in the community. The sexual division of labour which had formerly been allotted between clan sisters and brothers became gradually transformed into a sexual division of labour between husbands and wives.

But so long as collectivist relations prevailed and women continued to participate in social production, the original equality between the sexes more or less persisted. The whole community continued to sustain the pairing units, just as each individual member of these units made his

and her own contribution to the common life. Consequently, the pairing family, which appeared at the dawn of the family system, differed radically from the nuclear family of our times. In our ruthless competitive capitalist system, every tiny family must sink or swim through its own efforts - it cannot count on assistance from outside sources. The wife is dependent upon the husband while the children must look to the parents for their subsistence, even if the wage-earners who support them are stricken by unemployment, sickness or death. In the period of the pairing family, however, there was no such system of dependency upon "family economics", since the whole community took care of each individual's basic needs from the cradle to the grave.

This was the material basis for the absence, in the primitive commune, of those social oppressions and family antagonisms with which we are so familiar.

It is sometimes said or implied that male domination has always existed and that women have always been orally treated by men. Contrariwise, it is also widely believed that the relations between the sexes in matriarchal society were merely the reverse of our own - with women dominating men. Neither of these propositions is borne out by the anthropological evidence.

It is not my intention to glorify the epoch of savagery nor advocate a romantic return to some past "golden age". An economy founded upon hunting and food-gathering is the lowest stage in human development and its living conditions were rude, crude and harsh. Nevertheless, we must recognise that male and female relations in that kind of society were fundamentally different from ours.

Under the clan system of the sisterhood of women and the brotherhood of men there was no more possibility for one sex to dominate the other than there was for one class to exploit the other. Women occupied the most eminent position because they were the chief producers of the necessities of life as well as the procurers of new life. But this did not make them the oppressors of men. Their communal society excluded class, racial or sexual tyranny.

As Engels pointed out, with the rise of private property, monogamous marriage and the patriarchal family, new social forces came into play in both society at large and in the family set up which destroyed the rights exercised by earliest womankind. From simple cohabitation of pairing couples there arose the rigidly fixed, legal system of monogamous marriage. This brought the wife and children under the complete control of the husband and father who gave the family his name and determined their conditions of life and destiny.

Women, who had once lived and worked together as a community of sisters and raised their children in common, now became dispersed as wives of individual men serving their lords and masters in individual households. The former egalitarian sexual division of labour between the men and women of the commune gave way to a family division of labour in which the woman was more and more removed from social production to serve as a household drudge for husband, home and family. Thus women, once "governesses" of society, were degraded under the class formations to become the governess of a

man's children and his chief housemaid.

This abasement of women has been a permanent feature of all three stages of class society, from slavery through feudalism to capitalism. So long as women led or participated in the productive work of the whole community, they commanded respect and esteem. But once they were dismembered into separate family units and occupied a servile position in home and family, they lost their prestige along with their influence and power.

Is it any wonder that such drastic social changes should bring about intense and long-enduring antagonism between the sexes? As Engels says:

"Monogamy then does by no means enter history as a reconciliation of man and wife, and still less as the highest form of marriage. On the contrary, it enters as the subjugation of one sex by the other as the proclamation of an antagonism between the sexes unknown in all preceding history... The first class antagonism appearing in history coincides with the development of the antagonism of man and wife in monogamy, and the first class oppression with that of the female by the male sex." (Quoted in *The Communist Manifesto*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1954, p. 79).

Here it is necessary to note a distinction between two degrees of women's oppression in monogamous family life under the system of private property. In the productive farm family of the pre-industrial age, women held a higher status and were accorded more respect than they receive in the consumer family of our own city life, the nuclear family.

So long as agriculture and craft industry remained dominant in the economy, the farm family, which was a large or "extended" family, remained a viable productive unit. All its members had vital functions to perform according to sex and age. The women in the family helped cultivate the ground and engaged in home industries, as well as bearing children, while the children and older folks produced their share according to ability.

This changed with the rise of industrial and monopoly capitalism, and the nuclear family. Once masses of men were dispossessed from the land and small businesses to become wage earners in factories, they had nothing but their labour power to sell to the capitalist bosses for their means of subsistence. The wives of these wage earners, ousted from their former productive farm and home-craft labours, became utterly dependent upon their husbands for the support of themselves and their children. As men became dependent upon their bosses, their wives became more dependent upon their husbands.

By degrees therefore, as women were stripped of their economic self-dependence they fell ever lower in social esteem. At the beginning of class society they had been removed from social production and social leadership to become farm-family producers working through their husbands for home and family. But with the displacement of the productive farm family by the nuclear family of industrial city life, they were driven from their last foothold on solid ground.

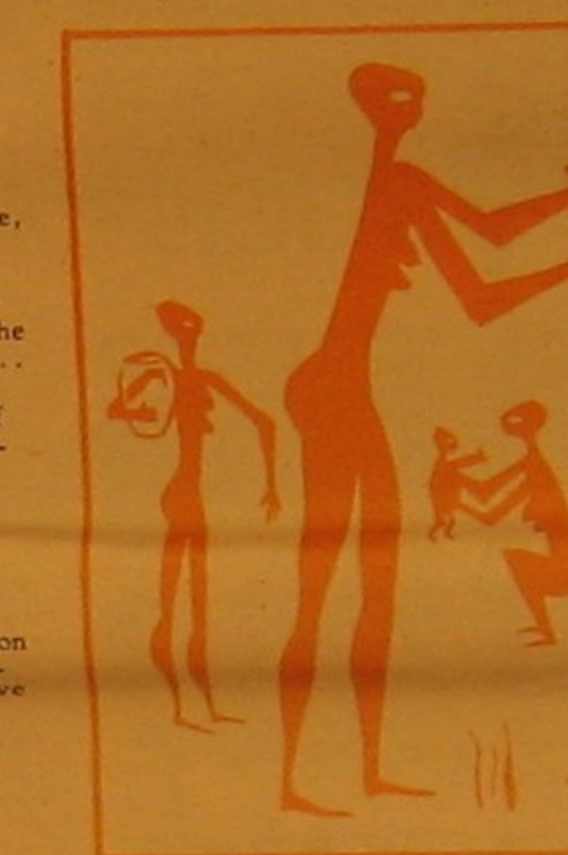
Women were then given two dismal alternatives. They could either seek a husband as provider and be penned up thereafter as housewives in city tenements or apartments to raise the next generation of wage slaves. Or the poorest and most unfortunate could go as marginal workers into the mills and factories (along with the children) and be sweated as the most degraded and underpaid section of the labour force.

Over the past generations women wage-workers have conducted their own labour struggles or fought along with men for improvements in their wages and working conditions. But women as dependent housewives have had no such means of social struggle. They could only resort to complaints or wrangles with husband and children over the miseries of their lives. The friction between the sexes became deeper and sharper with the abject dependency of women and their subservience to men.

Despite the hypocritical homage paid to womankind as the "sacred mother" and devoted homemaking, the worth of women sank to its lowest point under capitalism. Since housewives do not produce commodities for the market nor create any surplus value for the profiteers, they are not central to the operations of capitalism. Only

three justifications for their existence remain under this system: as breeders, as household janitors, and as buyers of consumer goods for the family.

While wealthy women can hire servants to do the dull chores for them, poor women are riveted to an endless grind for their whole lives. Their condition of servitude is compounded when they are obliged to take an outside job to help sustain the family. Shouldering two responsibilities instead of one, they are the "doubly oppressed".



Even middle-class housewives in the Western world, despite their economic advantages, are victimised by capitalism. The isolated, monotonous, trivial circumstances of their lives lead them to "living through" their children - a relationship which fosters many of the neuroses that afflict family life today. Seeking to allay their boredom they can be played upon and preyed upon by the profiteers in the consumer goods fields. This exploitation of women as consumers is part and parcel of a system that grew up in the first place for the exploitation of men as producers.

The capitalists have ample reason for glorifying the nuclear family. Its petty household is a gold mine for all sorts of hucksters from real estate agents to the manufacturers of detergents and cosmetics. Just as automobiles are produced for individual use instead of developing adequate mass transportation, so the big corporations can make more money by selling small homes on private lots to be equipped with individual washing machines, refrigerators, and other such items. They find this more profitable than building large-scale housing at low rentals or developing community services and child-care centres.

In the second place, the isolation of women, each enclosed in a private home and tied to the same kitchen and nursery chores, hinders them from banding together and becoming a strong social force or a serious political threat to the Establishment.

What is the most instructive lesson to be drawn from this highly condensed survey of the long imprisonment of womankind in the home and family of class society - which stands in such marked contrast to their stronger, more independent position in pre-class society? It shows that the inferior status of the female sex is not the result of their biological makeup or the fact that they are the child-bearers. Child-bearing was no handicap in the primitive commune; it became a handicap, above all, in the nuclear family of our times. Poor women are torn apart by the conflicting obligations of taking care of their children at home while at the same time working outside to help sustain the family.

Women, then, have been condemned to their oppressed status by the same social forces and relations which have brought about the oppression of one class by another, one race by another, and one nation by another. It is the capitalist system - the ultimate stage in the development of class society - which is the fundamental source of the degradation and oppression of women.

Where do women stand in relation to polar class forces? They belong to all strata of the social pyramid. The few at the top are part of the plutocratic class; more among us belong to the middle class; most of us belong to the proletarian layers of the population. In short, women, like men, are a multiclass sex.

This is not an attempt to divide women from one another but simply to recognise the actual divisions that exist. The notion that all women as a sex have more in common than do members of the same class with one another is false. Upper-class women are not simply bedmates of their wealthy husbands. As a rule they have more compelling ties which bind them together. They are economic, social and political bedmates, united in defence of private property, profiteering, militarism, racism - and the exploitation of other women.

It is true that all forms of class society have been male-dominated and that men are trained from the cradle on to be chauvinistic. But it is not true that men as such represent the main enemy of women. This crosses out the multitudes of downtrodden, exploited men who are themselves oppressed and who are the main enemy of women, which is the capitalist system. These men likewise have a stake in the liberation struggle of the women. They can and will become our allies.

Although the struggle against male chauvinism is an essential part of the tasks that women must carry out through their liberation movement, it is incorrect to make that the central issue. This tends to conceal or overlook the role of the ruling powers who not only breed and benefit from all forms of discrimination and oppression but are also responsible for breeding and sustaining male chauvinism. Let us remember that male supremacy did not exist in the primitive commune, founded upon sisterhood and brotherhood. Sexism, like racism, has its roots in the private property system.

A false theoretical position easily leads to a false strategy in the struggle for women's liberation. If all women compose a class then all men must form a counterclass - the oppressor class. What conclusion flows from this premise? That there are no men in the oppressed class? Where does this leave the millions of oppressed white working men who, like the oppressed Blacks, Chicanos and other minorities, are exploited by the monopolists? Don't they have a central place in the struggle for social revolution? At what point and under what banner do these oppressed peoples of all races and both sexes join together for common action against their common enemy? To oppose women as a class against men as a class can only result in a diversion of the real class struggle.

The underlying source of women's oppression, which is capitalism, cannot be abolished by women alone, nor by a coalition of women drawn from all classes. It will require a worldwide struggle for socialism of the working masses, female and male alike, together with every other section of the oppressed, to overthrow the power of capitalism.

In conclusion, we must ask, what are the connections between the struggle for women's liberation and the struggle for socialism?

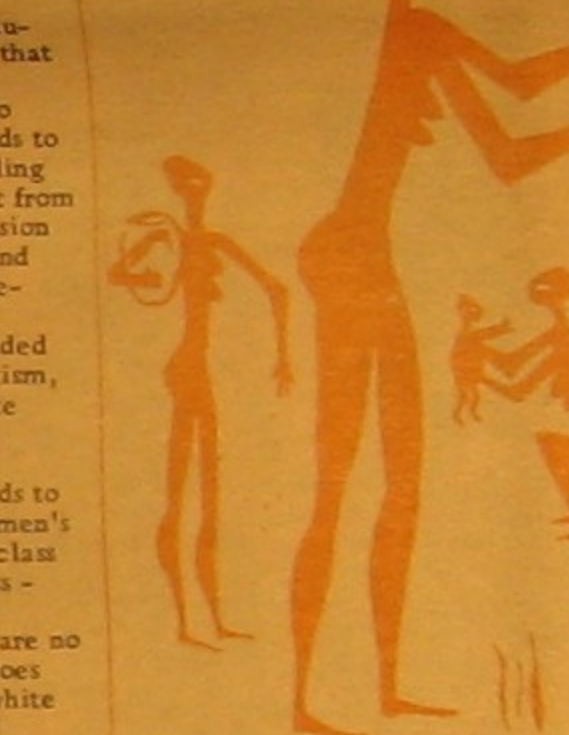
First, even though the full goal of women's liberation cannot be achieved short of the socialist revolution, this does not mean that the struggle to secure reforms must be postponed until then. It is imperative for Marxist women to fight shoulder to shoulder with all our embattled sisters in organised actions for specific objectives from now on. This has been our policy ever since the new phase of the women's liberation movement surfaced a year or so ago, and even before.

The women's movement begins, like other movements for liberation, by putting forward elementary demands, such as equal opportunities with men in education, jobs and equal pay; for free abortions on demand; for child-care centres financed by the government but controlled by the community. Mobilising women behind these issues not only gives us the possibility of securing some improvements but exposes,

Second, why do women have to lead their own struggles for liberation, even though in the end the combined anti-capitalist offensive of the whole working class will be required for the victory of the socialist revolution? The reason is that no segment of society which has been subjected to oppression, whether it consists of Third World people or of women, can delegate the leadership and promotion of their fight for freedom to other forces - even though other forces can act as their allies. We reject the attitude of some political tendencies which say they are Marxists but refuse to acknowledge that women have to lead and organise their own independent struggle for emancipation, just as they cannot understand why Blacks must do the same.

The maxim of the Irish revolutionists - "who would be free themselves and must strike the blow" - fully applies to the cause of women's liberation. Women must themselves strike the blows to gain their freedom. And this holds true after the anti-capitalist revolution triumphs as well as before.

The struggle against male chauvinism is an essential part of the tasks that women must carry out through their liberation movement, it is incorrect to make that the central issue. This tends to conceal or overlook the role of the ruling powers who not only breed and benefit from all forms of discrimination and oppression but are also responsible for breeding and sustaining male chauvinism. Let us remember that male supremacy did not exist in the primitive commune, founded upon sisterhood and brotherhood. Sexism, like racism, has its roots in the private property system.



In the course of our struggle, and as part of it, we will re-educate men who have been brainwashed into believing that women are naturally the inferior sex due to some flaws in their biological makeup. Men will have to learn that, in the hierarchy of oppressions created by capitalism, their chauvinism and dominance is another weapon in the hands of the master class for maintaining its rule. The exploited worker, confronted by the even worse plight of his dependent housewife, cannot be complacent about it - he must be made to see the source of the oppressive power that has degraded them both.

Finally, to say that women form a separate caste or class must logically lead to extremely pessimistic conclusions with regard to the antagonism between the sexes in contrast with the revolutionary optimism of the Marxists. For unless the two sexes are to be totally separated, or the men liquidated, it would seem that they will have to remain forever at war with each other.

As Marxists we have a more realistic and hopeful message. We deny that women's inferiority was predestined by her biological makeup or has always existed. Far from being eternal, woman's subjugation and the bitter hostility between the sexes are no more than a few thousand years old. They were produced by the drastic social changes which brought the family, private property and the state into existence.

This view of history points up the necessity for a no less thoroughgoing revolution in socio-economic relations to uproot the causes of inequality and achieve full emancipation for our sex. This is the purpose and promise of the socialist programme, and this is what we are fighting for.

## PAMPHLETS ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

- PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION - a Marxist approach - Evelyn Reed 75 cents
- IN DEFENCE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT - articles by Ruthann Miller, Mary-Alice Waters and Evelyn Reed 20 cents
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# The Palestinian Revolution

## Recent Developments

Sol Salby

When the Rogers plan was accepted by both Israel and Egypt many people were writing off the chances of a Palestinian revolution. Now, only a few months later, it would be impossible to fall into the same error of judgment. The airliner hijackings, the revolutionary upsurge in Jordan and the death of President Nasser have all ensured that.

The hijackings of the four Western-owned airliners were closely connected with the Rogers Plan, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) which carried out the operation had several purposes in mind. The most important object was to protest to the whole world about the Plan which denies the Palestinians the right to self-determination - their right to exist as a nation in their own territory.



"The Emerging Arab Commando" was the title UPI gave to this 1968 photo of fedayeen.

The protest was directed particularly at the US, the instigator of the Plan (two of the planes hijacked and blown up were American) and the UAR, who took the lead in accepting the Plan. The first plane to be hijacked was thus diverted to Cairo. The future of negotiations in which Palestinians can play no part has now been successfully disrupted.

At the moment the talks are suspended anyway, due to Israeli intransigence, but the possibility of these negotiations "succeeding", i.e., selling out the Palestinians, has now diminished.

The second purpose of the hijacking was to help secure the release of various Palestinians held in West Germany, Switzerland, Israel and later on, Britain. There were three commandos imprisoned in Switzerland and three more in Germany as a result of attacks on Israeli planes. The last plane belonged to BOAC and was hijacked to put pressure on the British Government to release Leila Khaled who was captured after an unsuccessful attempt to divert an El-Al plane.

A further justification was given by George Habash, undisputed leader of the PFLP - "we have to stand against whoever supports Israel economically, militarily, politically, ideologically. This means the US, and almost every country in Europe".

Socialists of course, consider it both the right and duty of every oppressed people to fight for their liberation and the choice of the means to achieve their liberation is completely up to that oppressed people themselves. This does not mean refraining from some fraternal criticism of the direction given to the Palestinian revolution by certain leaders. Our criticism of the PFLP under Habash concerns the tactics which have substituted spectacular acts carried by a small number of men and women for revolutionary mass action. The Palestinian revolution will

succeed only when the Arab masses are mobilised in the struggle. Also the attitude that support for the Palestinian cause can't be mobilised amongst the world at large including Israeli and other Jewish masses was criticised by the left-wing of the group which, under the leadership of Nalf Hawateh, broke away in February 1969 and formed the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDF).

The fighting in Jordan broke out immediately after the hijacking, but was not, however, a consequence of the hijacking. King Hussein and the pro-imperialist generals of his army have been plotting for some time to destroy the Palestinian revolution. The threat to them and their imperialist bosses from the mobilisation of the masses was

Palestinians have less than 25,000 troops plus some which are armed but which lack military training and heavy weapons. They could not be compared with the much larger Jordanian Army which had the added advantages of heavy equipment like armoured cars, tanks and air support.

The number of those dead was estimated at up to 30,000, mainly civilians, to tens of thousands more injured and homeless.

"The Bedouin soldiers of King Hussein, who came in from the desert to drive the Palestinian commandos out of Amman, have devastated the city as if they were in an occupied territory and not the capital of their own country.

"After six days of fighting, it is hard to find an undamaged house; certain neighbourhoods have been pulverised by artillery, especially the vast refugee camps in the outlying districts where thousands of Palestinians live cramped up as many as a dozen to a room". (Eyewitness account by Alex Efty in Amman, published in Le Monde of September 25).

Arafat's prediction about the expected reaction from the Arab governments was also confirmed. When the Palestinians were defending themselves against the Jordanian Army, the Iraqi troops stationed in Jordan to support the Palestinians were leaving the country. The anti-imperialist Arab states, UAR, Sudan and Libya were doing their best to achieve a cease fire, taking what they called a neutral attitude. Those troops could have easily finished off Hussein by cutting off supplies to the Jordan task force.

In order to protect their own regimes and the status quo they took a capitulationist position telling the Palestinians to lay down their arms and accept a cease fire. They originally suggested an Arab summit conference to discuss the problem. It was only after the Palestinian resistance movement refused to lay down their arms that a small committee led by President Numeiry of the Sudan was sent to Jordan to bring about a cease fire.

Superficially the position taken by Syria seemed to be remarkably different than that of the other Arab countries. Syrian tanks were reported to cross the border into Jordan. This has now been discovered to have been propagated by the West in order to justify American or Israeli intervention in the area. It was tanks and forces of the Palestinian Liberation Army stationed in Syria which crossed the border into Jordan. It is quite likely that the PLA force did receive some help from the Syrian Army. However it did lack the essential air support and any other aid which was given was soon withdrawn.

The Syrian aid was a direct result of the mobilisation of workers and students and not a conscious direction of the Syrian Government.

The new militancy and the rise in consciousness of the masses frightened Hussein and the army generals and they had decided some time before to destroy the movement. Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, told the Arab envoys in advance, "gentlemen, please inform your governments that King Hussein has deliberately prepared a detailed plan which must culminate in a bloodbath. I have irrefutable evidence that he intends to liquidate the Palestinian resistance fighters".

"I presume that your government cannot or will not do anything for us but I insist on informing you of this matter, that you cannot one day wash your hands of all responsibility". (Le Monde, September 17).

Those comments were confirmed within a few days when on the one hand the army attacked the Palestinians and on the other hand the Arab regimes all washed their hands of the actions.

What followed became a massacre. The

The Soviet Union's role, which has been blown out of all proportion by the bourgeois media for similar reasons as for their other distortions, played a reactionary role in the events, feeling interests being threatened by the radicalisation of the Arab masses. The Soviet bureaucracy worked against pro-Palestinian intervention by Syria as well as against the threatened intervention on behalf of imperialism and King Hussein by the United States and Israel.

This threatened invasion by the US and Israel has been underplayed by the press. Plans for direct invasion and the use of paratroopers, marines and US bombers to keep King Hussein in power were drawn up. One of the numerous newspapers to describe it was the Los

"The US is positioning planes, weapons and troops in and around the Middle East to intervene in Jordan if President Nixon decides American help is necessary to prevent guerrillas from ousting King Hussein and to recover the 54 airliner hostages." According to the Los Angeles Times, Nixon was prepared to:



"Send American fighter-bombers from the two Sixth Fleet carriers now in the eastern Mediterranean into battle in support of Jordanian troops and to fly air defence missions against Israeli and Syrian planes (if these should intervene on the side of the commandos)..."

"Fly in emergency shipments of small arms and ammunition which the Jordanian troops reportedly need."

"As a last resort, land army paratroops now in Germany or helicopter-borne marines now en route on a carrier from North Carolina".

The Israeli Army on the other hand intervened effectively. By taking pressure of the Jordanian Army it released the Hussein army to attack the Palestinian people. By putting pressure on Syria it rendered the Syrian Army even more ineffective.

What about the death of President Nasser?

The death of Nasser marks an end of an era. Nasser was the last of the anti-imperialist, petty bourgeois leaders who affected the destiny of their country.



DISPERSED. Palestinian refugees leaving Israel at close of June 1967 war. They told newsmen Israeli troops drove them from their homes after cease-fire was established.



Photo by Paul Boutelle

Palestinian camp in Lebanon

Others in this category included Nkrumah and Sukarno. Only the perspective of time will give us a chance to analyse the impact of his death. However, the best statement on the effect of his death on the liberation struggle was given by a member of the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament). He said Nasser was the only one who could make war with Israel but he was the only Arab leader strong enough to make peace with Israel. In other words, Nasser was the only Arab leader who could have signed a peace agreement on the basis of the Rogers Plan and not be immediately overthrown. His death eliminates this possibility and leaves the way open for an increased radicalisation of the Arab masses.

The lessons socialists should draw from the recent events are clear cut. The defence of the Palestinian revolution is going to become one of the most important tasks of all socialists, along with the defence of the Vietnamese revolution. An intensive educational campaign must be organised. Propaganda activities amongst radicalising youth, such as those attending Moratoriums, are also essential.



Yasser Arafat (Abu Ammar) leader of Al Fateh.

# Marxism or Zionism

A Review Rod Quinn

Some critical remarks on "Arafat the Adored and Lenin the Ignored". Author Dr. Moshe Sneh, Israeli MP, published by the Jewish Progressive Centre, Melbourne.

Before attempting a criticism of this booklet, we assert that any just and realistic peace should guarantee the residential rights of all now in Israel.

Moshe Sneh, one-time Hagannah (the Jewish military organisation) leader, has passed from the right-wing of Zionist politics to the right-wing of the split Israeli Communist Party (MAKI). The only immutable feature of his political life is his service to Zionism. In publishing Sneh's propaganda piece, the Jewish Progressive Centre leaves no doubt as to its pro-Zionist bias.

For Zionism, the role of organisations such as MAKI, MAPAM and now it appears, the JPC, are as public relations representatives among liberals and leftists. If understanding and clarity on the Middle-East are the aims of the JPC, why publish Sneh and not the work of Marxist (and Jewish) scholars such as Maxime Rodinson and Isaac Deutscher? Why ignore Israeli non-Zionists such as the activists in the Israel Socialist Organisation and the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad?

From the pot pourri of distortions, half-truths and pseudo-Leninist rhetoric, we can but concentrate on the most bizarre. Sneh's use of Lenin quotations is as cynical as it is irrelevant. At no stage did the Bolsheviks tolerate the Zionist answer to the question of Jews in Russia. Lenin's attitude to a state which in con-

cert with British and French imperialism intervened when Egyptians nationalised their canal, opposed Algerian independence and gave moral support to US aggression in Vietnam would be unequivocal.

"... The necessity for rallying against the imperialists of the West defending the capitalist world is one thing. There can be no doubt about that and it would be superfluous for me to speak about my unconditional approval of it. But it is another thing when we ourselves lapse, even if only in details, into imperialist attitudes towards oppressed nationalities, thus undermining all our sincerity on principle, all our principled defence of the struggle against imperialism".

"It is essential to expose continually the deception fostered among the masses of the toilers in all, and especially the backward countries, by the imperialist powers aided by the privileged classes of the subject countries in creating under the mask of political independence various Government and State institutions which are in reality completely dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily. As a striking example of the deception practised upon the working classes of a subject country through the combined efforts of the Allied imperialism and the bourgeoisie of the given nation, we may cite the Palestine affair of the Zionists, where under the pretext of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, in which the Jews form only an insignificant part of the population, Zionism has delivered the native Arab working population to the exploitation of England".

Sneh draws extensively from the "Palestine National Covenant" adopted by the Palestine Council in July 1968. Our champion of minority rights has, it seems, completely overlooked subsequent events on that council. Following the 1968 Palestine Council session, a new and significant group emerged from the Palestine Liberation Movement - the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Sneh makes one minor reference to this group; he makes no reference to the Palestine Council session of September 1969 where the PDFLP fought for the acceptance of a number of progressive proposals. Among the proposals were:

- (a) the Arab reactionary forces must be included among the enemies of Palestine;
- (b) that unified Palestine should accept the present Jewish population without religious, racial or political discrimination;
- (c) to place first among its friends, the world revolutionary movement and workers' states;
- (d) the democratisation of the Palestinian army, e.g., establishment of soldiers' councils, abolishing of ranks, introducing political education etc.

While the PDFLP found itself in a minority position, the debate introduced new perspectives into the Palestine Liberation movement. In disregarding this development, Sneh, MAKI and presumably the Jewish Progressive Centre have trampled on the tenets of socialist internationalism - the only real policy for socialist revolutionaries to pursue. To them perhaps, the bourgeois state of Israel is more supportable than the struggle for a multinational, multi-religious workers' state. For them, Israel is the exception. The glibby tatters of "peaceful co-existence" barely conceal Sneh's class-collaborationist features. To ask a Palestinian refugee to peacefully co-exist with Zionism is as deceitful as asking a poor Jew of Eastern origin to co-exist peacefully with his right-wing and essentially racist rulers in Jerusalem. As Sneh and his publishers affect such ignorance of Palestinian politics, perhaps they would claim that Hussein and his Palestinian subjects should peacefully co-exist.

As a means of gathering support against the Turk, imperialist Britain provided the charter for Zionist annexation of Palestine (the Balfour Declaration), with the connivance of the World War I victors through their League of Nations, a steady trickle of Jewish colonists and funds continued to flow into Palestine; the combination of Nazi brutality and Western irresponsibility changed the pre-war flow into a post-war torrent of refugees; the Soviet Union and the USA, two countries with a huge land mass between them, "legalised" the sequester of part of tiny Palestine by using their dominance of the UN; misleadership and betrayal by contemporary pro-Western Arab governments, Zionist terrorism and Czecho-Slovak arms for Israel completed the terrible coup-de-grace.

There is no ready solution - ex-commander Sneh's west bank Bantustan proposal serves only to confuse the gullible. The genuine friends of the people in Israel/Palestine look with hope to Arab and Jewish revolutionary internationalists - in their strength lies the promise.

MAPAM, a large "Marxist" Zionist party, secularly strong in the kibbutz move-

From the "Question of Nationalities" or of "Autonomisation", Lenin 30/12/1922.

Thesis on the National and Colonial Question, 1920.

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"They got some baton today, and they'll get a lot more in the future", was Inspector Platfus' remark following the frenetic attack on 300 Latrobe student demonstrators on September 16.

Dr. Alan Ward, senior lecturer in history at Latrobe and Latrobe Publications Officer Mr. R. W. Segrave, joined 1,500 students in influencing the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Myers to ask Premier

# Adelaide High Schools

Graham Tubbenhauer

The Adelaide high school movement in the past took the form of separate undergrounds based at specific schools. There were of course school magazines that were censored by the headmasters as well. Among the underground papers were "Dissent", "Critique" and the "Monthly Rag" at Enfield High School. These were suppressed by headmasters and teachers and the students that were printing them were quickly reprimanded and sometimes expelled. These papers achieved very little change for the students. Some of these news-sheets (mainly "Critique" and "Dissent") took a completely Maoist stance and defined teachers and headmasters in typical phraseology such as "lackeys", "paper tigers", "renegade" and "scabs". These types of terms appealed very little to the ordinary student. Another setback was the lack of unity between students. This was because news-sheets were confined to particular schools. Even though they agitated locally the students as a whole did not fight for any common aims.

What was needed was a common news-sheet for all schools so that there would be common aims amongst the students around which to struggle.



These two failures were kept in mind when in collaboration with Adelaide Resistance (now Socialist Youth Alliance), a group of high school students decided to print a paper.

"Proxy" as it was later called, started to form after the Moratorium of May 8 this year. A body of about 10 became the nucleus of the new paper. The students were in two contrasting groups with one group wanting a straight out radical line and the other wanting the paper to become a "forum" for all students. The "conservatives" wanted to put in two points of view on, say Vietnam; so that the students can choose for themselves what side of the argument to take. What they did not realise was that the Liberal Party's policy is continually being expressed in the capitalist press and on television. Both institutions have massive resources but we have no money and limited facilities. Eventually a balance was achieved between the two, but at the cost of losing a handful of students. Our broad aims were: the end of the war in Indo-China, end conscription, and to improve school conditions and the high school system by pointing out its faults and failures. We were not a very professional paper due to the inexperience of the students publishing it. It had differing reactions at about six schools. At Adelaide Boys' High School the headmaster turned detective to "smoke out" the students who surreptitiously placed them in all classrooms and toilets in approximately 5 minutes. The headmaster questioned matriculation students but only heard the usual answer - "he was wearing a school tie, with trousers on, and about so high". He was never found. At Norwood High School the headmaster said nothing at all. The response was similar at Enfield High and Urrbrae High.



## Review - Jill Jolliffe

"Fight Fascism in Australia Now!" published by the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Melb., Aug. 1970, 5 cents.

Fight fascism in Australia now? What does it mean? Is it a call for the Australian people to take up arms against the 50 or so members of the National Socialist Party of Australia, Eric Butler and the League of Rights and Norman Banks? If it were, we could easily laugh it off. But it is actually a strategy proposed by a "serious" ideological force in the Australian socialist movement, to which many student and young "revolutionaries" subscribe.

This pamphlet articulates the ideology of some student leftists; it is the basis of the demonstration tactics they propose and their long-term approach to the struggle for socialism in Australia.

It therefore deserves examination, if only to expose the fallacies of its ideology.

The thesis put forward in "Fight Fascism in Australia Now!" is as follows:

"new anti-demonstration laws are being formulated in the name of 'law and order', and of protecting and defending democracy. This is not their real aim - their real aim is 'to attack the ordinary people'. This is necessary because the vast majority of Australian people are becoming aware that 'Australia is being rapidly taken over completely by the Yankee overlords', and are in fact opposed to Australian and US intervention in Vietnam."

"Whether to support or oppose a US and Japanese takeover of Australia is the question that faces everyone. On the one side, is a tiny minority of millionaires in Australia who support it. On the other side, the vast majority of Australians are patriotic, love their country and oppose this takeover."

"It therefore follows that the fascist reign of law and order is necessary to suppress demonstrations, to suppress 'patriotic people'."

The pamphlet ends with a call to intensify revolutionary struggle, comparing present-day Australia with pre-World War II Japan, Germany and Italy. The struggle is seen as one in which the people will "fear no sacrifices to smash... US imperialism", over which they will ultimately win victory.

The ridiculous language and the style of the article is one thing, but it is a fairly inconsequential thing - the basic ideas can easily be dressed up into respectable academic language - they can be and regularly are (as, for example, Grant Evan's article in the Latrobe pamphlet "Repression"). It is the false ideology, not the language, we should be concerned with.

The inability of the pro-CP (M-L) Melbourne Left to formulate any sort of effective programme of socialist struggle or to move beyond the confines of Monash and the left bloc of the already-converted CP (M-L) union bureaucracies must be related to the false premises of the thesis outlined above. These premises run as follows:

(1) Firstly, the working class are innately good and revolutionary. (This belief lies behind the mindless mimicry of everything working class as being good, the academic affectation of following football etc., and the deliberate wearing of 'working class' garb by students).

(2) If the working class are all innately revolutionary, are all resolutely opposed to US imperialism, how is it that they have not won socialism for Australia? There can be only one reason - that they are held back by sheer, brute, force. And the only force through which a minority can hold back a convinced revolutionary populace is the force of fascism. Bourgeois democracy would clearly be inadequate, therefore:

(3) the struggle for socialism is a kind of tug-of-war - if only the workers can push (or pull) a little harder, we will have socialism. Thus, in organising demonstrations the aim must be to escalate the number of people willing to fight the police, and to fight with greater intensity. (Hence heroism is important - "fear no sacrifice" etc.). There is no need for a party and no need for organisational work and transitional demands - the revolution will simply happen one morning when the masses are particularly fed up. "Struggle" means a mere intensification of direct combat with the state machine in the sense of more and bigger sit-ins, more demonstrations, more and concerted "Weatherman"-style attacks on property.

The delusions that are fostered by this false ideology are multitudinous, and in this sense it is an ideology which plays an objectively reactionary role in the Australian socialist movement.

The worst delusion is that the Australian masses are currently revolutionary. When the CP (M-L) newspaper, "Vanguard" claims that the masses of Australian workers are united in the common struggle against US imperialism and Soviet revisionism, it ignores the fact

that most Australians are anti-communist, racist and reactionary, and are not only not opposed to US imperialism, but are opposed equally to the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Republic of China. When a cop beats up a demonstrator the "ordinary people" the pamphlet speaks of applaud. The sooner Australian revolutionaries see this, the sooner their task will be clear: the sooner they will see the need for socialists to organise and need for a party to begin the task of propagating socialist ideas, of fighting the false ideology that grips most Australian workers.

We do not have fascism in Australia; neither is it imminent, because bourgeois democratic capitalism works efficiently enough at this stage in its historical development. It is not necessary for the capitalists to resort to fascism at this phase in Australia's development because most workers subscribe to a false ideology. (They may resort to fascistic measures to put down demonstrations - because a consensus operates which allows this, students and "commos" being un-Australian - but this is not fascism).

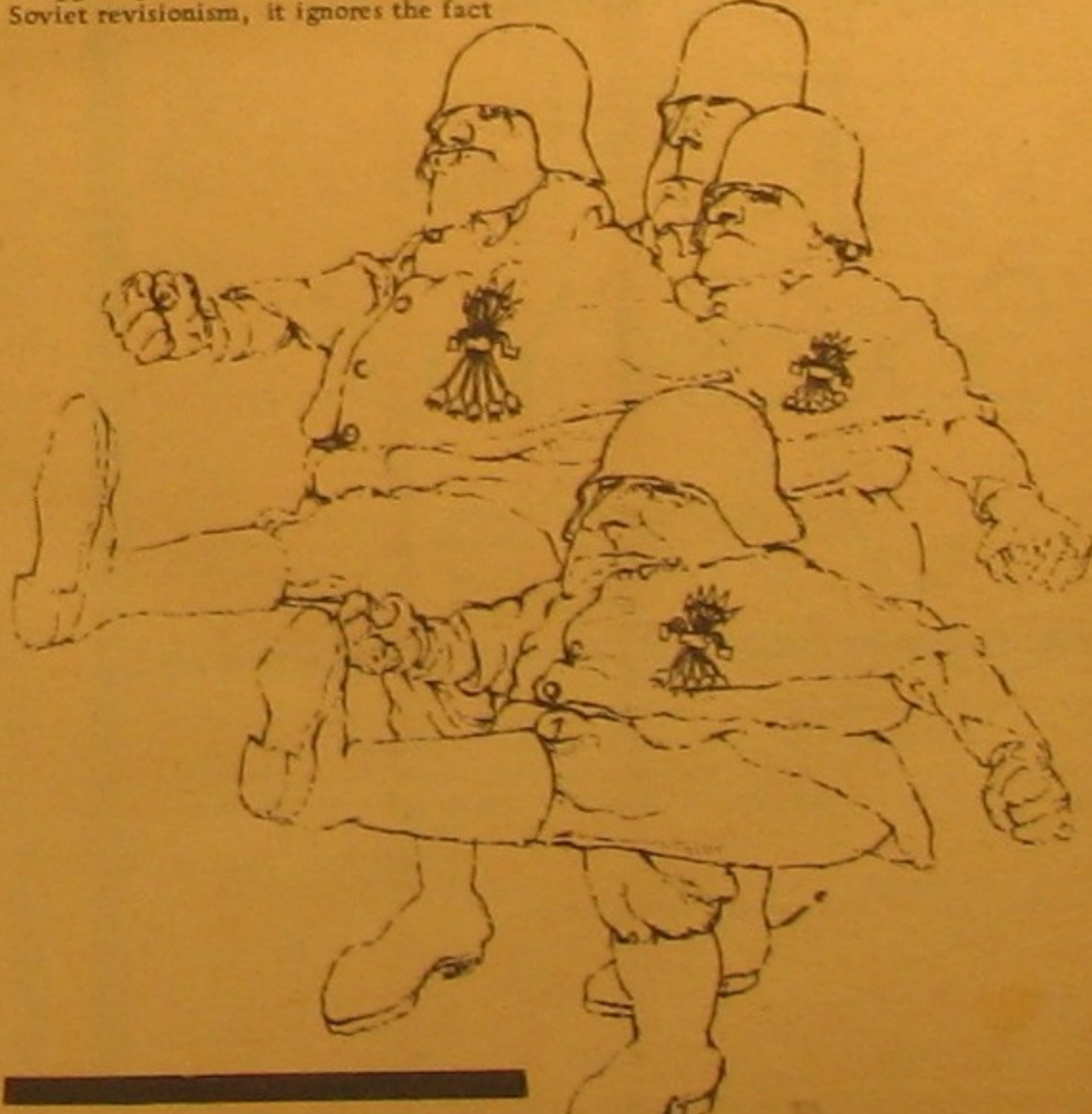
The struggle for socialism is not a tug-of-war - it is the science of social change, of man intervening in history to usher in socialist society from the death throes of capitalist society. The task of working class and student revolutionaries in Australia is to prepare for that time, to wean Australian workers away from bourgeois ideology and at the same time to engage in day-to-day struggle with progressive workers in the anti-war movement and in the trade union and labour movement.

There are two other particularly odious features of this infantile tract, and they are not accidental: firstly, a continual appeal to "Australian patriotism" and "love of country" - strangely un-Marxist sentiments! Socialism is purportedly a philosophy which transcends chauvinism and nationalism in favour of the international solidarity of the working class.

But the appeal to reactionary nationalist sentiments is mild in comparison to the twisted, philistine morality espoused - fascism, we are told, goes hand-in-hand with "immoral" practices like homosexuality.

"Historically fascism has always been administered by villainous people. Hitler was a psychopath, Göring a vicious homosexual. The fascists in Australia are little different. They shout about morality and democracy. Gorton's morals are well known. Rylah's morals are well known..."

The authors of "Fight Fascism in Australia Now!" are in fact contemptuous of the real needs of the Australian masses - they find it necessary to concoct romantic and totally undialectical illusions about their political consciousness in order to approach them. It is no coincidence that this caricature of Marxism should go hand-in-hand with the sexual morality of the bourgeoisie.



# LAW & ORDER & THE FIRST A.I.F.

History is generally written from the viewpoint of the ruling classes, and therefore remembers what they want to remember, and forgets what they want to forget. Nothing qualifies an event for admission to the great collection of historical "facts" more than its use by many consecutive historians, and nothing qualifies it for the status of unfact more than their ignoring of it.

One such unfact of Australian history worth bringing to light at the moment is a mass demonstration staged by troops of the AIF on the 14th of February, 1916. It was reported at the time by the Sydney Morning Herald, from which the quotes below are taken, but it was rapidly "forgotten" (except of course, by participants and eye-witnesses) in the days following, no doubt under the influence of Prime Minister Billy Hughes' censoring War Precautions Act. "D Notices" imposed on journalism about Australia's role in Vietnam have likewise done a great deal to ease ideas of what Australians are actually doing in Vietnam out of the people's consciousness.

## - Ian McDougall

The Herald estimated that 15,000 troops were involved in this demonstration, which was triggered off by efforts of the Army to increase the weekly hours of training from 36 to 40½. They stormed through Liverpool, commandeered trams and went to Sydney, marched up and down the town publicising their grievances and violating private property, were fired on with one fatality and many injuries, and then finally returned to the camp. Subsequently 1000 of them were dishonourably discharged for misconduct, drunkenness and being absent without leave, and 116 other men including the "ringleaders" were held in custody for court martial. And recruiting continued to decline.

Modern readers will find that the stories contain some strangely familiar ideas. The whole thing was the work of a few drunken agitators. A man with a foreign accent (German accent?) was seen egging them on in Sydney. It was all due to grog (read sex, drugs etc.) and moves were subsequently made to reduce hotel trading hours. The capitalist class, its press and politicians, true to their elitist outlook, still refuse today to concede that the huge numbers of people who demonstrate in the streets have minds of their own. There must be some group analogous to a board of directors manipulating them from somewhere.

A few weeks ago there was a "mutiny" by Australian naval ratings at Cockatoo

Dock. They went on strike for half a day in protest over their pay, and were rewarded for their trouble with an increase granted by the Minister for Defence the same day, setting an excellent precedent for other servicemen and workers.

The Garden Island strike and the mutiny described below are a fitting reminder to the reactionaries of today that "lawlessness" and demonstrations of one kind or another are not the preserve of the young, the "hippie element", "longhairs", "scruffy louts", etc., etc. There is a hidden tradition involving a much wider cross section of the population, including those heroes of the war memorial, the First AIF.

## RIOTING.

SOLDIERS REFUSE TO DRILL.

TWO CAMPS IDLE.

HOTELS AND SHOPS WRECKED.

ONE MAN KILLED.

RIOTS AT LIVERPOOL AND SYDNEY.

At breakfast-time yesterday, about 5000 troops of the Australian Imperial Forces, camped at Casula, near Liverpool, refused duty, and demanded the retraction of a new training syllabus which had been issued that morning. When it was explained to them that the new syllabus was a camp order issued from headquarters, and could not be treated in that cavalier fashion, almost the whole body of men marched out of the camp and on to the town of Liverpool. Arrived at Liverpool, the principal training camp of the Commonwealth, the men called to their colleagues there, and in a few minutes' time about 15,000 soldiers were on strike.

Led by a comparatively few irresponsible young privates, in some cases already half drunk, though the day had not long started, thousands of soldiers simply took possession of the trains from Liverpool, and subse-

quently wrecked business houses. As darkness came over the city it was apparent that drastic steps would have to be taken to quell the riots. The entire organisation of the police force was got into operation, and word was sent to the military authorities to keep in readiness a large body of troops to go to the assistance of the police if necessary. Colonel Ramaciotti at once responded, and by 8 o'clock at night the city was well picketed with both civil and military police and other troops.

The precaution of having the hotels of the city and near suburbs closed was taken early in the evening, and though this action was greeted with more or less violent demonstrations of disapproval, there can be no doubt that it was the means of obviating a great deal of trouble.

And all the trouble was for the sake of 4½ hours extra drill per week, which the men in camp were asked to do in order to get fit for the front, and for the assistance of their brave, war-torn comrades in the trenches. Under the old syllabus the men drilled for 36 hours per week. Under the new syllabus, the result of Inspector-General McCay's recent examination of the whole of the training system throughout the Commonwealth, the training time was extended slightly each day, and totalled 40½ hours per week. The Australian soldier is the best paid, best fed and best equipped soldier in the world, yet these men object to work for 40½ hours per week.

In this connection the opinion of a large number of returned soldiers was much to the point. At the Soldiers' Club in the afternoon there foregathered many of our returned heroes. They were there with their medals and their ribbons - and their crutches. Several bodies of men who tried to take possession of the city, passed. It was really refreshing to hear some of the war-scarred heroes swear, "that's the class of soldier who clears for his life at 'the sound of the first shell'", said one. "Growling at seven hours a day", said another. "We worked 14 and 16 hours a day, with full packs and rifles for those -". There were many more expressions of opinion of that type. But the best evidence of the attitude of the returned soldiers is supplied by the State Commandant, who said last night: "A very pleasing incident of today's trouble was an offer made by 250 returned soldiers, who placed themselves at the disposal of the military authorities. They explained that they were disgusted at the behaviour of the men, who ought to be training to help those at the front, and who apparently have not realised what the obligations of a soldier are, or that this is a time of war."

Colonel Ramaciotti also explained that when the trouble arose at the camp, the Camp Commandant, Colonel Miller, told the men frankly that their grievances would be enquired into, and that during the enquiry the old syllabus would be reverted to. It is perhaps only fair to point out that

thousands of the men were absolutely dragooned into the meeting, and realised their position soon after reaching Sydney. Thousands of them retired quietly to their homes in the afternoon, and returned quietly to camp at night.

The military authorities have determined to deal firmly with the whole matter. The attitude of the Minister for Defence was announced by the State Commandant last night. It is clear and definite. All men are ordered to parade at 11 a.m. today. Those who do not attend this parade, and who are unlawfully absent, will be summarily discharged from the AIF and will not be re-instated, and their names will be published.

"The Minister will not deviate", went on Colonel Ramaciotti, "from the syllabus laid down. That syllabus has been compiled by the highest military authority in Australia with a view to meeting the necessity of having men trained with the least possible delay."

During the night a large number of arrests were made for offences which will come under the jurisdiction of the civil authorities. With these it is understood the military will not interfere, but their discharge with ignominy from His Majesty's forces will be a foregone conclusion.

## STERN MEASURES.

DEFENCE MINISTER FIRM.

TRAINING ESSENTIAL.

In referring to the riots in Sydney, and the trouble at Casula and Liverpool camps, the Minister for Defence (Senator Pearce) said: I cannot but regret most deeply the unhappy behaviour of so many men in training at Liverpool. However, I believe, from the information we now have, that, with few exceptions, the men have returned to duty and I look to this as being the last occasion on which Australian soldiers will so far forget themselves as to commit what is practically open mutiny. There is not, nor can there be any such thing as a strike in the army. Combined action by men in defiance of order is mutiny - there is no other word for it.

(further down same item)

I cannot help believing that enemy influences and enemy gold have been at work, attempting to cause disorder at Liverpool. I look to the public and the soldiers alike to help to trace this evil to its source. It is my intention to have an enquiry, with this end in view. The advantage to Germany in causing disorder among Australian troops is obvious. If the Germans can delay the training of our soldiers - if they can disturb discipline - they can accomplish as much as if they caused our soldiers to become casualties upon the field. If an Australian does not go to the front, or if he goes to the front untrained, Germany benefits in the latter case as much as if he had not gone into action."

During the week of July 4, armbands of "Independence for the Vietnamese" and "Smash US Imperialism" were worn by some "Proxy" students. They were quickly told that they would be suspended if they were not removed, particularly at Norwood High School, the July 4 demonstration in which three Resistance members and one "Proxy" member were arrested was a setback to the paper. Three of the four who held positions as editors, secretary and treasurer and other students had to back out because of parents.

The next issue of the news-sheet was put out by less than a handful of students. Because of the small number of participating students the response was less and no other students contributed. This vicious circle has continued to the present, but the remaining members are all highly enthusiastic to see that "Proxy" continues.

Recently a new newspaper called "Zap" is being printed aimed at high school students. It is run mainly by university students. The University of Adelaide gave a \$600 grant to establish it. The editor is Adrian Iann who was last year editor of the university paper "On Dit". His experience as provided an offset printed paper selling for ten cents, with eight pages. "Zap" has to fallings though. It is run by the university for high school students; the students submit articles while university editors cut them up. "Zap" is simply a newspaper without a student organisation. Because of his lack of an organisation behind it, "Zap" does little to foster a student movement in which the students can actively work to improve the system.

"Zap" is selling quite well because of its attractive format; it will remain to be seen whether or not it continues. This would be apparent within the next issue but in the meantime "Proxy" will continue as it sees the need for a specifically left wing voice which sees as its main task, the organising around the issue of the Vietnam war and the education system. It does not pretend to be an all-in paper but other attempts to build a movement of like students interested in actively participating in social change.

Anyone interested in this effort in Adelaide should get in touch with "Proxy", c/o 240, Angle Street, Adelaide, Ph: 23-3339.



## coming events

### ADELAIDE

FOLKSINGING EVERY FRIDAY NIGHT AT 8 PM, 240, Rundle St. SYA general meeting at 7 pm.

### SYDNEY

TALK IAN MACDOUGALL ON "REVOLUTIONARY LIFE STYLES". Analysis of problems of urban living, communal living, the pop scene, drugs, women's liberation etc., at 20a Goulburn St. at 8 pm. Party to follow

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In the first issue of "Direct Action" we last month we published a report and documents adopted at our founding conference in August. Through lack of space we held over two of the workshop reports to this issue and they appear on this page. Copies of the other documents can be obtained by contacting the SYA branch in your state or the national office (see below). These workshop reports are preliminary attempts to work out an overall coherent strategy for different spheres of work and should be read in this light.

## UNIVERSITIES WORKSHOP

The key to the student movement lies in its social origins. Tertiary education in Australia is still largely the privilege of children of the upper income stratae in society. Thus the politics of most students tend to be influenced by this fact and the natural tendency is towards elitism and as organisational aversion leading to spontaneism. Their overall contempt for the working class and its traditional organisations are clear, indicative of this.

The universities, however, aren't inherently working class or middle class. They are of a capitalist nature. Their role in society is to serve the present economic system. The ideology they teach is designed to perpetuate the myths that enable the system to function, eg. the myth of female inferiority. Students are trained to become narrow specialists who do not question anything outside their particular sphere.

The content of courses is also pro-capitalist. For instance, the pro-capitalist interpretation of history, and the teaching of how to mend the present rupturing economic system, typify the bias towards the status quo. Universities are predominantly run by businessmen for their own interests. Governing bodies usually include a majority of pastoral, business and government interests; research done by the universities being closely related to matters of interest to business etc.

The universities are also connected to the military, e.g. university land has been granted to local C.M.F. and the Royal Military College at Duntroon has been affiliated to N.S.W. University.

Student radicalism stems from both the meaningless education which universities provide, along with a lack of control over what one learns. These two factors however, stand second only to the Vietnam war as a cause of radicalisation in other layers besides student layers.

Three different strategies are advocated for the student movement: The first of these is the student power approach, which basically limits activity to university struggle. Issues such as student control over such matters as course structure and content, examinations, hire and fire of staff are put forward. This approach divorces itself from events in the rest of society such as the anti-war and worker struggles.

Student power is a basically reformist idea as it seeks to repair and patch up the existing university structure. The experience gained in several Latin American countries where student-staff control exists has shown the results of this approach. It makes the capitalist university more efficient and produces the "new improved graduate".

The second approach is that of a workers university. Supporters of this idea tend to suggest that the student movement is irrelevant; that students are only petit bourgeois and can play no positive role in changing society. They say that student struggle on student issues is not important. Universities can serve the masses of society only under socialism, and go on to suggest closing down universities as a weapon of struggle and refuse to participate in student politics.

Both of these strategies are derived purely from the social origins of students. One seeks to capitulate to petit bourgeois ideas and the other one accepts it passively.

The third main strategy put forward is that of the "red university". While recognising the origins of students it seeks to declass them and turn them into genuine revolutionaries. Basically, the "red university" means using the university and its facilities as an organising centre for radical activities.

The red university is a strategy and not a slogan. One does not demand it from the administration. An example of its application is the anti-war university. After Nixon invaded Cambodia, students went on strike and boycotted their lectures, while at the same time using university facilities for the anti-war movement. For example anti-war posters were produced by arts departments and university TV was used to broadcast anti-war material.

This showed that even under capitalism, universities can be used and the student movement is important in creating the transformation of society.

The SYA strategy, as decided by the workshop, is as follows:

- 1) For a Red University - using the university against the system.
- 2) Members on campus should be a caucus to avoid an elitist stand.
- 3) Build a movement around the various strategies.
- 4) Participate in student elections in order to illustrate an alternative platform to the student body.

## HIGH SCHOOL WORKSHOP

Evolving hand-in-hand with the general, widespread radicalisation of youth, the high school movement has in the past few years assumed an increasingly important political role. It represents a vast, untapped reserve of potential activists, whose growing social awareness, manifested in their opposition to the Vietnam war and dissatisfaction with the repressive and archaic education system, needs only to be given proper political direction.

Over the past few years we have witnessed the rise and disintegration of numerous, small high school groups of vaguely political orientation - humanist groups, educational unions etc., who, because of their unclear and limited perspectives had short-lived existences and failed to rally any appreciable number of students to their cause. What mobilised the greatest number of high school students is the Moratorium and the accompanying repression within schools over badge-wearing etc. However, the energy behind this movement will quickly dissipate if there is no specific organisation to contain and direct it, and to extend people's understanding of the war and what it represents. Such an organisation, by advancing easily understood, relevant demands, can make considerable gains through the high school Moratorium audience.

Here lies one of the major reasons for the folding of the Student Underground movement. It failed to do this. Instead of Student Underground replacing the Moratorium in schools by carrying its demands further by following up in areas where the Moratorium had opened new ground, the Moratorium replaced Student Underground. It lost the support it had to the Moratorium, instead of making gains through it.

Perspectives for the future are nevertheless bright. Discussion at the conference helped clarify ideas and to lift everyone out of the demoralisation felt since the decline of Student Underground. We realise that the need exists more than ever for a high school organisation, which can exploit this new radicalisation and build the anti-war movement.

The immediate tasks of the new formation should be the production of the Bill of Rights poster for wide distribution, the production of a regular news-sheet and the screening of "Year of the Pig".

High school students who are members of SYA will act as a socialist caucus within the high school movement, distributing a paper, putting forward our ideas and attempting to give leadership to the movement.

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