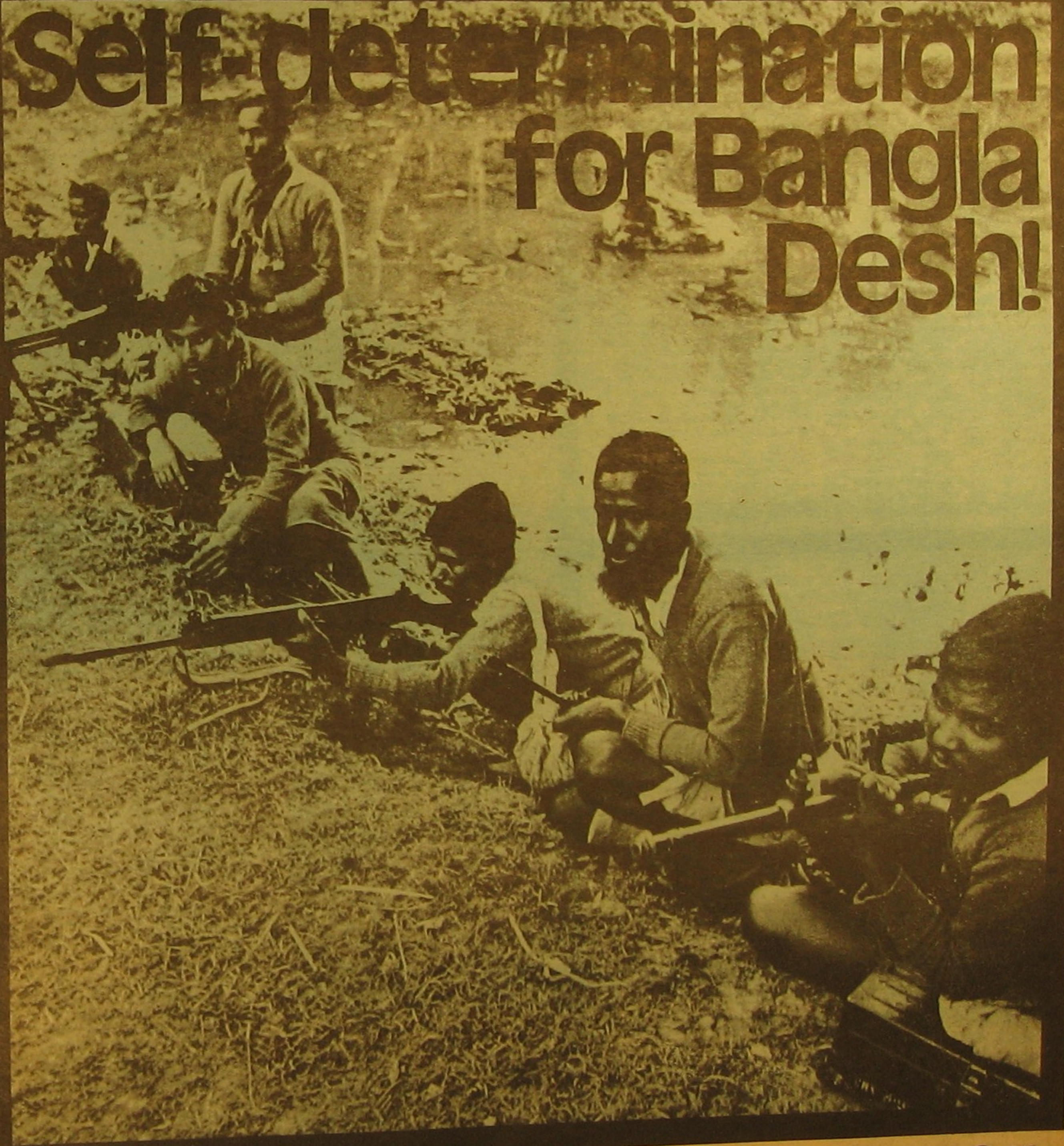


DIRECT ACTION

NO. 13 JANUARY 17 1972 10 CENTS

A SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Self-determination for Bangla Desh!



**ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: 1971: A YEAR OF TURMOIL,
POLLUTION IN THE LATROBE VALLEY,
ATLANTEAN POST MORTEM, INDONESIA**

DIRECT ACTION

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Number 13, January 17, 1972

Editor: Jim Percy

This first issue of Direct Action for 1972 appears at a significant turning point from several viewpoints.

Firstly, it marks the founding of the Socialist Workers League (see report opposite), a historical step along the road to the building of the mass revolutionary party which is necessary for a successful socialist revolution in Australia. Thus our paper itself will be taking a step forward also (see below).

Secondly, as we go into 1972, the political balance of forces on a world scale demand more than ever a correct political analysis and a correct political solution. As our centre-page spread in this issue points out, 1971 was a year of turmoil, with revolutionary struggles developing on a wider number of issues all around the world. Contrary to the analysis made by some groupings on the left, we believe that the radicalization that started in the 60's is continuing, is spreading to broader and broader layers, and is deepening.

The central task facing genuine revolutionaries in the coming period is to ensure that the obvious revolutionary conclusions are drawn by the participants in the many mass struggles that exist -

that is, that a revolutionary party along Leninist lines must be built to solve the crisis of leadership that the working class and revolutionary movement has faced for decades.

It is our revolutionary duty to take full advantage of the current radicalization, to win the thousands of radicalizing youth to revolutionary Marxism. Abstention from these struggles at this time amounts to a betrayal - the revolutionary victory of the working class will only come through the leadership of a revolutionary party, not through any economist, reformist or "serve the people" orientations by small left groupings.

The only organization with this clear revolutionary perspective on a world scale is the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky. In Australia, the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League as part of this world movement are the only groups with a correct analysis and a clear program for action, as well as an organization capable of putting that program into practice.

The dual process of building our revolutionary organizations and building the mass movements is the only possible road for sincere revolutionaries in this period.

For the last 12 issues Direct Action has been published by the Socialist Youth Alliance. Beginning with this, the 13th issue, Direct Action will be published by an editorial board which includes members of both the Socialist Youth Alliance and the newly formed Socialist Workers League.

Along with this change we will be increasing the frequency of Direct Action. By the 16th issue we will be a fortnightly paper. We will maintain our 16 page colour format and our price of 10 cents. But we will be able to increase our coverage of current events with more, shorter news items and reports of happenings of interest to revolutionary socialists. In the meantime we will appear every 3 weeks.

This expansion of our publishing schedule has been made possible

by the growth of the Socialist Youth Alliance during the past year and the formation of the Socialist Worker's League. When we began publication there were two S.Y.A. branches in Sydney and Adelaide. Currently there are five branches (new branches have been formed: Canberra, Brisbane and Melbourne). In the near future we will also have a branch of S.Y.A. in Hobart. This geographical expansion has been more than matched by the numerical expansion of S.Y.A. and the expansion of its spheres of activity.

In the editorial of our first issue we wrote: "Only when our paper has an organization to build, and that organization has a programme to guide it does a little left-wing venture such as ours take on any meaning." This has been more than confirmed by our success over the past period.

WHICH PAPER DO YOU SUPPORT?

Industrial Worker, July 23, 1970



THE INDIAN OCCUPATION OF BANGLA DESH

Jon Rothschild

On December 16 the Pakistan army of occupation in East Bengal surrendered under the attack of Bangladesh guerrillas and the Indian army. Six days later the leaders of the Bangladesh government-in-exile in Calcutta returned to Dacca (soon to be renamed Mujibnagar). More than 100,000 people, nearly one-fifth of the city's prewar population, turned out in massive demonstrations to greet the representatives of the provisional government.

The cheers, however, came as an anticlimax. Several days before the Dacca surrender, the Awami League dominated provisional government entered Jessore, a major city in western Bangladesh that had just been retaken by the Mukti Bahini (Bengali liberation forces) and the Indian army. But then, instead of continuing to Dacca, the government officials returned to their Calcutta offices. Apparently they were afraid to advance to the former capital of East Pakistan, now the capital of Bangladesh.

Speculation about the reasons for the delay was rife. The two most commonly suggested explanations were that the Awami League bureaucrats did not want to be associated with the expected violent reaction of the Bengalis against Pakistan collaborators, or that they did not wish to appear in the capital while it was still under obvious, and formal, jurisdiction of the Indian army.

The usually reliable Far Eastern Economic Review suggested in its December 25 issue that political divisions had erupted between the Awami League, the pro-Moscow Communist party led by Muzaffar Ahmed, and Maulana Bhashani's National Awami party, blocking the government's attempts to put together a cabinet.

Whatever the truth may be as to these rumors, it became increasingly obvious that the major concern of Bangladesh's first regime was the disarming of the Mukti Bahini rank and file.

"The bulk of the young guerrillas, mostly students and former students, hold Bangladesh officials in contempt," said a December 21 New York Times dispatch. "They feel the politicians, who formed the exile regime in April, should have been inside East Pakistan fighting for freedom instead of sitting comfortably and safely in Calcutta."

The job of bringing the Bengali fighters under control has been assumed by the Indian army. Even before the Pakistani defeat, Lt. Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, commander of India's forces on its eastern front, announced that he had been appointed, nobody knows by whom, as "overall commander" of the Mukti Bahini.

The December 26 New York Times reported that "Indian officials say their Government feels it will have to keep its army in East Pakistan (sic) for many months before conditions there are stable enough to remove it."

"Perhaps after three or four months, we may be able to start thinning the army out," one high Indian official said.

Indira Gandhi's criterion for when conditions will be stable enough is a simple one: if and when a bourgeois government allied to India has been firmly established in Bangladesh, and the armed power of the guerrillas has been broken.

Gandhi insists that her regime has no intention of annexing Bangladesh. The economic burden of a prolonged occupation would be immense, and it is unlikely that Indian troops would take kindly to replacing the Pakistanis in the unenviable position of trying to dominate the Bengali countryside. A compliant indigenous regime in Bangladesh is what the Indian bourgeoisie would prefer. Thus Gandhi has concentrated her efforts on bolstering the position of the Awami League provisional government.

Because this is no easy task—the five major leaders of the new regime are at best lackluster bourgeois politicians and at worst notorious Indian pawns—Gandhi has centered on the demand that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League and formal president of Bangladesh, be released from imprisonment in Pakistan. Rahman, it is widely believed is the only Bengali politician with sufficient authority to bring the guerrillas under control.

Now that Rahman has been released, Gandhi's chances of creating a puppet government in Bangladesh have increased slightly because Rahman was arrested before the rest of the Awami League leaders discredited themselves by failing to play an active role in the national liberation struggle, he still retains much of the popularity which he enjoyed before the slaughter of March 25. On the other hand, Gandhi now faces the problem that demands for social reconstruction and reform can no longer be diverted by demagogic calls for the release of Rahman and the leftward movement among the Bengali people which forced the Indian military intervention will continue.

One of the excuses offered by New Delhi for continuing the Indian occupation of Bangladesh is to prevent a "bloodbath" against the Bihans, non-Bengalis who aided Yahya's army during the war. The western press has tried to sensationalize the few acts of vengeance that have occurred. (When four collaborators were killed in Dacca by the Mukti Bahini, the New York Times felt it worth a two-column headline on page one and the Australian bourgeois dailies reacted similarly).

But the Far Eastern Economic Review of December 25 noted that "There is no evidence yet that the revenge killings have been numerous." And the New York Times itself has indicated (although not in headlines) that "the killings have been much fewer than had been widely predicted."

It would be amazing if the Bengalis, after suffering about 1,000,000 deaths in nine months, did not take some retaliatory measures against those responsible for the slaughter.

However much the Indian army poses as the guardian of law and order in Bangladesh, the passage of time will show that they are there to defend the provisional government, maintain capitalism, and block a socialist revolution.

Only a few days after the Pakistani surrender, young students in Dacca occupied the radio station. The government, at that time still sitting in Calcutta, demanded that the "unauthorized" broadcasts stop. Radio Bangladesh should originate, according to the "ministers," from Calcutta.

Such conflicts can be expected to continue. The Indian army has made clear that it intends to remain in Bangladesh until the reigns of power can be turned over to the Bengali bourgeoisie.

But even if such a plan temporarily succeeds, it is not likely that the subcontinent can be stabilized. After nine months of war, Bangladesh lies in ruins. Last June, before the worst atrocities were committed by the Pakistani army, a World Bank-International Monetary Fund mission estimated that it would cost US\$70,000,000 just to restore transport and communication links in the country. The year's jute crop, the major source of foreign exchange, is nearly a total loss. Vast amounts of capital have been transferred out of the country. No capitalist government, especially one beholden to India, will

CONTINUED ON PAGE FOUR

SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE FOUNDING CONFERENCE

The founding conference of a new revolutionary party - the Socialist Workers League (SWL) - was held in Sydney on January 1, 2 and 3. The League, while not yet a section, adheres to the Fourth International. The conference was attended by observers from the smaller Brisbane-based Labour Action group, which also supports the Fourth International. Immediately after the conference the two groups fused. Thus the League now unites in one organisation all the supporters of the Fourth International in Australia.

The SWL has branches and supporters in 6 capital cities, and is thus already a national organisation. The League publishes the bimonthly theoretical magazine "Socialist Review" and has members serving on the editorial board of the newspaper "Direct Action". In its circulation "Direct Action" is second only to "Tribune", the weekly paper of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA).

Trotskyism in Australia has a history dating back to the early 1930's when the Workers Party was formed by Oppositionists expelled from the CPA. Hitherto, it has never been a very strong current in terms either of numbers or political weight. The Workers Party was followed by a group around the paper "International". This group split in 1965 between the supporters of the Fourth International, and the supporters of Michel Pablo, who had a small majority in Australia. Since then there has been no official section of the Fourth International in Australia. Several attempts were made to establish a Trotskyist group, but these were short-lived until early 1970 when the predecessor group of the SWL was formed. This group first put out the magazine "Socialist Review".

In August 1970 the Trotskyist youth group Socialist Youth Alliance was formed out of a fight with spontaneist currents inside the youth group Resistance. Many of the "Socialist Review" group members participated in the formation and development of SYA, which is now the largest and fastest-growing left wing youth group in Australia. SYA is organisationally independent of the League but is linked to it by a common basic program and in its support for the Fourth International. The rapid development of the SYA and the formation of the SWL are striking signs of the revitalisation of Trotskyism both within Australia and on a world scale.

The report and ensuing discussion around the international situation developed the analyses familiar to readers of the international Trotskyist press. The document stressed the key strategy of building the Fourth International as the nucleus of the future general staff of the world revolution, and the encouraging successes registered in this task in recent years. The conference unanimously adopted the document.

The political document centered around our orientation to the mass party of the Australian working class, the Australian Labor Party (ALP), our orientation to the youth and the mass movements, and the relationship between these two fields of work. Although there were differences on this question, the document was adopted by a large majority. The document stressed the impossibility of bypassing the ALP and the necessity of an active orientation to it.

However, it is necessary to take fullest advantage of the opportunities given us by the youth radicalisation. Work among the youth permits us to build the revolutionary nucleus, to gain an audience from vanguard layers of the working

class. Our orientation is summed up in the formula "The ALP is the focus of our politics, but in the present period the centre of our activity is among the youth".

The document surveyed our work in the mass movements, particularly the anti-war and women's liberation movements and in the movements of solidarity with the peoples of Ireland, Palestine, Bangla Desh and New Guinea. It also dealt with our role in the emerging liberation struggle of the black people in Australia.

The final document considered was a draft constitution and a set of criteria for membership of the League. Differences existed on this draft, but all participants recognised the need for democratic centralism in the League. The document was adopted by a large majority. Also, the conference endorsed the preamble and statutes of the Fourth International.

During the conference messages of solidarity were received from sections and supporters of the Fourth International around the world, including the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) in

Ceylon, the Revolutionary Communist League in Japan, the Socialist Workers Party in the USA, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere in Canada, the Revolutionary Marxist League in Sweden, and the International Marxist Group in England. The Socialist Action League of New Zealand was represented by comrade Keith Locke, who delivered fraternal greetings to the conference.

There is a tradition in the International Trotskyist movement that at conferences an honorary presidium be elected composed of imprisoned militants or martyrs of the movement. At our conference there was elected an honorary presidium of three recent martyrs of the Fourth International - Peter Graham, assassinated in Dublin last year; Luiz Merlino, murdered last year by the mercenary thugs of the Brazilian political police; and Tomas Chambi, a Bolivian peasant leader and a leader of the Bolivian Trotskyists, who died fighting against the right wing camp last August.

On the final day of the conference we were raised by two members of the Healyite sectarian Workers Action group -



Keith Locke

(who publish "Labour Press"). They stole copies of conference discussion material, and were clearly recognised as they fled from the building incident clearly shows that the Australian Healyites don't need any lessons from their international cotinkers in sectarianism and lack of respect for democracy in the workers movement.

Also the incident reflects the despair of the sectarians at the rapid growth of the forces of the Fourth International in Australia. Trotskyism is within striking distance of winning hegemony among the radicalising youth. Maoism is the only real contender among the youth and their youth forces, restricted almost totally to Victoria, are in severe crisis and disintegration. The CPA has failed to win any following among the youth. Recently in Brisbane its small youth group split from it over its bureaucratic interference in the affairs of the group. The Healyites have no youth orientation, regarding the mass movements as "petty bourgeois" (despite the fact that the bulk of their own forces came out of these movements).

The largest, most influential group to the left of the ALP is the CPA. However, the CPA is in a state of crisis and decline. The CPA underwent a pro-Peking split in 1963 (the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), and recently the most pro-Moscow Stalinists split (the Australian Socialist Party). The CPA is completely unable to come to terms with its Stalinist past (despite the fact that it has gone further along this road than any other of the world communist parties. It has kept its sectarian abstentionist attitude to the ALP.

Trotskyism has made great gains in Australia over the last few years. We are the most respected tendency among the radicalising youth. Tomorrow we shall extend our ideas into the working class. Only the ideas of revolutionary socialism, crystallised organisationally in a party adhering to the Fourth International, can lead the working class to victory, to the construction of a socialist Australia.

TOUR BY KEITH LOCKE

The following are excerpts from greetings presented to the conference by Keith Locke, a member of the National Executive of the Socialist Action League, the sympathising organisation of the Fourth International in New Zealand.

Locke, who is also a lecturer in Sociology at Victoria University of Wellington, is on a speaking tour of Australia under the auspices of the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance. In Sydney and Brisbane he has addressed meetings on "Revolutionary Strategy in Advanced Capitalist Countries: the New Zealand Experience." He will be speaking in Adelaide on January 21 and Melbourne on January 23.

"It gives me great pleasure to bring greetings from the Socialist Action League, the organisation of the Fourth International in New Zealand. We hope that this will be first of frequent visits to Australia by the New Zealand comrades.

"As new organisations we have a lot to learn, and can do much to assist each other in the process of building vanguard parties with a correct programme, strategy and tactics.

"We have been greatly inspired by what the Australian comrades have been able to achieve so far, particularly in the antiwar movement. We have had a similar experience in New Zealand. Over the past year the Socialist Action League has been able to play a central role in mobilising - on two occasions - a total of over 30,000 people in street demonstrations against the Indochina war. Trotskyists in both Australia and New Zealand can feel very confident about their ability to play a leadership role in the developing mass movements.

"We have also been tremendously impressed with the seriousness that you treat your press. The ability of the Australian Trotskyist movement to sell thousands of copies of its monthly paper, Direct Action, must put it in the forefront of the Fourth International in this respect.

"We have already worked together with

you on key international campaigns. In addition to participating together in international antiwar actions, the Australian and New Zealand comrades were deeply involved in the international demonstrations on November 20 for the repeal of all abortion laws. We are looking forward to further co-ordinating with you the defence of revolutionary and nationalist struggles such as those of the people of Ireland and Bangla Desh, and campaigns to free revolutionary militants from prisons throughout the world. And we are particularly interested in assisting the campaign to reverse the ban on Ernest Mandel entering Australia. His Australian ban has made it impracticable for him to visit New Zealand.

"With this conference the Trotskyist movement in Australia and New Zealand is really on its feet. With the rapid disintegration of Stalinist forces in both countries we are already within striking distance of achieving hegemony of the radical movement, although we still have a long distance to travel to achieve leadership of the working class movement as a whole.

"The rapid growth of the Trotskyist movement in Australia and New Zealand reflects the speed with which the Fourth International is moving to overcome the traditional crisis of revolutionary leadership on a world scale. On behalf of the Fourth International I wish you every success in the coming period.

"Long live the Socialist Workers League! Long live the Fourth International!"

TOUR SCHEDULE ADELAIDE

Talk: Revolutionary strategy in advanced capitalist countries—the N.Z. experience. Friday January 21, 7.30pm at SYA.

MELBOURNE

Talk: As above. Sunday January 23, 8pm at SYA. FOR ADDRESSES OF SYA SEE BACK PAGE.

OCCUPATION...

be able to even begin to deal with such a crisis.

India has frequently used its army to put down mass struggles in its own states. To do the same in a country that has just seen months of revolutionary war will be a considerably more arduous task. In struggling against the Pakistani forces, the Bengalis made promising gains in forming revolutionary cadres. This was a major reason for New Delhi's decision to intervene. Yahya's occupation was losing control and the struggle was moving toward a revolutionary-socialist outcome.

After the initial mood of welcoming the Indian troops as liberators has passed, it can be expected that the Bengalis who stood in the front of the fight against the Pakistani occupation will continue their battle - this time against the new occupiers and their quislings.



Protest demonstration directed at the Pakistani High Commissioner, Melbourne.

Such are the contradictions of contemporary imperialism (cf Vietnam).

A few more points:

At one stage the "spurious correspondence" implies that the "revolutionary people of Pakistan" should overthrow the regime of Yahya Khan. Well, what about it? Is it enough to replace Yahya with Bhutto, a renegade "socialist"? What is the "progressive" character of this rump Pakistani state? The old "bloc of four classes theory" has foundered again (as with the Kromintang in 1927, Indonesia 1965 etc.)

A lame attempt is made to discredit Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution". Firstly, the totally false charge is made that Trotsky supported the Japanese invasion of China as a "historically progressive event".

Secondly, the red herring of Mao's opposition to secessionism in North China is brought out. Maoists are incapable of distinguishing between revolutionary and reactionary nationalism. Support for Bengal's nationalism is based on its objectively revolutionary character as an anti-imperialist struggle for self-determination of an oppressed nationality.

The abstract concept of secessionism means nothing in Marxist terms. Nationalism can be progressive or reactionary depending on the situation. Where Mao is by implication lauded for being more nationalist than the Kuomintang, this refers to the real fact that he completely subordinated the revolutionary struggle in an unprincipled way to the KMT and their reactionary nationalist line. The Maoists were quite prepared after 1945 to dissolve the Red Army into a 'national' army (i.e. destroy it as a revolutionary force) and sink themselves into a 'national coalition' requiring only 1/3 of the seats from the KMT. Fortunately the utter intransigence of Chiang Kai-Shek and the necessities of the Cold War prevented this, and allowed the unleashed power of the Chinese masses to carry the revolution on to victory.

In all, one can only agree with the closing lines of this "spurious correspondence": "Down with the Stalinist W.S.A.", "Yours for the Permanent Revolution".

The other attack on Trotskyism in this copy of Struggle centres on the question of orientation to the ALP. The incredible inanity of this attack is clear in the first sentences:

"Local revisionists and Trotskyites are now propagating that it is possible to establish socialism by electing the Labor Party into government. This is done according to Khushev's theory of 'peaceful transition to socialism'."

This question needs much greater analysis than there is space to allow here. However, the charge that Trotskyists see the ALP as capable of establishing socialism is clearly nonsense. But unlike Maoists and other Stalinists, ultra lefts and sectarians, Trotskyists do recognise the ALP as the party which holds the allegiance of the Australian working class, and is the political expression of the consciousness and history of that class. Therefore it must be dealt with seriously it must be supported in the sense that it is the party of the Australian working class at the moment. It cannot be wished away or even have its hold broken entirely from outside. In the long run the working class must be led away from it into a mass revolutionary party for the overthrow of Australian capitalism. In the meantime to take an abstentionist position as the Maoists do is to face the inevitable prospect of being tossed into the rubbish bin of history.

Jim McIlroy

2. (The torquousness of the line of arguments presented in this spurious letter in "Struggle" makes it impossible to deal in a short space with all the errors, irrationalities and misrepresentations.)

A couple more examples of "straw" statements which stand up despite all attempts to ridicule them:

"You claim to support armed struggle in Australia to overthrow the imperialists and yet you refuse to support the heroic national liberation struggle of the Mukti Bahini in East Pakistan!"

"Perhaps the most ironic thing about the Maoist position is that you once again find yourselves objectively allied with U.S. imperialism."

The analogy with Chinese opposition to the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia which is cited in attacking this statement provides merely an example of the contemporary workings of the twin Stalinist centres: "support" revolutionary struggles where they are far enough away to provide no threat to your own bureaucratic interests, but when they do provide a threat to the political stability of your state you are prepared to attack or sabotage them quite mercilessly.

3. Other statements misrepresent Trotskyist positions, but still clearly expose Maoism: "Mao is supporting a military dictator on the excuse that foreign oppression is unlikely to help the cause of revolution within a country. Won't they ever learn the lesson of history?"

So, Mao is actually helping the cause of revolution in Pakistan by opposing the struggle of the Mukti Bahini and supporting a military dictator? In this an example of an "antagonistic" or a "non-antagonistic" contradiction perhaps?

The letter misrepresents Trotskyism by saying that we gave "critical support" to the Indian invasion. We gave no such support. We support only the struggle of the Bengali masses for self-determination. It is quite consistent with our earlier stand that we now demand the immediate withdrawal of all Indian troops from Bangladesh and an end to all Indian interference and attempts at control.

Unlike the Maoists we don't support one bourgeois regime over another. We are well aware of the attempts of Indian imperialism to gain an advantage over Pakistan, and to subordinate the Bengali people. But they will not and cannot succeed in suppressing the growing revolutionary movement in the whole Indian sub-continent. If only the Maoists could see it, East Bengal (and with it West Bengal) is the Yanan of India. By gaining a short term advantage in Bangladesh, the Indians have opened up the prospects for the coming overthrow of capitalism in the whole area.

SECTARIANS IN THE CAMP OF INDIRA GANDHI

Joseph Hansen

We publish below an article on the position taken by a sectarian grouping who call themselves Trotskyist on the struggle in Bangla Desh. The "official statement" referred to here was reprinted in "Labour Press", the journal of the Healyite followers in Sydney. In the past they have indicated 100% support for Healy and his politics. (Lambert, referred to in the article, was a French ally of Healy, recently they fell out with a great deal of accusations and hard words.)

The lesson to be drawn from this article and the one on the WSA above is that it is only the revolutionary Marxists of the Fourth International who have formulated a consistently revolutionary analysis and policy in regard to this latest upsurge in the world revolution. The sectarians, the Stalinists of the Moscow and Peking schools, the reformists and liberals have all failed to understand and support the revolutionary events in Bangla Desh.

The position taken by the Healyites on the war between India and Pakistan will hardly come as a surprise to those familiar with the saying, "Scratch an ultra-left and you'll find an opportunist."

The Healyites, who have long been notorious in Britain for their ultraleft sectarianism, decided to offer their support to the bourgeois government of Indira Gandhi.

The official Healyite statement was published in the December 6, 1971, issue of Workers Press, the organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League. Listed as a "statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International, it was entitled "Defeat imperialist conspiracy against Bangla Desh."

"US imperialism," according to the authors, "is determined to utilize the Indo-Pakistan conflict to weaken the Indian economy, as its decision to cut off arms supplies shows.

"It wants to facilitate the unlimited penetration of US finance capital into India and the installation of a more docile regime in New Delhi."

In the opinion of the authors of the document, Indian entry into the struggle as a defensive move against the conspiracy of American imperialism was highly progressive:

"Bengali resistance to the barbaric Yahya Khan regime and the heritage of imperialist partition in India has entered a decisive stage with the intervention of Indian armed forces."



Maoist demonstration against the demonstration against the Pakistani High Commissioner.

The authors are understandably responsive to the heartening action taken by the rulers of India at this decisive stage:

"We critically support the decision of the Indian bourgeois government to give military and economic aid to Bangla Desh."

Bowing in the direction of Trotskyism, to which the Healyites profess to adhere, the authors include correct generalizations concerning the nature of the Bengali and Hindu bourgeoisie their ulterior aims in the conflict, and the need to oppose them. But these generalizations all speak against supporting the New Delhi regime.

Why then did the Healyites decide to line up with Indira Gandhi ("critically," of course)?

The reason is to be found in Britain. Since last March when Yahya Khan turned his guns on the masses in East Pakistan, the Socialist Labour League has been seeking to make an impression on the Bengali immigrants and exiles who are fervent supporters of the Bangladesh liberation movement.

The news that India had intervened in the conflict with her armies was received with joy among the majority of these Bangla-desh patriots. It was an unthinking reaction based on lack of knowledge of the real aims of the Gandhi regime. These, of course, were to take over from the failing Pakistani occupation the task of saving capitalism in Bangladesh.

The Healyites simply adapted in the most opportunistic way to this mood among the Bengalis in Britain.

The Lambertists, who up until recently formed a tight bloc with the Healyites in the "International Committee," felt constrained to publicly denounce the SLL betrayal. They did this in two articles in the December 15 and December 22 issues of Informations Ouvrieres, the weekly newspaper they publish in Paris.

An editorial note introducing the first article stated: "The SLL fraudulently attributes the position it has taken on the Indo-Pakistan war to the International Committee, whereas the latter has not met."

This "gross usurpation," as the editors put it, "cannot mask the real problems involved. The statement of the SLL... offers support to the government of Indira Gandhi whom it raises to the rank of defender of the interests of the Bengali people."

The unidentified authors of the two articles (the Central Committee of the Lambertist grouping, the Organisation Communiste Internationale?) do not explain how they happen to know that the "International Committee" has not met. Probably they have in mind their membership in the committee and the proviso that members must be notified in advance of meetings.

Skipping such details, they go to the heart of the matter, as they view it, and prove quite convincingly that the SLL position amounts to rejection of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution and adoption of Stalin's theory of "revolution by stages." In this instance, they add, "a 'stage' of the counterrevolution."

If the Indian bourgeoisie are capable of playing a progressive role in a "decisive stage" of the revolution in Bangladesh—which is the position taken by the Healyites—then it follows that Trotsky turned out to be wrong in maintaining that the bourgeoisie in the colonial world in general (as elsewhere) were incapable of playing such a role.

But the Indian bourgeoisie and their regime in New Delhi have no intention of playing a progressive role. On the contrary, their aims are completely reactionary. It is the leaders of the SLL who entertain illusions in the operation, certainly not the Indian bourgeois political strategists or the generals they placed in charge of carrying it out.

Thus Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution stands confirmed once again, while the leaders of the SLL stand condemned.

LIONEL BROCKMAN

Curiously, the Lambertist authors never mention the pragmatic reasons for the SLL position. They argue as if the SLL leaders were simply of low theoretical level, do not really understand Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, and thereby stumbled inadvertently into their betrayal of revolutionary Marxism after depriving themselves of the theoretical wisdom and capacities of the Lambertists.

Perhaps the oversight is intentional--the Lambertists are not invulnerable to finger-wagging from the Healyites on certain opportunistic sins and perversities committed in France.

As for the moral outrage over Healy's usurpation of the name of the "International Committee," this is all for the innocents. Healy, the secretary of the SLL, is merely repeating what he did in 1963 when the majority of the original International Committee joined in a re-unification congress that ended a ten-year split in the world Trotskyist movement.

At that time Healy refused to participate in the reunification. Instead, he set up a rump "International Committee" of his own--with Lambert aiding and abetting in the fraud.

Healy is only asserting his property rights against the claims of Lambert to possession of this rump body.

Lambert, consequently, finds himself faced with the problem of deciding what to do about SLL betrayals bearing the official stamp of the "International Committee." An embarrassing situation! But then what did he expect?

BANGLA DESH SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

IAN GORDON

Despite the fact that the Pakistani military dictatorship has been overthrown in East Bengal, the Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee recognises the fact that the struggle for a free Bangla Desh is not yet over. The continued presence of Indian troops in Bangla Desh threatens the people of Bengal with a situation where a government regarded unfavourably by the Indian government could not be set up. As a consequence of this, the B.D.S.C. is continuing to hold rallies calling for the establishment of a free Bangla Desh.

On December 3rd, before the overthrow of the dictatorship, the B.D.S.C. staged a rally in support of Bangla Desh outside a dinner in honour of a Moslem festival staged by Pakistani living in Melbourne. The rally was attended by about 50 people. Three Maoists attended the rally carrying placards and banners denouncing Indian aggression against Pakistan. Apparently the W.S.A. can't find more than three people stupid enough to support the orthodox Maoist line on Bangla Desh. A rally called for in the W.S.A. journal "Struggle" was attended by the same three people.

The Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee also staged two rallies in the City Square during December. The rallies were called around the demands:-

1. Self determination for the people of Bangla Desh.
 - i. Repatriation of all Pakistani military and civil forces.
 - ii. Immediate withdrawal of Indian troops and an end to all Indian intervention and attempts at control.
 - iii. An end to foreign exploitation of Bangla Desh.
 - iv. Support for the setting up of a government representative of the working and peasant masses.
2. Unconditional support for the national liberation struggle in Bangla Desh.

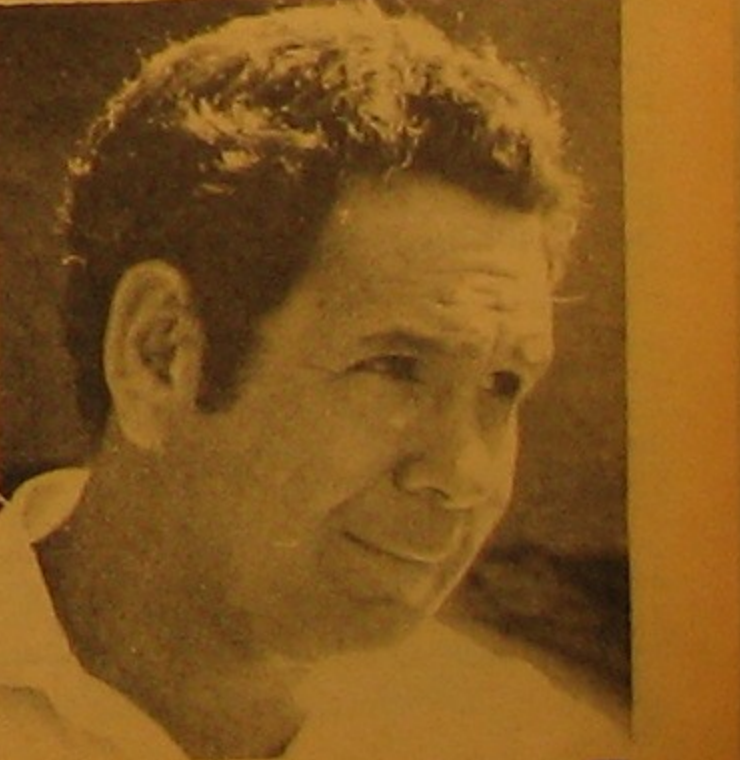
While the struggle continues for a government representative of the workers and peasants of Bangla Desh, the Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee will continue to organize in support of that struggle. The B.D.S.C. may be contacted by Box 87, Carlton P.O. Victoria

Evidence presented at the hearing only served to confirm the fact that Brockman was driven to petty theft by the almost total lack of job opportunities open to black people in W.A. and the economic hardship which results from this. Blacks, owing to the fact that they are allowed almost no access to educational opportunities beyond primary school level, are overwhelmingly concentrated in the unskilled labour sector of the work force, consequently, when an economic recession such as the present one occurs, they are first hit. Lionel Brockman's situation reflects the plight of the vast majority of the black community.

However, the bourgeois courts will not take account of this, their purpose is to protect bourgeois property not to mete out justice. The courts are incapable of taking full account of economic and social injustice, indeed they are incapable of even taking account of the full consequences of their actions. For example, what can they do about the fact that Brockman has developed hypertension and high blood pressure as a result of his imprisonment in Fremantle Goal?

STOP PRESS

Now, Lionel Brockman has been sentenced to 3 1/2 years gaol with a minimum of 9 months to serve. The judge in the case said that he had to consider two factors - protection of the society and rehabilitation of Brockman. No amount of such bourgeois double talk can conceal the facts; anyone who maintains that Brockman will be rehabilitated in gaol is either a liar or a fool, he may be brutalised, his health may be broken, but he certainly will not be rehabilitated. It is Lionel Brockman who needs protection from bourgeois society and bourgeois law, not the other way around.



Lionel Brockman

'STRUGGLE' & THE QUESTION OF BANGLA DESH

"Struggle", organ of the Melbourne Worker Student Alliance (Maoist) achieves new levels of crudity and inanity in its January 1972 issue, particularly in the way it attempts to deal with the obviously threatening advance of the Trotskyist movement. In two contributions, we find misrepresentations galore and a dispirited attempt at satire. In a "very spurious" letter from a pathetically and slanderous named Mr. A. Schickelgruber (who we are told is "a distressed Sudetenlander German, still upset by Stalin's typically Stalinist efforts to liberate us from Czechoslovakia"), there ensues a contorted effort to discredit Trotskyist positions by his arguing "for" them. The whole thing succeeds only in supporting these positions and discrediting Maoism completely. The whole project backfires so badly it seems incredible that they went ahead with it - considering the well-known dissensions in the Maoist ranks on the question of Bangla Desh, and increasing awareness amongst rank and file Maoists of the other contentions of the Chinese bureaucracy (Indonesia, Ceylon, etc). One can only hope that this spurious attack will lead more W.S.A. members to question the orthodoxy somewhat more.

Rahman (Awami League-led state will merely demonstrate clearly to the Bengali masses the futility of a bourgeois solution and the necessity to fight on for a socialist solution.

The most depressing thing about the Maoist non-analysis of this process is their parallel failure to understand the historical development of the Chinese revolution itself. The "support" of the bourgeois press for Bangla Desh represents merely the confusion amongst the bourgeoisie and the contradictions of contemporary imperialism (note: U.S. government opposition). In this respect the analysis of bourgeois commentators parallels that of the Maoists in not being able to grasp the logic of the struggle in Bangla Desh. W.S.A. claims not to believe anything written in the bourgeois press and yet they accept at face value the great build-up given to the Sheik and the Awami League, the attempt to make him into a popular hero of our time who actually represents the desires of the people. Just look more closely at the press reports and we find more disturbing omens for Mujib - for instance, in the Melbourne "Age" of Jan. 10 under the heading "Trouble awaits Mujib at home" we find the following:

"The first problem that requires Sheik Mujib's immediate attention is law and order. An estimated 150,000 to 200,000 weapons throughout the country are in the hands of former guerrillas, separate Leftist groups and thousands of people who never fought at all, but who picked up arms when the Pakistani forces surrendered."

"Armed clashes seem inevitable when further orders go out to give up weapons, especially if one group tries to disarm the other. Many will hide their weapons for another day. Any assistance from the Indian army will not be welcomed. In fact student leaders have already publicly warned the Indians not to interfere."

..... "There are already signs of anti-Indian feeling here and the fear of Indian economic domination. The two most vocal and influential groups outside the Awami League today are the students and the Mukti Bahini, the guerilla army that carried the fight for independence until the Indian army provided the military power that won the battle."

The writer could have added much more about the continued struggle of the left groups in Bangla Desh, centred around the NLF and including groups such as the (ex-Maoist) East Bengal Communist Party. The development of a militant student movement is also a sign of the coming struggle. (Of course, only some student movements are acceptable to the Maoists; others such as the J.V.P. of Ceylon are "reactionary" and riddled with "foreign spies".) The people of Bangla Desh will not be disarmed and suppressed. The real fight is just beginning.

UNEMPLOYMENT GROWS

SYLVIE SHAW

The faith McMahon and company have in their ability to maintain full employment must have weakened considerably on viewing the current employment situation. Figures released by the Department of Labour show an increase of almost 6% in the rate of unemployment for November, 1971 (males up by 3.6%, females up by 6.5%).

Actual unemployment now stands at 85,714 compared with 59,821 a year ago. This represents an increase of 23,884 or 38% since the end of October. After seasonal adjustment, unemployed totalled 88,073 or 1.57% of the workforce, compared with 1.45 in October and 1.1% in November 1970.

This remains a relatively high figure by Australian standards although well below levels of unemployment in the U.K. and U.S.A. However, the 1.5% unemployment level has rarely been exceeded since the 40's and is the highest level since September 1963.

The figures published by the Department are based on numbers actually registered for employment at the end of the month. As such the workforce estimate is necessarily low. It does not include the large number of white-collar workers in Melbourne and Sydney who are out of a job, but are not yet registered as unemployed. (Professionals registered as unemployed have increased by 50% since November

last year). Also they do not include the high proportion of women (mostly married) who do not bother registering, but just return to housework when times are slack.

Within the capitalist structure workers are exploited, while women are super-exploited, used as a reserve army of labour. Women make up 51 per cent of the population, but only 33 per cent of the labour force.

New vacancies were reported to the Commonwealth Employment Service at an average weekly rate of 14,958 during November, compared with 16,893 in November 1970. These weekly average figures indicate that the growth in jobs is failing to keep pace with numbers entering the workforce. (see graph).

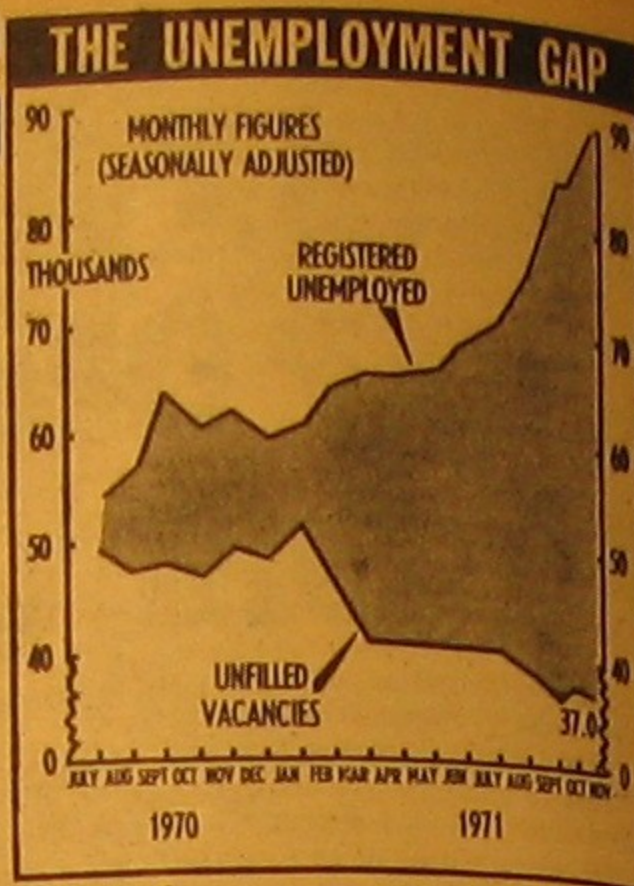
In anticipation of the October unemployment figures, McMahon predicted a 'pleasant surprise'. Consequently no action was taken to curb the situation which arose in November and which will seriously worsen by January-February when 120,000 (or more) are expected to be out of work. Among the worst hit will be school leavers, young workers and especially unskilled and semi-skilled workers. With the downturn in secondary industry activity, hundreds of workers are being laid off. Production in many firms (B.H.P., G.M.H. etc) has been

curtailed, shift work and overtime have been considerably reduced.

By States, actual unemployment as a percentage of the workforce was: N.S.W. 1.86%; Victoria 1.34; W.A. 1.83; Tasmania 1.64; Queensland 1.41; South Australia 1.29. Unemployment increased noticeably in N.S.W., largely due to school leavers, but also through the rise in rural unemployment because of the failure of the wheat crop. This situation cannot be cured by McMahon's futile step to supply \$2 million relief per month for unemployment in rural areas.

Another ominous feature is the tendency for hard core unemployment to increase, as measured by the number of people actually receiving the inadequate unemployment benefits: 20,825 compared with 11,316 in November, 1970. The affluent society ethic of consumerism has dictated that unemployment benefits remain low, otherwise too many people choose not to work - a case far from proved.

Of course, the government has a vested interest in keeping the unemployment level relatively high (as proposed in the 1971 budget strategy). It thinks (so far erroneously) that with a certain unemployment level, the number of industrial disputes will decrease; and that average weekly earnings will not increase at the same rate as in recent months.



McMahon's government has failed to take any steps to combat rising unemployment levels. In fighting unemployment the Labour movement as a whole would be well advised to instigate the strategy endorsed by the Amalgamated Engineering Union and Boilermakers and Blacksmiths Society and formulated by Trotsky in the "Transitional Program": i.e. 'to divide the work on hand among all existing workers in accordance with how the extent of the working week is defined... It is impossible to accept any other program for the present catastrophic period.'

*Leon Trotsky: "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of Fourth International" 1938.

THE DEREGISTRATION OF THE N.Z. SEAMENS' UNION

George Fyson

The New Zealand government dealt a severe blow to militant trade unionism by its successful deregistration of the Seamen's Union on November 5 last year. The union, formerly the most militant in the country, has had its funds frozen and a new union will have to be built.

The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, by which the union was deregistered, established to prevent strikes. When 15 workers in an industry call themselves a "union", and become registered under the I.C.G.A. Act, this union then legally covers all workers in that industry. Thus there is a lever for employers to force trade unions to register under the Act; if they do not, any 15 "workers" can become the official union, and supplant the real union. This has happened several times in New Zealand's history when unions have refused to register or have been deregistered.

Under the I.C.G.A. Act, once a union is registered strikes become illegal, and there are stiff penalties specified in the Act for individuals, union leaders and whole unions if strikes do take place. The pretext for deregistration of the Seamen's Union was a strike in protest at a new anti-seaman piece of legislation - the Shipping and Seamen Amendment Bill - which had been proposed by the government.

The Bill, which has now gone through parliament, provides for new marine industry supervisory tribunals and committees, on which the Seamen's Union has at best minority representation. In addition the bill violates civil liberties in many ways. For instance, seamen can be punished for failing to obey a "lawful order", but the bill does not state what a "lawful order" is. And seamen's representatives charged with contravening the decisions of the all-powerful shipping industry tribunal must prove their innocence: this is a reversal of the "innocent until proved guilty" principle of British law.

The new Amendment also takes away the roster system which was controlled by the seamen, and replaces it with one controlled by the Marine Department. It also sets up a system of "bad marks", whereby a seaman who gets three bad marks (given out by the ship's master) within thirty-six months is automatically barred from working in the industry for six months.

Marshall was enabled to get away with this severe attack on the seamen by the

provisions that the Seamen's Union held a national three-day stoppage starting November 1. The decision to stop work was taken by a vote of 500 to 80 members.

When the Seamen voted again to continue the strike until November 8th, Minister of Labour Mr. Marshall gave them an ultimatum; return to work or face deregistration. The union was deregistered when they refused to inform Marshall whether they would return to work or not.

After the deregistration the Federation of Labour recommended to the seamen that they return to work and that a new union be formed under the guidance of the F.O.L. National Executive. Meanwhile, promised F.O.L. president Tom Skinner, the F.O.L. would present strong submissions to the parliamentary committee considering the Shipping and Seamen Amendment Bill. The F.O.L.'s recommendation was accepted by the Minister of Labour, and by the seamen who realised that they would have been left on their own.

As could be expected, after such a defeat for the union the government saw no need to give concessions to the seamen, and the Bill was passed virtually without amendment.

During the course of the dispute a tremendous campaign of vilification against militants in the Seamen's Union was carried out by the government and the newspapers. Vicious red-baiting against seamen who were members and sympathisers of the N.Z. Communist Party filled many front-page articles. The so-called "red guard" were alleged to use undemocratic methods to "control" the Seamen's Union.

During the dispute Marshall, in outlining his proposed form for a new union, continually mentioned that the new union would be "democratic", and "in control of its members". However his more detailed proposal removes the branch structure of the union altogether, and substitutes a few officials and a small national council, who will control the union. What Marshall understands by "democracy" is something similar to parliamentary democracy, where the elected few are only responsible to the electors at election times. The old Seamen's Union, with regular mass membership meetings deciding policy, was infinitely more democratic than Marshall's proposal.

Marshall (right) relied on Skinner (left) to leave seamen isolated.

complete failure of the Federation of Labour and the Labour Party to come to the defence of the seamen. When threats of deregistration were made, several days before it occurred, the Federation of Labour did not protest, and the Labour Party leadership's only comment was that the government was not being firm enough!

Afterwards the Labour leaders said that the seamen had brought it upon themselves, and there was not a word of criticism of the Shipping and Seamen Amendment Bill from the opposition in parliament, even though several unions had passed motions strongly condemning its repressive character.

After Labour had allowed the Bill through parliament without opposition, the president of the deregistered Seamen's Union, Bill Martin, sent the following telegram to the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Kirk:

"As a union which acted as one of the midwives in 1916 at the birth of the New Zealand Labour Party, we thank you and your party for acting as the pall-bearers in the interment of the New Zealand Seamen's Union (deregistered).

"You and your party not only helped dig the grave but your total lack of opposition to the leg iron legislation being imposed on New Zealand seamen proves that you and your party are completely out of touch

with the working people of New Zealand and no longer deserve trade union support.

"Political expediency always proves wrong in the long run."

The grave weaknesses of the Federation of Labour and the Labour Party have been revealed by the defeat of the Seamen's Union, which could not have been accomplished if they had stood firm.

In addition, the deregistration exposes once again the crippling effect of the dependence of the trade union movement on the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act. This Act not only restricts unions' ability to engage in direct action, but places them in a weak position in the structure set up to resolve disputes.

The Act states that all disputes involving registered unions are to go before a Conciliation Commission, consisting of equal representatives of employers and labour. Thus a handful of employers have equal representation with thousands of workers. But if the Commission cannot arrive at a settlement, the dispute goes before the Arbitration Court, which consists of an employers' representative, a workers' representative, and an "impartial" judge. Thus the workers are outnumbered by two to one. The Court's decision becomes law, binding on all workers and employ-



Marshall (right) relied on Skinner (left) to leave seamen isolated.

ers in the industry.

The I.C.G.A. Act has preserved many small unions in existence, and after compulsory unionism in industries covered by registered trade unions was introduced by an amendment to the Act in 1936, the number of unionised workers in New Zealand more than doubled. However it has been successful in its main aim: to curtail the militant trade unions by giving the impression that a process of justice, not a balance of strength, produced steadily increasing wages.

Since the Arbitration Court's 1968 decision to grant a nil wage order, however, unions have increasingly sought to bypass it and establish wage rates by direct bargaining. The much bigger increases gained since 1968 forced the Tory government to look for a new solution, which they found in the Stabilisation of Remuneration (wage freeze) Act. However this is only a temporary measure and the partial break the trade union movement has made with the arbitration system is proving to be a continuing headache for employers. The labour movement needs to proceed to abolish the restrictive I.C.G.

A. Act altogether in order to allow unions to really develop their power of action. In such circumstances "deregistration" would be meaningless.

Thus it is disturbing to find at this time the President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, R.L. Hawke, returning from a recent visit to New Zealand full of praise for New Zealand's arbitration system. He favours a similar system for Australia, but thinks that penal provisions, as proposed in the McMahon governments revised Conciliation and Arbitration Act, are redundant in this scheme. However it took a letter from Mr Marshall to the Australian Minister for Labour and National Service, Mr. Lynch, to prove him wrong. Marshall wrote that the existence of penal provisions against unions had been very useful indeed.

From the point of view of preserving the freedom of action of the working class, the New Zealand arbitration system is not a model to be followed. The crushing of the Seamen's Union is an indication of how easily the employers can use it to weaken the power of the trade union movement.

PROJECT PRIMARY Peter Connor

The Primary branches of the Victorian Teachers' Union are mobilising round "Project Primary". District Committees are being established in all primary schools to work out guidelines for action in 1972.

The movement aims to ensure that "decisions by authority on V.T.U. requests will be made in an atmosphere strongly influenced by intense public interest in and concern for primary education."

The founding circular goes on:-

"The Victorian Teachers' Union aims to ensure that:-

- * every child in primary school has maximum opportunity to build a sound foundation of learning;
- * every child in primary school is being taught by a confident, competent, happy teacher in pleasant surroundings

conductive to gaining basic skills and desirable attributes;

- * every primary school teacher finds in the primary division a career that is satisfying and rewarding in all respects."

"Project Primary" is to be hailed as a step forward. Traditionally, the Primary Sections of the V.T.U. have been regarded as the most conservative elements within a conservative Union. The activists mobilised by the movement, even with this set of modest humanitarian demands, will quickly run smack into the same brick wall that greeted secondary school teachers when they took up the same kinds of demands - the social system we call capitalism.

The powers-that-be are simply unconcerned about improving inequalities in education or conditions in the classroom. Where is the profit in education? Capitalism only needs a certain amount of highly-educated people-equality in

THE C.P.A. & PALESTINE Sol Salby

The Communist Party of Australia has recently published a series of pamphlets stating its position on current issues. Probably the most telling pamphlet is the one covering the Middle East conflict. This subject happens to be quite a sensitive one owing to the presence of Zionists within the CPA ranks. As such the Communist Party falls back on its old tricks of distortions, evasions and the use of liberal arguments reminiscent of bourgeois academicians.

A good example of the above is presented in the following paragraph: "Following the tragic fate of the Jews in Europe during the Second World War, the United Nations with the active support of the socialist countries established in 1948 (sic) two independent states in the area-Israel and a Palestinian Arab state. Reactionary Arab feudal forces, armed and advised by the British, refused to accept this and launched the 1948-49 war".

Let us compare the facts with this CPA version. The United Nations decision on the establishment of two states (the partition plan) took place on the 29th of November, 1947 (not 1948). No Palestinian Arab state was ever established neither in 1948 or any other year. It shows incredible naivety on the part of the CPA to believe that the United Nations was responsible for the formation of the state of Israel rather than Zionist military forces. As for the war, apparently the Communist Party does not consider any of the military moves against Palestinian cities and villages before the regular Arab armies invaded worthwhile mentioning (occupation of Tiberias, Beisan, Sapad, Acre and Jaffe went on from April 13. The Arab armies didn't retaliate until May 15th).

Nor did the CPA consider terrorist attacks like the one on Deir Yassin during the previous year to be part of the war. As for the role of the so-called socialist states the pamphlet makes no attempt to analyse the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its motivation in betraying the Palestinian people.

There are other crucial omissions in this paragraph. It does not mention the complete opposition of the Palestinian people and their rejection of the United Nations partition plan nor the extremely inequitable terms of the partition itself.

Of course this falsifying of the facts is complimented by their completely counter-revolutionary position in opposing all the Palestinian organisations plans and refusal to support the Palestinian revolutionary struggle. They refer to the position of all the liberation fronts including the revolutionary Marxist Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine as "incorrect, unreal and harmful". This contrasts very strangely with the CPA position of being an "official" sponsor of the Australian Palestinian Solidarity Committee (in both Victoria and NSW).

The CPA considers the "principled socialist approach" to be "full acceptance by both sides of the U.N.O. resolution on the Middle East of November 1967 in which would provide the only basis for a solution." This resolution does not recognise the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination-as a matter of fact it does not even recognise the Palestinian people at all. Elsewhere there are references to a Palestinian state but it is left vague as to whereabouts such a state could

education, particularly for working-class children, is wasteful. Why, they may even learn enough to see through a social system where greed debases and erodes all meaningful human relationships-and then look round for something

NIUGINI ACTION

JIM WELSH

Recent developments in Niugini confirm Australia's role as an imperialist "power". The United Party of Papua/New Guinea (the ultra conservative majority party in the House of Assembly) recently sent a 4 man delegation (3 whites, 1 uncle Tom) to Canberra. Their purpose was to enlist the aid of the Australian Army to help restore and reinforce 'law and order'. According to the 'Age' (23/12/71) the Minister for External Territories, Mr. Bames reacted 'favourably' to the request.

The Minister for the Army, Mr Peacock told the delegation that he would visit the territory in January to see for himself. The aid envisaged by the delegation is 60 soldiers for two years.

Already Australian National Servicemen and one third of the Army Education Corps are stationed in Niugini. There is no reason to suppose that if the people showed any opposition to the "development" planned by the United Party and business and plantation interests, that this number of troops could escalate



be formed, unless such a state is going to be formed in the Gaza strip and the West bank. Needless to say many Zionists including some in the Israeli cabinet have been more generous.

No Palestinian, no matter how reactionary or right wing, has accepted this solution.

Last year when we wamed in Direct Action about the CPA falling into the trap of "radical" zionism we received a protest letter from Denis Freney informing us. "I am in agreement with Sol when he speaks of the nature of Zionism (including Left Zionism)". [Direct Action 8 July 1971]. However opinion must be divided on this question as the official pamphlet says: "...In general it can be said that the current vogue of treating all Zionists as one reactionary mass is incorrect and sectarian."...



Young Palestinian guerrillas.

better. Certainly, their teachers are in such a position right now.

UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR TEACHERS' STRUGGLES TO IMPROVE OUR EDUCATION SYSTEM!

rapidly-the thing the McMahon Government and the United Party want is the wealth of N.G. shared by all its people.

Conzinc-Rio-Tinto Australia (CRA) following its land grabs in Bougainville and the tax-exempt deals it established with the Government has decided to buy shares in Parliament. In a fit of New Year "generosity" it has given the United Party and the Peoples Progress Party \$3,000 each and has offered the Pangu Pati \$3,000. The money is for campaign funds for this year's election. By these means CRA hopes to set a precedent for buying favours from a future Government.

On February 9th, the intimidation of the Tolai people of New Britain reaches its climax when 18 Tolais are tried for the murder of the local white overlord, Jack Emmanuel. The Government would like to use the trial to implicate and discredit the Mataungan Association and leaders such as Tammur and Kaputin. (Already alligations have been made by Administration stooge Ellis under Parliamentary privilege that Tammur is implicated in the Emmanuel killing) and also to soften up the populace for "law and order" tactics.

It is essential that the Tolai 18 in particular and the Mataungan Association in general get an overwhelming show of solidarity from the Australian left.

DEMONSTRATE FEBRUARY 4th

Brisbane Sydney Melbourne Adelaide Hobart.

Free the Tolai 18!
Solidarity with the Mataungan Association!
Self-determination for the Niugini peoples!
No Australian troops for Niugini!

Finally the CPA is guilty of distorting the position of revolutionary tendencies (which to the position of the revolutionary Palestinian organisations themselves). They interpret the position demanding the destruction of the State of Israel as an arm of Zionism to mean the complete genocide of the Hebrew people. Their argument considers only the subjective position of Israeli Jews in supporting their government, completely disregarding their objective condition of being themselves victims of Zionism.

The distortions and evasions in this current pamphlet are quite indicative of the CPA solution. In an attempt to reject Stalinism they move across to the opposite pole and become downright liberals. Revolutionary socialists on the other hand should give unconditional support to the Palestinian people and their revolution.

The year 1971 opened with good news from Peru: the release from prison of Hugo Blanco. The Trotskyist peasant leader, who had been imprisoned since May 1963, was released December 22 as part of an amnesty decree by the government of General Velasco Alvarado.

Less than nine months later, Blanco was suddenly exiled to Mexico by the same military government, which disregarded its "leftist" image as it moved to smash a teachers' strike.

These events in Peru were in many respects characteristic of 1971. Sharpening conflicts and sudden mass struggles around the world forced governments, parties, and individuals to take stands, define their real positions clearly, and act accordingly.

The Bengali Freedom Struggle

On March 25, a war for independence erupted in East Bengal when Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan unleashed his troops in a genocidal assault upon the largely unarmed population.

To maintain domination of the Bengalis and a reactionary Pakistan "united" on the basis of religion, Yahya did not hesitate at a bloodbath. More than 10,000,000 refugees—predominantly Hindus—poured into India.

The Mukti Bahini (Liberation Forces) of Bangla Desh soon demonstrated their ability to harass Yahya's occupying army.

The struggle tended inevitably to challenge the leadership of the bourgeois Awami League. Moreover, the prospect of a triumphant revolution in East Bengal frightened the Indian capitalists. An independent Bangla Desh could inspire a separatist movement in West Bengal and other parts of India.

These considerations led the Gandhi government to increase military pressures on the Pakistani army, culminating in a full-scale invasion of East Bengal at the beginning of December. The aim of the invasion was to establish an Awami League-dominated government under Indian tutelage in Dacca.

One of the first casualties of cross fire in Bangla Desh was the claim of the Chinese government to be a consistent supporter of national liberation movements.

The Maoist government provided Yahya with arms and a \$20,000,000 interest-free loan, besides serving as the chief international propagandist in defense of Yahya's genocidal war.

In backing Yahya, Mao found himself in alliance with Richard Nixon, whose support for the Pakistani butcher was equally firm, although somewhat less brazen. After March 25, the U.S. State Department declared an "embargo" on arms aid to Pakistan. It was later revealed by members of Congress, however, that the U.S. had continued to ship millions of dollars' worth of military supplies to Yahya.

For the Soviet bureaucracy, the Bengali struggle represented nothing but an opportunity to form an alliance with the Indian bourgeoisie. The Soviet-Indian "Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation," signed on August 9, provided Indira Gandhi with moral and material support for her attempt to abort the Bengali revolution.

Nixon's Trip to Peking

In exchange for favors received, Yahya Khan played a role in helping to arrange the planned meeting between his two chief allies. On July 15 Nixon and the Chinese government simultaneously announced that Nixon would visit Peking "before May 1972." (The visit was later set to begin on February 21.)

One immediate result of the announcement was the dropping of U.S. opposition to the admission of China to the United Nations, a position that had become increasingly untenable in any event. While Nixon was displeased by the October 25 vote of the General Assembly to expel Chiang Kai-shek's representative, it was a small enough price to pay for the opportunity to engage Mao in the day-to-day details of preserving the status quo under the banner of "peaceful co-existence."

In the United States, the July 15 announcement was received with elation by the ruling class, which saw it—correctly—as a blow to the antiwar struggle. The communications media were flooded with propaganda about the step toward peace that had allegedly been taken. Nixon was immediately relieved from the pressure to respond to the offer made by the National Liberation Front at the Paris talks to release American prisoners in exchange for an early withdrawal date.

Nixon quite deliberately exploited the hopes aroused by the rapprochement, sending his adviser Henry Kissinger on a second trip to Peking immediately prior to the November 6 international antiwar demonstrations.

Continued Aggression in Indochina

In Indochina, Nixon had need of any help he could get. His strategy throughout the year was to try to appease antiwar sentiment in the U.S. by deception while simultaneously escalating the destruction of Indochina.

In January, thousands of Saigon troops, supported by massive U.S. air raids, made a bloody attempt to open Cambodia's Highway 4, the link between Phnompenh and the port of Kompong Som. While Highway 4 was duly proclaimed "cleared," it in fact remained virtually impassable throughout the year.

At the end of January, the fighting shifted to southern Laos as 30,000 Saigon troops invaded that country behind armored columns and aboard U.S. helicopters. This major new escalation of the war produced a series of warnings from the Chinese government implying that it might be forced to intervene.

This prospect raised a very genuine alarm in sections of the U.S. ruling class, which began to fear that Nixon was letting matters slip out of control.

Less than two months after the invasion was launched, Thieu's army was driven from Laos in the worst defeat imperialism had suffered in Indochina since the Tet offensive of 1968. Representatives of the Saigon regime admitted casualties equal to 25 percent of the invasion force—which consisted of the most "elite" units—and less biased observers put the figure at 40 percent or higher.

While the Laos invasion was still in progress, the *New York Times* obtained a copy of a secret Pentagon study of the Indochina war. The *Times* began publishing excerpts from the "Pentagon Papers" on June 12, but was temporarily prevented from continuing by the Nixon administration until the paper won a Supreme Court decision.

The Pentagon Papers provided a detailed refutation of the lies used by Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon to justify U.S. aggression in Indochina, and served to spur the growth of antiwar sentiment.

This embarrassment was followed by an electoral farce in Saigon in which Nguyen Van Thieu emerged as the only candidate.

At a November 12 news conference, Nixon publicly proclaimed his intention to maintain an occupation army

in South Vietnam as long as Thieu needed it, and threatened to escalate the air war still further.

Ten days later, 45,000 Saigon troops were sent into eastern Cambodia in an unsuccessful attempt to relieve 20,000 of Lon Nol's troops, who were strung out along Highway 6 between Phnompenh and Kompong Thom. On December 1 and 2, Nol's forces were driven in disorder from two towns along the highway. A week later, liberation forces were attacking Phnompenh's southern defenses, and appeared to be drawing a ring about the capital.

Deepening Opposition to the War

On March 31, an army court sentenced First Lieutenant William L. Calley Jr. to life in prison for the mass murder of civilians in My Lai three years earlier. In the United States, the verdict was greeted with a storm of protest, based on the belief that Calley alone was being held

tests swept New Zealand in which more than 32,000 participated, many of them unionists marching under their own banners.

Equally massive demonstrations were staged in Australia on June 10. An estimated 100,000 marched in Melbourne, and thousands more demonstrated in every state.

On August 18, the New Zealand and Australian governments announced that they would withdraw their combat troops from Vietnam by the end of the year. While both said that they would maintain "adviser" status in the country, the announcement was a major victory for the antiwar movement. A striking confirmation of the power of mass mobilizations, that had supported the governing Nixon-Mao diplomacy, on November 6 NPAC was able to stage mass protests in seventeen cities across the United States. Once again, the protests were backed by solidarity demonstrations in Europe and Canada. The Canadian demonstrations reached their peak on November 3, as more than 100,000 persons across the country protested against the war and the U.S. chitka nuclear bomb test carried out by Nixon on November 6.

The independent mass demonstrations became the vehicle for the

front, he said, would not attack GIs who refused to fight against the Vietnamese.

Rebellion and Repression in Ceylon

On March 16, the coalition government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike—in which the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samakama party and the pro-Moscow Communist party are junior partners—declared a state of emergency. The emergency regulations were in an effort to decapitate the leadership of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front), a leftist youth organization that had supported the governing Nixon-Mao diplomacy, on November 6 NPAC was able to stage mass protests in seventeen cities across the United States. Once again, the protests were backed by solidarity demonstrations in Europe and Canada. The Canadian demonstrations reached their peak on November 3, as more than 100,000 persons across the country protested against the war and the U.S. chitka nuclear bomb test carried out by Nixon on November 6.

On April 4, the JVP responded to the repression by attacking police stations throughout the island. The ferocity of Bandaranaike's suppression of the rebellion indicated the mass arrests of more than 16,000 youths—most of them still confined

pay the expenses of the counterrevolution, and gave the Ceylon regime a \$30,000,000 interest-free loan.

The government, however, felt too insecure to relax its police measures even months later. On November 25, Bandaranaike told parliament: "The restoration of civil liberties, such as the holding of public meetings, is not possible right now, because the leaders of the young students and workers, presently under detention, have many followers outside prison."

Growth of Reaction in the Middle East

On January 8, the "Hashemite Negro," King Hussein, launched the first of several offensives aimed at completing the liquidation of the Palestinian resistance begun in the September 1970 civil war.

A war of attrition continued throughout the year, with repeated attacks on guerrilla bases. In June, it was reported that Hussein's forces had joined the Israelis in firing on commando units entering or leaving Israeli-occupied territory.

The weapons directed against the fedayeen were primarily American. In the ten months following September 1970, Nixon provided Hussein with a minimum of \$30,000,000 in arms. Even more ominous was a report published by the *Christian Science Monitor* that a team of U.S. army "advisers" was working with Hussein's troops.

Hussein's efforts to liquidate the fedayeen were intended to clear the way for a "political" settlement with Zionism—one perhaps involving the es-

Union, the country's only legal political party. Ninety-one persons, including Vice President Aly Sabry and Minister of War Mohammed Fawzi, were arrested and brought to trial.

At the same time that Sadat opened his purge, the government of General Nimeiry in the Sudan outlawed all mass organizations except his proposed "Sudanese Socialist Union." On July 19, Nimeiry was arrested in a coup by a former government minister who had been dismissed as a "Communist sympathizer."

The new regime, however, was overthrown within three days by Sudanese troops flown from Egypt under the command of Egyptian officers. Once back in power, Nimeiry quickly carried out executions of leaders of the Communist party, which had supported the coup although it appears that it was not actually involved in its preparation.

With the temporary decline in the danger from the Palestinian revolutionists, the Zionist regime found itself confronted by another threat. Israeli "Black Panthers"—Sephardic Jews—staged a series of protests against the racial discrimination they suffer in Israel. Their demand that government funds be spent on improving Israeli society rather than encouraging immigration struck directly at the ideological basis of Zionism.

African Colonial Regimes Tighten Their Hold

On November 24, the racist minority government that oppresses the 5,000,000 Africans in Zimbabwe won recognition for "Rhodesian" independence from the British government. The agreement between Ian Smith and the British Foreign Secretary will, when ratified, serve the British and United States governments with the pretext for complete abandonment of the economic sanctions decreed six years earlier by the United Nations.

Aside from Smith himself, the most enthusiastic supporter of the agreement was South African Premier John Vorster, who sees a white-ruled Rhodesia as a buffer state between apartheid South Africa and Black nationalism in the states to the north. During the year, Vorster provided evidence of the sharpening contradictions inside South Africa by stepping up the persecution of all sources of opposition.

In February, thirty members of the Unity Movement were arrested in countryside raids. Fourteen were indicted under the notorious Terrorism Act, but before the trial opened one had been tortured to death by the police. The repression extended even to white liberal critics, with the Anglican dean of Johannesburg being sentenced to five years in prison for the "crime" of aiding families of political prisoners.

In Chile there were ominous signs of rightist forces beginning to mobilize against the reformist Allende government as the year ended, with street demonstrations by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces reminiscent of the mobilization that preceded the 1964 military coup in Brazil.

Repression and Reformism in Latin America

General Velasco's exiling of Hugo Blanco and the leaders of the Peruvian teachers' strike was one expression of the inability of the "military reformist" regimes in Latin America to solve any of the basic social contradictions of their societies. On November 9, Velasco's "revolutionary" rhetoric gave way to the brutal suppression of striking miners, in which twenty-nine were killed.

Another "leftist" military regime was toppled in Bolivia in August by a military uprising supported by the ultrarightist Falange Socialista Boliviana (Bolivian Socialist Falange) and the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) of former president Victor Paz Estenssoro.

General Juan José Torres, who had

been installed as president in October 1970 in an attempt to head off a mass mobilization that prevented a right-wing coup at the time, fled to the Peruvian embassy early in the morning of August 22. Two of the leaders of the "rightist" uprising had been arrested and then freed by Torres after unsuccessful coup attempts in January and March.

A cause for alarm to the defenders of capitalism was the formation in February of the Asamblea Popular (People's Assembly). While the Asamblea included representatives of bourgeois parties and was prevented by the reformists of the Communist party from clearly posing the issue of who should rule, it nevertheless had the potential of developing into a soviet. Because of the lack of a mass revolutionary party, this potentiality was not realized.

In Argentina the military regime indicated that it was seeking a way to return the country to civilian rule without touching off a mass uprising in the process. After a general strike in Córdoba in March, General Alejandro Lanusse, the power behind his predecessor Roberto Levingston, took control in his own name.

Lanusse quickly legalized the bourgeois political parties and promised elections in 1973. Recognizing the need for support of sectors of the working class for such a transition, Lanusse also opened up negotiations with the followers of former dictator Juan Perón.

In the Dominican Republic, the police-backed terrorist organization "La Banda" brought the death rate of opponents of Joaquin Balaguer's rule to a level higher than during the regime of Trujillo. The terror was, if anything, even worse in Guatemala, where two right-wing groups competed in assassinating opponents of President Carlos Arana Osorio.

In Mexico, President Luis Echeverría on January 26 freed seventeen political prisoners held since 1968. Another sixteen were released in March. These actions, however, were hardly a move toward liberalization. On March 16, the government unveiled a "Communist plot" supposedly involving the Soviet Union, East Germany, North Korea, and China. And on June 16, Los Halcones (the Hawks), a right-wing goon squad apparently patterned on those in the Dominican Republic and Guatemala, made their public appearance in a brutal assault on a student demonstration.

In Chile there were ominous signs of rightist forces beginning to mobilize against the reformist Allende government as the year ended, with street demonstrations by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces reminiscent of the mobilization that preceded the 1964 military coup in Brazil.

In face of deliberate sabotage of production by the bourgeoisie in both the industrial and agricultural sectors, the Unidad Popular (People's Unity) government sought to "compromise" by restraining the struggles of workers and peasants. In some cases, this resulted in the outright repression of peasants attempting to seize unused land.

The Chilean example produced its imitation in Uruguay in the form of the Frente Amplio (Broad Front). Despite its ability to mobilize 500,000 persons in a militant demonstration six days before the November 30 elections, the Broad Front polled only about 20 percent of the vote. Not the least of the Broad Front's problems compared with Chile was the greater relative weight of the Communist party, which used its influence to ensure that the candidates and program of the popular front did not step outside the bounds of bourgeois respect-



A YEAR OF TURMOIL

guilty of crimes for which higher-ups were also responsible.

The protest reached such proportions that Nixon himself intervened, saying he would personally review the findings once all military appeals had been completed.

The uproar over the Calley case typified Nixon's need to tread cautiously in the face of deepening antiwar sentiment around the world.

One of the most massive expressions of this sentiment yet seen occurred on April 24. In the United States, marches organized by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) brought hundreds of thousands into the streets of Washington and San Francisco. Estimates of the total number of demonstrators ranged from 800,000 to more than 1,000,000.

Impressive solidarity actions on the same day brought out tens of thousands in Copenhagen, London, Paris, Rome, Montreal, and Toronto. On April 30, New Zealanders staged their largest antiwar protest, as more than 35,000 marched in cities and towns throughout the country.

On July 30, a second wave of pro-

ginnings of participation in the antiwar movement by organized labor in the United States. While such participation consisted primarily of endorsements from union officials rather than the mobilization of the ranks, the endorsements provided the antiwar movement with an important opening to approach and involve millions of workers.

The year 1971 also saw a continuing spread of antiwar sentiment and demonstrations within another sector of the population with the power to force an end to the war—the GIs.

Avoidance of combat by GIs has become so common that it is now freely discussed in the bourgeois press. On April 26, a spokesman for the Provisional Revolutionary Government's delegation at the Paris talks announced a policy of fraternization with GIs. The National Liberation

concentration camps—and execution without trial were the means used to put down the JVP, with some international assistance.

Yahya Khan and Indra Gandhi forgot their differences long enough to join in sending gunboats to Bandaranaike's aid. President Tito of Yugoslavia sent artillery to shell the jungle retreats of the JVP. The Soviet bureaucracy provided armored cars, helicopters, jet planes, technicians, and instructors. Mao Tsetung generously decided that the Chinese people would

establishment of a rump state for Palestinians on the West Bank of the Jordan River. His task was made easier by a rightward shift in several Arab governments.

On November 13, 1970, the Syrian government, which had been the only Arab government to provide the fedayeen with material aid in September, was overthrown by a coup.

In May, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, claiming that there had been an "attempted coup," launched a purge of left Nasserites in the Arab Socialist

with GIs. The National Liberation

LATROBE VALLEY POLLUTION

Fresh air no longer exists in the Latrobe Valley.

People gradually become used to breathing air that stinks, to the extent that they only notice the difference when they go to, or return from somewhere where the air is cleaner. The Latrobe Valley's natural environment is slowly being destroyed. The air and water for instance are both being gradually rendered unfit to support many forms of life.

Anyone who lives in Melbourne should try taking a drive one weekend down the Princes Highway. If the wind is blowing from the east, wind your window down just before Warragul and catch a whiff of the stink. The rotten egg smell comes from the Australian Paper

plans to install precipitators on their coal fired boiler stacks, and the output from their chemical recovery furnaces is to be doubled in the next few years.

There is another aspect to atmospheric pollution which could eventually prove more serious than the heavy fall-out of dust, ash and chemical vapours; this is thermal pollution. In the next ten years the Latrobe Valley will be more affected by thermal pollution than any other part of Australia. The harmful effects of smoke, ash and chemicals are reasonably well known today even if they are by no means fully understood.

However thermal pollution is not so well known, and yet it poses a serious threat to some highly sensitive plant and animal

made construction of these towers necessary. Apart from thermal pollution, large amounts of industrial effluent are finding their way into the Latrobe River. Oil and other petroleum products seep into the river from all the valley's industries, but not very often in large quantities. On the other hand A. P. M.'s pulp mill at Maryvale produces thousands of gallons of effluent per day. A sizeable book could be written about the chemistry of these wastes alone.

The least harmful are bark effluents which are simply water stained by wood saws and resins. These however constitute only about 20% of the pulp mill's effluent. A wide range of sodium and sulphurous lignates make up another 70%. These

Much aquatic plant and animal life has already been destroyed. Further destruction will disrupt so many natural biological cycles that all life processes in the valley would be affected. Trees and grass would die, along with nearly every other living thing. The effect of not taking action is virtually the total loss of the Latrobe Valley and everything in it within 40 to 50 years.

Unfortunately neither the state nor privately owned industries which have created this enormous problem are prepared to face up to it, much less overcome it. Under pressure they have expended some money and resources on specific problem areas which are causing extreme irritation. In most cases however only the symptoms and not the problem itself have been treated. For example A. P. M. made a profit after tax, from their pulp and paper activities alone, of \$12,560,000 in 1971. Against this at Maryvale they have spent \$190,000 over three years on effluent treatment and intend to spend \$12,000 next year on smoke and dust emission monitors. Two points need to be made here: firstly, A. P. M.'s profits show clearly that it is not putting sufficient effort into solving the serious pollution problems it is partly responsible for creating. Secondly, that although \$190,000 has been spent on a new effluent treatment system, chemical tests have proved that effluent treated by this system is very little better than the raw effluent previously being discharged into the Latrobe River. Also the \$12,000 A. P. M. is spending on smoke and dust emission monitors is not going to cut down smoke and dust emission, only measure it. It would also seem that this equipment is being installed to prevent A. P. M. from being prosecuted, rather than for any humanitarian reason.

Legislation was introduced in 1971 making such monitors compulsory. Both state and private industry are quick to publicise any expenditure they make on pollution control, but their enthusiasm for such "non-profit making" activities is actually very low. State owned industry would be expected to give a lead in this field. It is true that the S. E. C. has spent more than most private industries. But this has been limited solely to the installation of modern electrostatic precipitators on all power station furnace stacks. Ask one of the S. E. C.'s public guides whether burning all that coal could cause pollution. His stock answer is that with modern precipitators the power stations will be "completely pollution free". Tremendous pollution problems are staring the S. E. C.'s top managers in the face and yet so little has been done and such big lies told to cover it up.

The truth is that the men at the top of the S. E. C. are frightened, and they are frightened because the social system in which we live has no way of coping with this problem. After all most industry in Australia is privately owned. It does not operate to keep the air clean or to keep the rivers pure. It operates in order to provide its owners with a profitable investment. In a word it operates to fulfill capitalist objectives. It is really out of the question for such enterprise to divert 20 to 30% of their resources into projects aimed at preserving our natural environment. However this is the sort of effort required if we are going to survive not only in the Latrobe Valley, but eventually in the whole world.

To overcome the tremendous problems industrial pollution now presents, the aims and objectives of all industry must be completely changed. The profit motive will have to be subordinated to other more important priorities which involve the survival of the human race itself.

There is no possibility of revolutionary changes such as these being made within the framework of a capitalist system. This is simply another irreconcilable contradiction of capitalism - a contradiction that can only be solved by workers control of all industry, in short by a socialist revolution.

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inter continental press

plina women marched through the streets of Manila to demand equality.

The demand for unrestricted access to abortion was a major issue for the feminist movement in the United States, Canada, and much of Europe. Hundreds of prominent women in France and West Germany challenged laws against abortion by signing a statement that they had had illegal abortions.

International demonstrations for the right to abortion were held November 20 in Canada, the U.S., England, France, and Australia.

An indication of the growth of the movement in the United States was the change in attitude exhibited by the two major capitalist parties, which began to drop their previous attitude of condescension and to look for ways to channel feminist sentiment into the swamp of capitalist politics.

In the Soviet Union, where women have formal legal equality, there were indications that the bureaucracy was preparing to outlaw abortion because of its concern over the falling birth-rate. This consideration led the slavish Communist parties of the United States and France to adopt reactionary positions opposing a woman's right to decide for herself whether or not she will bear a child.

The Crisis of Capitalist Economy

On August 15, Richard Nixon signed the death certificate of the international monetary system established at Bretton Woods at the end of World War II. That system, which gave international legal sanction to the supremacy of the dollar, had been hopelessly undermined by the spiraling inflation of the dollar and American capitalism's loss of competitive position relative to Western Europe and Japan.

By imposing a 10 percent import surcharge in an effort to force revaluation on its competitors - particularly West Germany and Japan - the U.S. ruling class opened the way to protectionist warfare for already saturated markets.

With the U.S., Great Britain, and Italy in the midst of recessions, and Japan on the brink of one, it was clear that the postwar economic boom was ended. The more or less controlled inflation that bourgeois economists hoped would prevent cyclical crises had destroyed the system of fixed exchange rates without being able to prevent recession. (In 1970, the U.S. had an inflation rate of 6 percent while an average of 25 percent of the industrial capacity was unused.)

In preparing to go to economic war with each other, the leading capitalist governments made it clear that they intended the brunt of the battle to be borne by their respective working classes. The ninety-day wage freeze and Nixon's "Phase Two" wage board in particular indicated the intention of U.S. capitalism to deprive its competitors of the advantage of higher wages in the United States. The harnessing of George Meany and other top union bureaucrats into the mechanism for driving down the living standards of American workers, however, created an opening for the emergence of a left wing in the union movement to fight in defense of wages and jobs.

The British bourgeoisie, with the aid of a significant section of the parliamentary Labour party, prepared for the coming storm by hastening to seek the cover of the Common Market. The bankruptcy of Rolls Royce in February presumably convinced any waververs who thought England could still "go it alone" with the Commonwealth.

It proved a good deal more difficult for the Heath government to convince the British working class to allow its hands to be tied as part of

the process of joining the Common Market. Opposition to the Industrial Relations Bill, which increases government control of the unions, was manifested in one-day general strikes March 1 and 18, each of which involved more than 1,000,000 workers - the largest political work stoppages since the general strike of 1926.

In Italy, there were signs that a section of the ruling class, which has less room for partial solutions than the American or British, had decided to back the neofascist Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement). The MSI was able to lead some of the protest in the south over the selection of regional capitals, and in the June 13-14 elections - covering primarily the southern part of the country - it received 13.9 percent of the vote.

In preparing for the economic battle, the Japanese bourgeoisie also had to contend with a high level of working-class combativity, as the spring wage-offensive demonstrated. In addition, the student radicalization continued to deepen. Particular struggles, such as the defense of farmers being dispossessed for the new Tokyo airport, appeared to win support from the public.

The Nixon administration made no secret in the weeks following August 15 that its prime target on the international plane was the yen, which it wanted revalued by as much as 20 or 25 percent. Such a revaluation would severely hamper the export ability of an economy already on a downswing.

There are few if any capitalist countries that will escape sharpened class conflicts as a result of the economic crisis. The New Zealand government testified to this at the beginning of November when it succeeded in smashing the Seamen's Union. The law used against the union is now being cited by the Liberal party government in Australia as a model for Australian legislation.

The Testing of Tendencies

The sharp clashes of 1971 provided a clearer than usual standard by which to judge the claims of the tendencies competing for working-class leadership.

For the Social Democracy, 1971 was the year the British Labour party helped take Britain into the Common Market, the year in which the Australian Socialist party won its absolute majority in parliament for the purpose of integrating the working class into the capitalist state, and the year in which the New Zealand Labour party criticized union-busting from the right.

The pro-Moscow Stalinist parties were nowhere able to rise above the level of reformism and opportunism, while the sharp right-turn of the Chinese government disillusioned those who believed that Maoism was a revolutionary current and appeared to set off a power struggle in Peking that resulted in the fall of Mao's heir apparent, Lin Biao.

Among the groups proclaiming allegiance to Trotskyism, the "International Committee" of Gerry Healy and Pierre Lambert flew to pieces under the impact of the Bolivian events.

Only the groups aligned with the Fourth International were consistently able to participate in, lead, and assemble cadres from the mass struggles of 1971 - a role sometimes acknowledged by hostile governments in the form of attempted repression. The growth of Trotskyism was symbolized by the May 16 Paris march of 30,000 commemorating the centennial of the 1871 Commune.

These cadres will now use the lessons they have learned to meet the tests that will be posed in the coming year on the road to the socialist revolution.

ability.

Thirteen years after the victory, revolutionary Cuba still remained an example for the oppressed of Latin America.

Fidel Castro's state visit to Chile in November was an important break in the long blockade maintained by Washington. Supporters of the Cuban revolution welcomed this encouraging sign. Nevertheless, Castro's tour appeared designed to ease mass pressures exerted against the Allende government. This was especially evident in some of Castro's speeches and remarks during the visit.

The Kremlin Tightens the Screws

The twenty-fourth congress of the Communist party, which met March 30-April 9, ratified a reversal in the limited easing of controls that had been granted to the masses in the years following Stalin's death. This was seen most clearly in the growing use of confinement in psychiatric prison-hospitals as a means of suppressing political dissent.

The fight against this vicious form of oppression became a major theme of samizdat literature, which continued to flourish despite all difficulties.

The unfavorable publicity created by the trials of thirty-four persons - thirty-two of them Jews - provided an example of why the bureaucracy prefers quieter methods of dealing with opposition. The thirty-four, whose trials were staged between December and June, were accused of varying degrees of complicity in a plot to hijack an airplane in June 1970.

While the Kremlin's propaganda made much of the defendants' Zionist beliefs, this aspect of the case only raised a far more embarrassing subject: the suppression of the national rights of minorities in the Soviet Union. The fact that many Soviet Jews feel they can preserve their national identity only by emigration to Israel exposed the bureaucracy itself as the major source of Zionism in the Soviet Union.

The twenty-fourth congress took place in the shadow of a workers' uprising in Poland that toppled Wladyslaw Gomulka from power and forced the government to grant significant economic concessions. Between mid-December and February, strikes and demonstrations shook Gdansk, Szczecin, and Lodz, and threatened to spread to Warsaw.

These events were presumably still fresh in the mind of Leonid Brezhnev, who emerged in 1971 as the Soviet party's supreme arbiter, when he journeyed to Prague in May for the long-delayed congress of the Czechoslovak Communist party. The gathering enthusiastically applauded Brezhnev's approval of the "normalization" - i.e., the reimposition of the Stalinist straitjacket on the country three years after the "Prague spring" was interrupted by Soviet troops.

There was a note of bravado in the bureaucrats' self-congratulations, however, for there were signs that sectors of Czechoslovak society - particularly the youth - retained their determination to fight for socialist democracy. The trial and sentencing of nineteen young "Trotskyists" in Prague for their propaganda activities against the bureaucracy indicated that the Husak regime is well aware of its lack of popularity.

National Struggles in the Developed Capitalist Countries

For the first time since the second world war, the concentration camp system was introduced in a Western country as a method of crushing mass political opposition. It was the British government, supposedly the most "civilized" and stable of the big capitalist powers, that resorted to this measure.

After a series of increasingly brutal attacks on the nationalist population of Northern Ireland, British troops in this imperialist fortress-state rounded up hundreds of alleged terrorists in pre-dawn raids August 9 on the Catholic ghettos.

A virtual insurrection of the nationalist people throughout the London-dominated enclave forced the British army to back off from its all-out assault on the ghetto communities. But smaller-scale raids were continuing at the end of the year in an apparent attempt to wear down the resistance. At the same time the British government was pressing the neocolonialist Dublin regime to cooperate in the repression of militant nationalist currents.

Despite the tightening noose of repression, however, the passive resistance of the nationalist community - the rent and tax strike - remains unbroken. And as the difficulties of the capitalists deepen both in Ireland and internationally, England's oldest colony threatens to become the focus of new and more powerful struggles against the system of exploitation that the Irish people have fought throughout all of modern history.

In the United States, there was a noticeable increase in nationalist activity in the Spanish-speaking domestic colony, particularly in the Chicano population of the Southwest and West. Opposition to the war in Indochina continued to be an important issue, with well over thirty Chicano Moratoriums having been held to date.

Perhaps even more significant was the growth of the Chicano independent political formation, La Raza Unida party (LRUP). The party has won governmental control in San Juan and Crystal City, Texas, and has won significant percentages of the vote elsewhere in Texas and in Los Angeles. In February, an Arizona LRUP was organized in Tucson, and on October 30 the Texas party voted to organize on a statewide basis for the 1972 elections.

The Black nationalist movement in the U.S., on the other hand, has yet to produce a viable political organization that can mobilize the masses of the ghetto. The year 1971 saw the continued fragmentation of the Black Panther party, which split into two wings behind Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver.

The deepening nationalist sentiment of oppressed minorities in the U.S. also found expression in the rebellion of prisoners - the major proportion of whom are Black or Spanish-speaking - against the brutal conditions under which they are forced to live. The mass slaughter September 13 of prisoners and hostages alike in the prison at Attica, New York, indicated the government's fear of this new revolutionary upsurge.

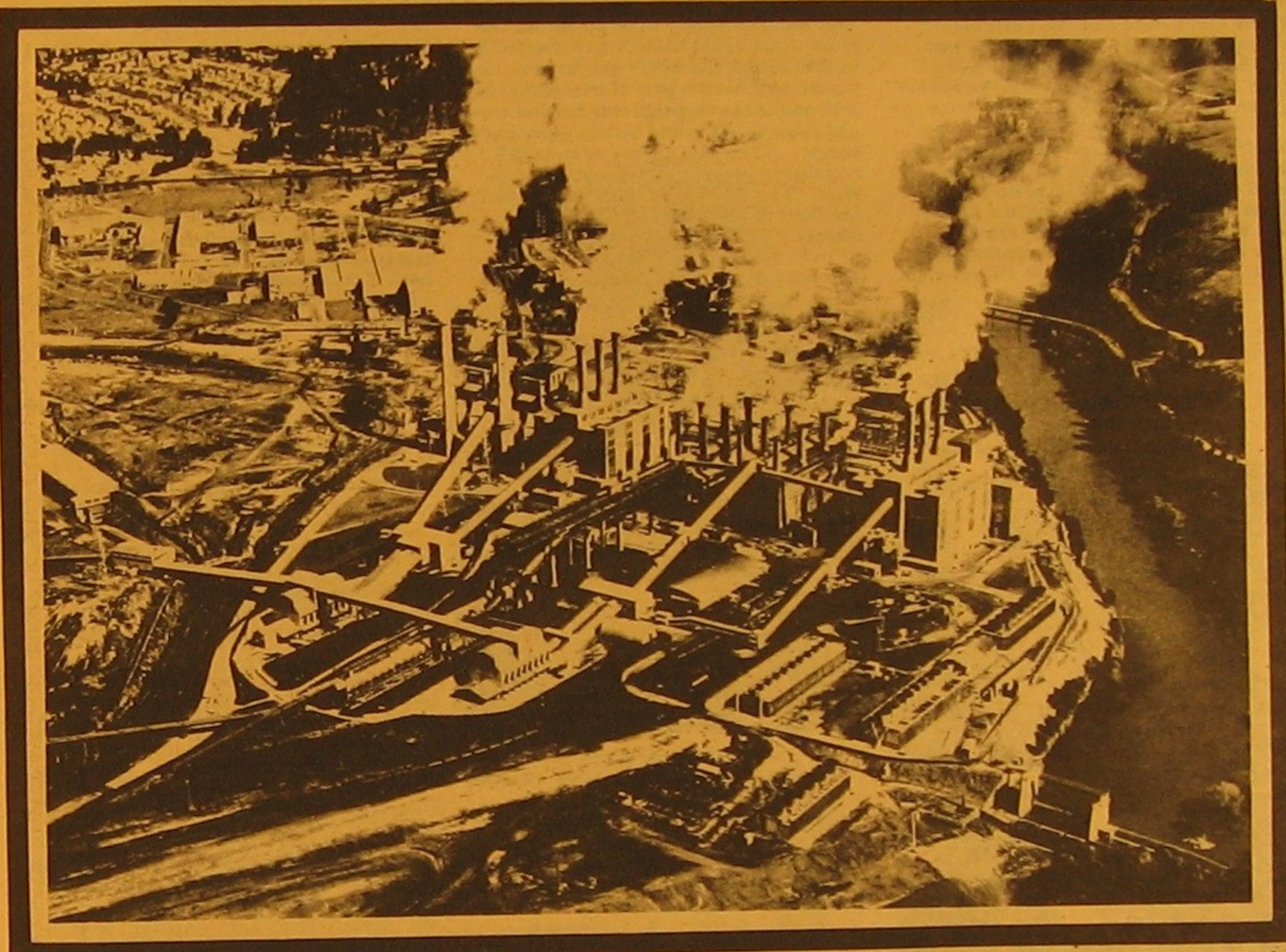
On October 16, the anniversary of Trudeau's imposition of the War Measures Act depriving Canadians of their civil liberties, more than 8,000 persons demonstrated in Montreal for a French Quebec. The refusal of the Québecois population to be intimidated showed that the nationalist movement retained its potential for struggle against English-Canadian and U.S. exploitation.

Widening Struggle for Women's Liberation

The revolt of the oppressed majority, women, saw a widening and deepening of the struggle in many different parts of the world.

On February 7, the Swiss government was dragged part way into the twentieth century when a referendum approved a women's suffrage amendment to the federal constitution.

In London on March 6, some 4,000 women demonstrated for equal pay, free nurseries, and the right to abortion. On March 15, hundreds of Fili-



Manufacturer's (A. P. M.) pulp mill at Maryvale; the faint smoky smell comes from the State Electricity Commission's (S. E. C.) power stations at Morwell and Yallourn. These plants are over twenty miles from Warragul and yet you do not need a very sensitive nose to smell them increasingly from here on. The large coal-fired power stations at Morwell and Yallourn burn 90,000 tons of brown coal a day. When the new Yallourn W. station is completed in 1973 this figure will increase to 110,000 tons a day.

At Maryvale pulp and paper mill chemical recovery furnaces burn 1,200 tons of black liquor a day. This liquor consists of sodium organic compounds many of which escape directly to the atmosphere. There are of course other sources of atmosphere pollution in the valley, but these have only a minor effect when compared to thermal and dust pollution from the S. E. C.'s power stations and chemical and dust pollution from A. P. M.'s pulp mill. The whole of the Latrobe Valley is covered continuously with a pall of smoke and dust.

For example dust settling out onto Traralgon was analysed by the Department of Health in 1970 and found to be 39% insoluble matter, 26% soluble matter 23% ash and 12% combustible matter. The Health Department have installed several dust level gauges in Moe, Morwell and Traralgon, and published figures giving the number of tons of dust per square mile per month that settles in the vicinity of each gauge.

In Moe figures as high as 24.2 tons per square mile have been recorded. In 1965, "Traralgon's peak year", readings of 14.4 tons per square mile were recorded. Since 1965 a public outcry has forced the Traralgon Cement Company to install electrostatic precipitators on its furnace stacks. Also the S. E. C. is being forced to install similar precipitators at Yallourn and Morwell. However A. P. M. have no

Yallourn Power Station Discharges 10,000 tons of steam and 200 tons of ash into the air every day. It also uses the full flow of the Latrobe River (right) for cooling purposes. The water temperature is increased by 12°C

species. Some of these species play vital roles in biological cycles essential to human life.

The brown coal in the Latrobe Valley is 50% water. Thus burning 90,000 tons of brown coal produces 45,000 tons of steam, which is discharged into the atmosphere.

At present this quantity of steam is discharged daily by the power stations in the valley. When Yallourn W comes into operation in 1973 a total of 110,000 tons of coal will be burnt daily. Consequently at this time 55,000 tons of steam per day will be discharged into the atmosphere. Heavy wet fogs which hang in the valley on most winters nights are caused by these enormous quantities of steam condensing. This is one aspect of thermal pollution.

Another important aspect of pollution in the Latrobe Valley is the poisoning of rivers and streams. Again the S. E. C. and A. P. M. are the main offenders. For many years the entire flow of the Latrobe river has been used to cool Yallourn power station. Since 1969 the entire flow of the Morwell River has been used to cool Hazelwood and Morwell power stations. This accounts for virtually the total water resources of the valley except for the public water supply. The Latrobe River below Yallourn is 12 degrees warmer than it is upstream - centigrade warmer than it is upstream - too warm to be used for further industrial cooling; consequently A. P. M. uses water from the public water supply reservoir at Moondarra to cool its generators. The new Yallourn W power station is to have two huge atmospheric cooling towers. These towers will dissipate heat from 14 million gallons of cooling water circulating hourly through the stations condensers. "Lack of an adequate supply of natural cooling water"

are produced in the pulping process and have properties ranging from tar to detergent-like substances. Some of them persist a foaming problem and in order to allow them to drain away defoaming chemicals are added. The remaining 10% of Maryvale's effluent consists of even more potent poisons such as caustic solutions, chlorine solutions and small quantities of mercury and mercuric compounds.

It should not come as a surprise to the reader to learn that the Latrobe River is virtually dead below the valley's industrial area. At present the productive capacity of nearly all the valley's industries is being increased. This will almost certainly lead to a further increase in all types of pollution; as a result the Gippsland lakes are in danger of being poisoned and the Latrobe Valley's natural ecosystem will be damaged further, if not destroyed.

The powerful industrial interests responsible for this situation are the only groups capable of taking effective remedial action. However the problem is so serious that token gestures, such as those presently being made, will have virtually no effect whatever. Instead values will have to change, and large-scale industrial reconstruction will be necessary. It might be said "You are exaggerating, it can't really be that bad". But the effect of not taking action must lead to a radical change in the whole ecosystem of the Latrobe Valley.

ATLANTEAN POST MORTEM

The recent Sydney bus strike was important for a number of reasons. The issues raised by the unionists fundamentally challenged the right of the bosses to run industry. The demand that the workers had a right to decide on the safety issue raised the whole question of workers control of industry. This was why it became essential for the Askin government to defeat the strike. The safety issue, and the fact that one man Atlantean meant intensification of the exploitation to which the bus workers are already subjected were the fundamental issues involved in the strike.

Nobody should hide from the fact that the Atlantean dispute has so far resulted in a costly stalemate for the bus workers, with the Askin government confident that it can turn that stalemate into a defeat.

It is also quite understandable that many bus workers are not confident of victory should the strike be turned on again. We all saw it begin with mass meetings in Sydney and Newcastle voting overwhelmingly in favour of it. But as time passed and the government appeared not to be weakening at all the inevitable happened: members of the union began to feel the economic strain, began to lose heart for the struggle and to become defeatist. They saw any prolongation of the strike as futile, and had sufficient numbers to vote down an executive resolution to continue the strike.

This was a blow for Pat Ryan, and the union as a whole. The congratulations of Askin to the bus workers for their "common sense" are testimony enough of that. And the Sydney Morning Herald on December 21 spoke on behalf of employers generally when it said that "the decision of the bus union membership to return to work under the 'Kirby' plan was a triumph for commonsense over the stubbornness and irresponsibility of the union leadership." They don't talk like that of real working class victories, like the smashing of the penal powers in the O'Shea struggle.

But let's set it in perspective: it was not a major defeat in the class war like the

1949 coal strike or the strike of the Mt. Isa miners in 1965. It was a minor defeat, and any force in a war with any reserve of strength can take a minor defeat.

We need to assess the strengths and weaknesses of both sides in the struggle, with the aim of hitting the enemy where he is weak with the strongest weapons the bus workers can use in the future.

Solidarity

This is always the main strength of any union, rather than its overall numerical weight. Some of the biggest unions in this country - notably the AWU - have a history of weakness when it comes to getting things for their members, while others, like the Seamen's Union, while being smaller have won great gains through militancy and 100 per cent solidarity.

That the bus workers have a solid union was shown by the fact that it could ensure that no buses ran at all for the duration, as long as the majority wished the strike to continue.

The Government's Main Strength

This was based on the following facts:

- 1) It was not losing money while the strike was on: it was the contrary, saving money.
- 2) It was not embarrassed by the lack of buses. People, made do with private cars etc. And Askin has made it clear in the past that he wants city transport to be mainly based on the private car - he doesn't give a damn about public

transport. (The latest cuts in peak hour services are further testimony of this.)

- 3) It could, with the full cooperation of its friends, the press barons, blame the union for the public's troubles. This despite the fact that the government provoked the strike.

The Union's Point of Weakness

This was the fact that the members, not the government, were losing money. As in any strike, the members could not go on indefinitely without seeking casual work, which is not readily available. Strike pay was nowhere near adequate, and the combination of the Christmas holiday period and no pay is bad in anyone's book. That is why the solidarity of the membership for the strike broke in favour of the Kirby plan.

It is obvious at this stage that the government is confident that in the course of the 12 months Kirby 'trial' period the drivers will learn to live with the Atlantean, helped along by their memories of the recent strike, and how it left them all back at square one. After all, another

So the main objective had to be for the Bus Union to extend the strike to other transport workers and/or other industries. It was the lack of success here that doomed the strike to failure. Ducker & Co. of the N.S.W. Labour Council must bear the main responsibility for this failure. With all transport workers out on strike (including Petrol drivers) a comparatively short strike could have been successful.

The other point of weakness of the government was the support that the safety issue had from the public. In spite of the vicious press campaign against the bus workers, this sympathy with their cause did not vanish.

This initial support of the public for the safety issue could have been extended by further action and better preparation for the struggle on the part of the union. A real political campaign was needed around other issues raised by the government action. There was plenty of time (15 months) to prepare and mount a campaign. The three weeks of the strike proved too short to alter the relationship of forces.

The issue that needed raising concerned

Sydney is at the moment heading straight into that sort of polluted, noisy, unsightly mess, with all its attendant evils of high individual stress, frequent smashes, etc. Ultimately, most of what people complain about in cities - air pollution, noise, oil slicks, etc. - is caused by cars.

The way forward is to divert public money being wasted at present on expressways like the Western Distributor - which divals only the pyramids in grandeur and uselessness - into public transport. In terms of shifting people, it has been calculated that a two track railway is the equivalent of six lanes of buses, which in turn are equivalent to TWENTY FOUR lanes of cars.

Hence the way out for Sydney is for the government to upgrade the transport system by investing heavily in modern buses and railways, so that any citizen can travel easily and comfortably, without waiting, between any two points of the city.

If the city is to be a decent place for people to live, it needs far more public transport workers in future than it now has. Consequently, the transport unions can and should make full propaganda use of the government's transport mess.

We believe that the future alternatives for bus workers are these:

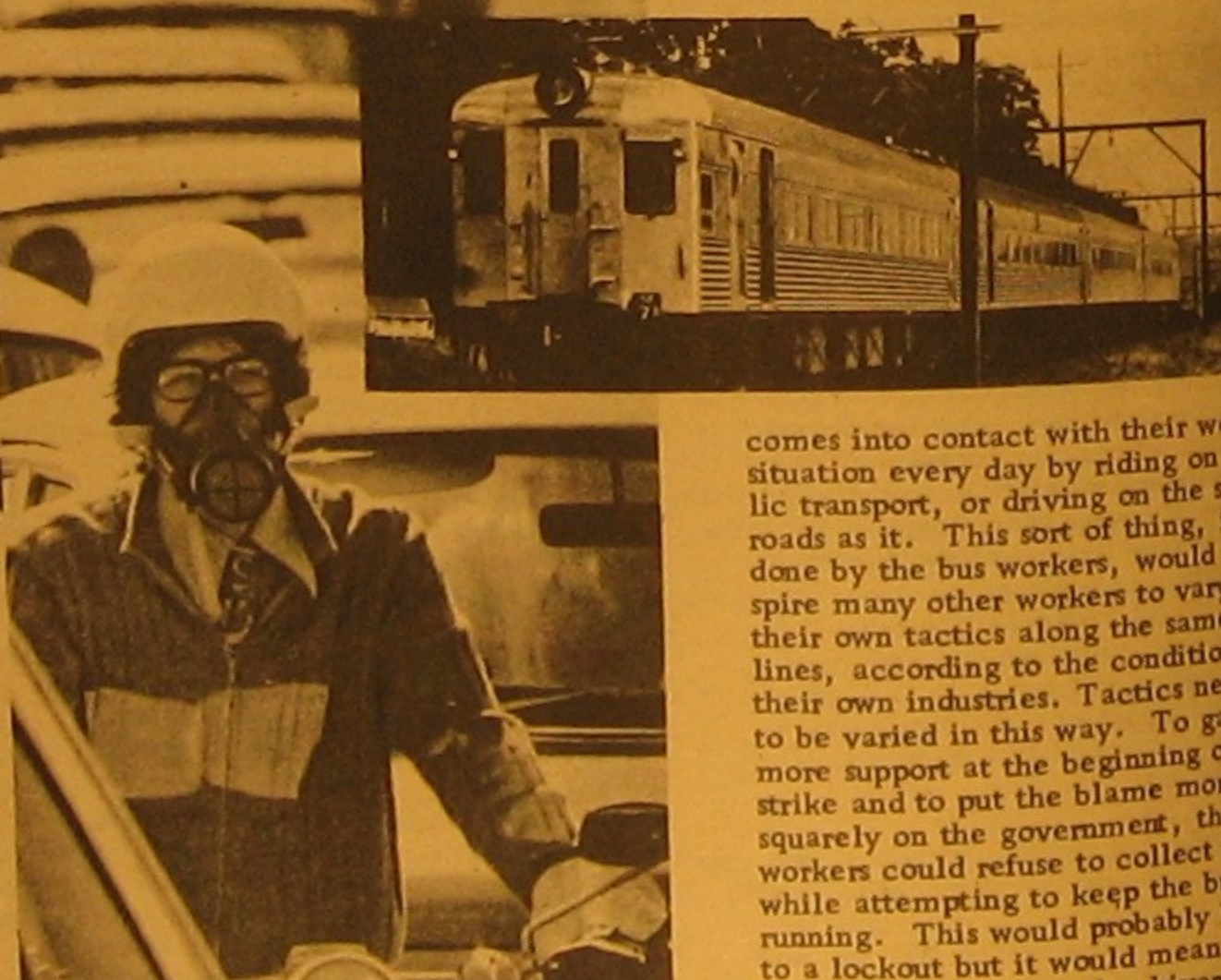
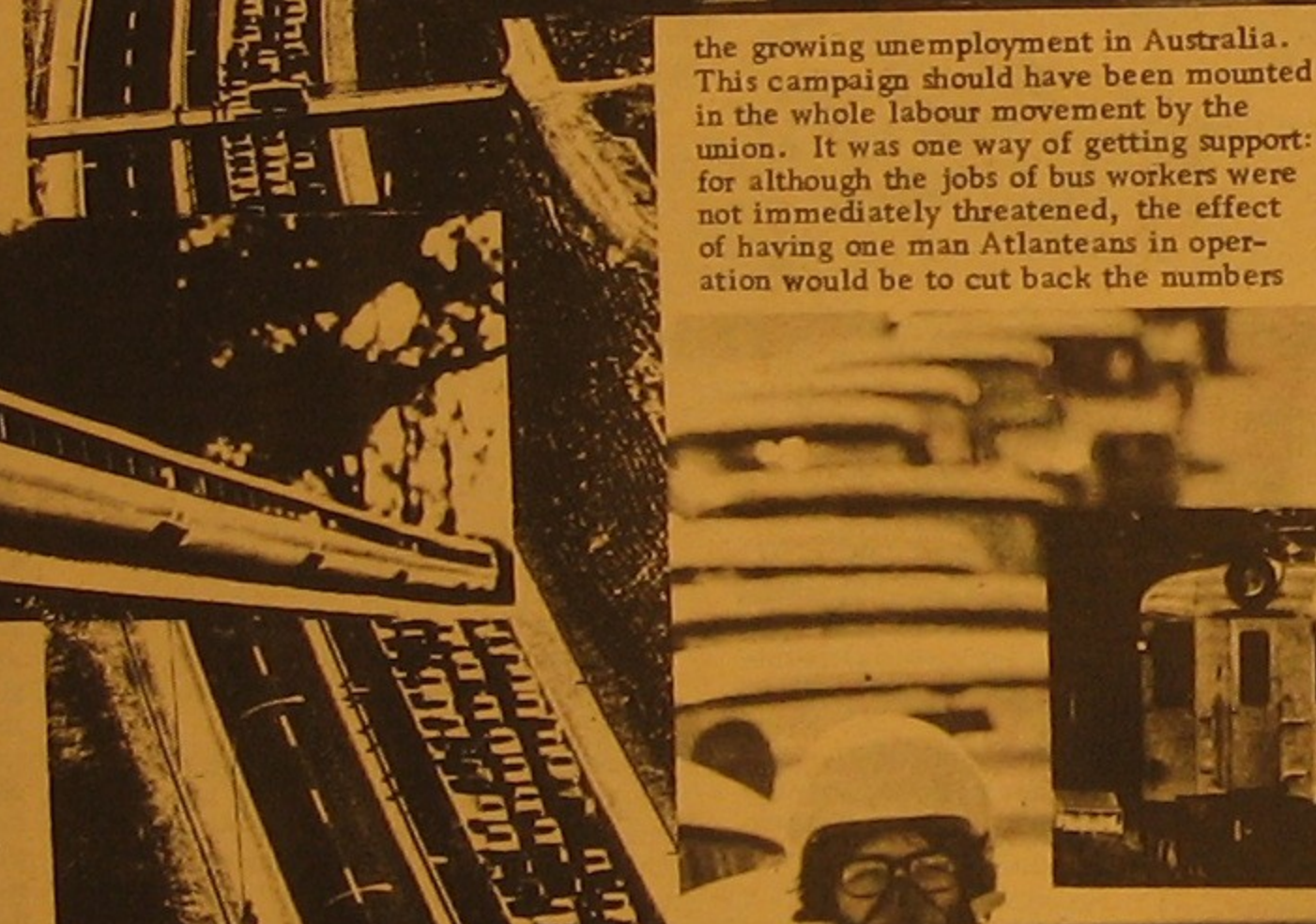
- a) 24 hour strikes. These are cheap, but everyone knows they're ineffective, and that the government can easily accommodate to them.
- b) Open ended strikes on the model of this recent one. These are least effective when staged by workers employed by government or international monopolies - e.g. public transport, Mt. Isa mines. They are best staged against small to medium sized employers who stand to lose their markets as a result.
- c) Open ended strikes with support from other industries. This will almost certainly be hard to get and of short duration but is a precondition for success when the issues are as important to the government as those raised by the Atlantean dispute.
- d) Mount political campaigns well in advance of strike action around the issues raised above. The transport workers have a unique position, (which they should take full advantage of). Nearly every worker in town

the growing unemployment in Australia. This campaign should have been mounted in the whole labour movement by the union. It was one way of getting support for although the jobs of bus workers were not immediately threatened, the effect of having one man Atlantean in operation would be to cut back the numbers

comes into contact with their work situation every day by riding on public transport, or driving on the same roads as it. This sort of thing, if done by the bus workers, would inspire many other workers to vary their own tactics along the same lines, according to the conditions of their own industries. Tactics need to be varied in this way. To gain more support at the beginning of the strike and to put the blame more squarely on the government, the bus workers could refuse to collect fares while attempting to keep the buses running. This would probably lead to a lockout but it would mean that the government, not the drivers had to stop the buses, and it would also raise the question of the nature of the public transport system.

So what the bus dispute should teach us is the need to prepare adequately for extending the strike to other workers and to raise all the issues relevant to the action, with the labour movement as a whole.

This does not guarantee success-but it certainly stacks the cards in favour of the strikers right from the start and allows us to look forward to future successful struggles around the right of workers to control their own job situations.



of workers needed by the Department in future and this would result in a tougher employment situation for the whole labour movement.

The other campaign that needed to be mounted concerned the question of the transport crisis in Sydney as a whole.

Askin's transport policy is to encourage the use of private cars, through heavy public investment in roads and freeways. This is now seen as a dead loss by every responsible town planner in the world. Cities are for people, not cars. But the reverse is true when Askin-type policies are allowed to run their course, notably in American cities such as Los Angeles.

INDONESIA

BACKGROUND TO A BUTCHER

JAMIE DOUGHNEY

The date 6th February marks the arrival in Australia of the "strong man" of Indonesia's military dictatorship, General Suharto, and a high point in relations between the two countries.

Suharto seized power in 1965 after being the dominant figure in the destruction of the "September 30th Movement" and the subsequent slaughter or imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of members and sympathisers of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) at that time the largest CP outside the worker's states.

THE COUP

Politically, the situation prior to the September and October events of 1965 was explosive, both nationally and internationally. Internally Indonesia was experiencing what was characterised by historians as a 'leftward trend'. This is, an open intensification of the class struggle. Peasant's organizations were moving independently, demanding land reform and seizing property.

These conditions reflected themselves not only within the P.K.I., which was forced, much against its will - (being at that time a Stalinist party of the Maoist variety, totally enmeshed in such perfidious policies as the "block of four classes", "revolution by stages" and the "peaceful road to socialism") - to assume a more radical posture vis-a-vis imperialism and the national bourgeoisie. Also this atmosphere was reflected within the popular front government, the NAS-AKOM cabinet led by Sukarno. A more rigorous anti-imperialist policy was pursued particularly against the United States which previously had remained fairly immune to such attacks.

Concurrent with this radicalization the domestic economic situation deteriorated greatly. There was a decline in currency earning exports, increasing monetary inflationary crises in the balance of payments and budgetary deficits all giving a further spur to the radicalization.

The "September 30th Movement" came into being in 1965 as a clandestine formation of junior officers with strong nationalist sentiments. They aimed to rid the armed forces of a so-called "General's-Council" which was said to be preparing the way for a right-wing coup in league with the American C.I.A. In the light of ensuing events this seems to have been an accurate assessment, the C.I.A. was involved, and to no mean extent. (It is worthy of note that Suharto was not included in the "General's Council" by the September 30th Movement. Certain conclusions have been drawn from this fact and will be returned to later.) On the night of September 30th they proceeded to implement their plan but were soon crushed, primarily on the military initiative taken by Suharto who effected a coup ousting Sukarno and establishing the present military dictatorship.

What began as an ostensibly "internal army affair" ended with the catapulting of Indonesia into the arms of reaction, and served as a pretext for the smashing of the P.K.I. and the entire Indonesian left. The theory propagated by the bourgeois press; that the Generals had aborted an "attempted communist coup" never did correspond to the reality of the situation. It merely served as an excuse concocted by the forces of reaction and their international apologists, to allow the massacre of about half of a million left wingers to proceed with relative impunity.

The position of Suharto in relation to the coup was somewhat enigmatic. An interesting analysis is given by W.F. Wertheim in the article "Suharto and the Untung coup - The Missing Link". (Journal of Contemporary Asian Studies Vol. 2, No. 2, page 50 Winter 1970) This analysis attempts to piece together certain relevant facts concerning Suharto's behaviour prior to the coup. For example, why was he not included among the Generals to be kidnapped by the "September 30th Movement", when in fact he was one of the most powerful army figures? What was the nature of



SUHARTO:

The P.K.I. was unprepared for such an attack, being tied to the policy of popular frontism and having subordinated itself to the "national interest" in line with the foreign policy of the Chinese bureaucracy. The P.K.I. realised too late that there can never be a principled accommodation between revolutionists and the national bourgeoisie.

Estimations vary as to precise numbers of political prisoners incarcerated in 1965 and 66 who still remain in the 350 prisoners and concentration camps maintained by the Suharto regime. Information is sketchy and hard to obtain and understandably the government does its utmost to obscure the true numbers. Estimates range from the garbled government figures of 40,000-70,000, (Suharto spoke of 58,000, Attorney General Sugih Anto of 69,000 and Adam Malik within the time span of a few days gave the figures as 70,000 and 45,000 respectively), to independent assessments in excess of 200,000.

However, the most accurate assessment appears to be approximately 160,000. At the beginning of 1968 about 110,000 detainees remained from the 1965 events. At that time a new wave of arrests, lasting until mid 1969, accounted for a further 50,000 people. Allowing for the number of prisoners who have been killed or who have died while imprisoned plus a few token "humanitarian" releases the figure 160,000 is probably fairly accurate.

Whatever the case arrests continue, and in fact they have recently been stepped

up, adding further opponents of the dictatorship to the goals already filled with the world's largest number of political prisoners.

On the evidence of two investigations, Amnesty International, (an international organisation defending the victims of political repression), forwarded a memorandum to the Suharto Government appealing for respect of the 'minimum' requirements laid down by the United Nations for treatment of political prisoners. In particular they condemned the deportation of about 10,000 prisoners to concentration camps on the remote malaria-stricken island of Pulau Buru near West Irian. The prisoners on Pulau Buru remain totally isolated from the outside world, living in the most appalling conditions without hope of release. According to official sources:-

"These political prisoners are considered to be the leading cadres of the Communist Party of Indonesia, evidence of whose guilt is not sufficient for them to be tried in court." (Most of the prisoners are detained on the basis of false accusations and have no hope of their cases ever coming to trial.)

From elsewhere reports are numerous about conditions within the concentration camps. Food and medical supplies are in critical shortage to the extent that many thousands of prisoners die of starvation or because of inadequate medical care. An example was reported in the Jan. 13th, 1971 issue of the Djakarta newspaper Berita Yudha where prisoners in the Glodok goal of central Djakarta receive morning rations amounting to four mouthfuls of salted rice. In the afternoon they received the same with a portion of salted fish. Often the prisoners are subjected to forced labour; the financial benefit of which is known to be taken by the particular military commanders, among whom graft and corruption is rife.

A member of the second "Amnesty International" investigating team commented on the situation thus, "The condition of the prisoners in Indonesia is very bad" -"it is very difficult to get the correct number of political prisoners or to find out anything about their condition" -"most of the people do not want to, or more accurately, do not dare say anything about it." -"even lawyers have almost nothing to say because they are not allowed to have meetings with their clients." -"the newly released prisoners, or the relatives of the detainees, are afraid to say anything for fear of reprisals." -"The government of Indonesia is founded mainly on fear."

Adam Malik replied to Amnesty: "We are humane enough to treat our prisoners well and in my opinion foreigners should not interfere in our business."

Despite claims made by Suharto and his cronies that substantial numbers of prisoners have been, or will be released, the facts deny these shameless lies. In the year October 1, 1969 to October 1, 1970 a mere 4,712 prisoners had been

released, while 10,000 more had been arrested and sent to the concentration camps. Similarly in the year from July 1, 1970 to July 1, 1971 4,000 were released while some 5,000 were arrested during the farcical election campaign of June, 1971. Like the phoney election campaign these manoeuvres are nothing more than shallow attempts to appease international public opinion.

The post-coup massacre did not mark the end of Suharto's pre-occupation with physical elimination of the dictatorship's political opponents. The years 1967 and 1968 also saw arbitrary extermination of "suspected communists" and mass executions of political prisoners, climaxed by the Purwodadi incident of mid 1969 where 3,000 people were slaughtered by the army.

Evidence that people are still being killed is available. The following was recorded by Vrij Nederland a liberal weekly published in Amsterdam.

"I myself witnessed the following scene. The commandant of a small group of political prisoners in the neighbourhood of the East Javan city of Kraksaan got the order to transfer the prisoners immediately to another area because "refugees from Blitar had infiltrated Kraksaan."

But the commandant could not find a safe place to take the prisoners. He decided to let some of them go 'for a good price' and to take the twenty-six most obstinate ones in the evening to the village of Asembagus not far from Kraksaan. When they arrived in the village, the commandant had the prisoners dig two big pits in a place not far from the local cemetery. There pits were to become the prisoners' graves. Once these holes were dug, the prisoners were blindfolded. Their hands were tied behind their backs. They were mowed down from behind by a machine gun. Their bodies tumbled into the graves. The village chief was then ordered to take ten men from the locality and pack the dirt tightly into the pits filled with bodies.

THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION

Since the establishment of the military dictatorship the Indonesian economy has experienced unrestricted foreign capital investment and has become increasingly reliant upon "aid" packages from the US and capital from other imperialist nations, particularly Japan. This has mainly been in the primary spheres of mineral and forestry resources. The United States, has been the main beneficiary of this exploitation, controlling 80% of foreign capital investment, which amounts to \$1,000 million since 1968. As is usual it is the ordinary people who bear the brunt of this exploitation.

Australian investments in Indonesia amount to \$14 million so far, and if recent rumblings in bourgeois economic circles are any indication, Australian economic and political ties with reactionary forces in Indonesia will increase in the near future. This is because opportunities for easy profits are declining and now is the time for long term investments, according to bourgeois economists.

Australia's own imperialist endeavours within the South East Asian area are comparatively small yet it cannot allow a shrinking of the capitalist orbit in the region. The visit of Suharto and close ties with scum such as Theutu etc. who occupy the leadership of imperialist dominated Southeast Asia is a reaffirmation that the Australian bourgeoisie will support these reactionaries against the rising tide of colonial revolution.

Indonesian political detainees.



WOMEN'S LIBERATION & MASS ACTION

The struggle for Women's Liberation represents the struggle of women to change their present role and status in society. It is a struggle which ultimately challenges many of the basic institutions and values of this society and is a struggle which can be waged on many levels.

With the resurgence of this movement in the sixties many more far reaching and revolutionary demands have been thrown up than in previous stages of the women's movement, for example at the beginning of this century.

Demands for the right to work, the right to free abortion, the right to 24 hour child-care centres directly challenge the traditional role of women in the family as housekeepers and child-minders. They raise the concept that child-care should be a social responsibility - a concept denied by capitalism.

By raising this demand, women are claiming that every child is entitled to the best care available regardless of the wealth or poverty of its parents.

Women are beginning to realize how the whole system of courts, schools, hospitals, government etc. work to keep women tied to these traditional roles of child-bearers and rearers, and at the same time reinforces and mystifies these roles culturally.

Arising from this is the realization by women of the need to organize and fight together against the limitations set by society, by fighting for such elementary rights as the freedom to choose to have an abortion and for the demands for child-care centres, equal pay, safe contraception etc.

It is obvious that liberation cannot be achieved by the individual by simply changing a "life style" or attitudes. Women's Liberation means solidarity with the struggles of all women for their liberation. One's personal circumstances and relationships cannot be seen in isolation from the rest of society.

The question of how to involve masses

of women in the struggle against their oppression is one of the key questions facing the women's liberation movement.

The type of movement best able to publicise and win the demands of women is a movement which can organize on a mass scale. It is through mass street demonstrations and other active mass campaigns that we can most quickly and effectively reach the masses of uninvolved women with whom the potential power lies. Such mass actions are a visible expression of the movement. They are the only way we are going to achieve any real long or short-term gains. The pressure that can be brought to bear on the capitalist governments through mass action is far greater than any isolated campaigns or attempts to work within the structure of the parliamentary system.

Through participation in these struggles women will learn a great deal about their oppressors and the system, which perpetuates their oppression.

They will come to the realization also that the whole system will have to be changed in order to meet all the demands

prerequisite to the freedom of women.

The system is far too rotten to patch up, it can never really grant freedom for women. We are confident that women will come to the conclusion that the fight for women's liberation is also the fight for socialism.

In the meantime all possible reforms and concessions must be fought for and this will mean challenging the powers of the government and its priorities. This will require a massive struggle on the part of women and any success will be a tremendous boost to the movement and women as a whole.

Women must, of course, fight their own struggles, as they can rely on no other forces to win the demands most relevant to them.

This independence is vital as it means that women's demands are not made subordinate to other issues, or modified in any way. Organizing independently gives women a greater self-reliance and confidence, and increases the morale of the whole movement. It is extremely important that people who have tradition-

ally been oppressed, conditioned to feel insecure and inferior, organize in their own right around their own demands.

In the August 26 and international Women's Day demonstrations in the US - a popular rallying slogan was "Out of the Kitchens and into the streets!" The spirit of this slogan is being reflected in many other struggles at the moment - It signifies standing up against one's rights and abilities as a full human being and joining in the struggle against this rotten system.

On March 11 women in Australia will take to the streets in what is shaping up to be a massive demonstration around women's liberation demands.

All women who sympathise with some or all the demands of the movement are urged to march with us. We are confident that more and more women will join in this struggle as they meet with the frustrations imposed on them by the present society and see the alternative possibilities of a freer way of life.

Build the Women's Liberation Movement! Build March 11!



Washington, D.C.

RAID ON W.L. HEADQUARTERS

Andrew Jamieson

At 4.30 a.m. on 29th November residents at the Dark Room, headquarters of the Carlton Women's Liberation Group were awakened by police searching their bedrooms. When challenged, they claimed that they were "looking for a man on the roof." This explanation may have been plausible if they had been searching on the roof, however their interest apparently lay elsewhere.

When a phone call was made to Carlton Police Station later that morning, the explanation offered for the search was that the searchers had been looking for stolen goods (for which no warrant is

necessary in order for the police to conduct a search). Anyone not aware of the constant police harassment to which political activists are subjected, might be naive enough to ask - why did the police change their story?

Could it be that neither story is true? At that stage the Carlton Women's Liberation Group had been using the Dark Room for about one month and several political activists had moved into the residential section. No doubt the activities of these people were of interest to sections of the bourgeoisie state who would like to see the Women's Liberation Movement crushed.

As yet the residents of the Dark Room have not received any official explanation or apology for the raid even though a formal complaint has been lodged with the Victorian Police Force

Obviously this is merely a continuation of the attempts to intimidate and harass political activists which have become a traditional part of the Melbourne political scene over the past decade. It is a symptom of capitalism in its period of decline that it can no longer tolerate democratic rights which have been won in earlier periods of greater prosperity for capitalism. Increasingly as the movement against capitalism gathers force, the bourgeoisie is forced to use its repressive tools, particularly the police force in order to maintain the old order.

Letters... BUS STRIKE

The Editor, Direct Action.

Dear Comrade,

Comrade Maynard's analysis of the Sydney bus strike in the December issue of Direct Action gives some food for thought. Comrade Maynard claims the cause of the busworkers' resistance to Atlantean is their concern for public safety. For Marxists this is a specious argument. It is the whole pattern of the lives of workers which is involved. There is plenty of evidence to show that it is the fear of the changes Atlantean will bring about that, quite rightly, motivates the strikers.

The Askin government have adopted the classic bourgeois response to the growing impact in Australia of the World Capitalist crisis by seeking to increase productivity and cheaper costs at the expense of the workers. The double-decker Atlantean is to the transport industry what measured day work to the manufacturing industry; an attempt to push to the limits the demands made on the workers for the benefit of capitalism. The threat to public safety is only one aspect of the process. The strain imposed on the worker together with the long term impact on himself and his family is another, and to the Marxist a more important one.

Why is the government of New South Wales giving private industry the lead in this matter? Whilst committed to providing some form of public transport system for appearances' sake, they cannot, as Comrade Maynard points out, seek to solve

the problems of an inadequate transport system by means that will offend the automobile industry. By giving a lead in what must inevitably be the response of industry nationwide to the impact of the world capitalist crisis, they obviously gain considerable political advantage.

Quite correctly Comrade Maynard sees the need for broadening the struggle, the importance of leadership and the aim of workers' control in response to this. By avoiding correct analysis however, he produces bourgeois radicalism, with its resultant opportunism, rather than revolutionary Marxism.

Henry Marten.

IRELAND

To the Editor, 'Direct Action'

The report headed 'Irish Action' in your December issue was a very fair account of our activities surrounding the situation in Northern Ireland. We are grateful to R. Quinn & J. McIlroy for their contributions to these functions.

I wish to draw attention however, to the Boycott Campaign we have launched. The Campaign is not directed especially to goods imported from Britain, but rather to products of British firms operating in Australia, including Insurance, Air & shipping.

We feel that every dollar remitted Britain by way of dividend is a repressive nail in the coffin of Democracy in Northern Ireland.

Mise le meas

Vincent O'Gorman, Secretary, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association - Melbourne.

May Days--the day of the revolutionary proletariat and their allies; the day when past victories are recalled and further battles are foreshadowed; the day when we join with our comrades around the world to demonstrate our faith in the ultimate conquest of power by the dispossessed of the earth.

There are some socialists who question the value of the celebration of May 1st May Day they say, is not part of the tradition of the Australian working class. They claim that socialists have attempted to implant an activity which can have no relevance to the class struggle in this country.

We of the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League, believe that the celebration of May Day should be understood as a means of politicizing Australian workers.

That a massive wave of strikes and general industrial unrest is occurring is undeniable. The proportion and quality of the upsurge reflects a growth in class consciousness among a high percentage of Australian workers.

May Day is one way of developing class consciousness into a political revolutionary socialist awareness. Militant class-conscious workers could only be politicized by the act of marching along side women fighting for their rights, radical students, anti-war activists and of course revolutionary socialists and their supporters.

MAY DAY 72

Rod Quinn

The thousands of Australian workers who have pitted themselves against the multinational corporations in this country could, in a May Day demonstration, feel the international nature of their participation and grasp that the enemy also knows no borders.

The value of May Day has, for a long period, been diminished by the narrowness of the organizers. May Day was tailored to the contingencies and ever vacillating policies of the Stalinist CPA.

The over emphasis on wind bags from trade union bureaucracies lent a reformist flavor to the May Day platform. Anachronistic brass bands contributed nothing but an Edwardian gala atmosphere. The predominance of the Australian flag and the wattle-and-boomerang jingoism of the legendary mairies did nothing to allay the depressing image of ever dwindling numbers of rank and file workers.

The past two May Days in Melbourne have seen some changes in style. In 1970 the Maoists split from the official committee, set up an alternative platform and initiated a march on the US Consulate.

DIRECT ACTION

Steve Painter

With the emergence of "Direct Action" almost eighteen months ago, a revolutionary newspaper was being sold aggressively in the streets of Australian cities for the first time in decades. The bourgeoisie was worried by the speed with which they set about trying to force "Direct Action" off the streets. They set their police and parking officers to work to attempt to intimidate sellers of "Direct Action".

They knew that action such as proscribing "Direct Action" would make a farce of their claim to have established freedom of the press, they also knew that it would provoke a public outcry. They wanted to throttle "Direct Action" but they knew that they could not stop us publishing it, so they tried to stop us selling it. They told us to move on because we couldn't sell without licences but when we went to their police and councils for licences, they told us that we didn't need them, or they tried to impose conditions which would have made it impossible to sell.

This attempt to kill "Direct Action" began eighteen months ago. After a few months the authorities in Melbourne capitulated and we now sell there without interference. However in Sydney and Adelaide the struggle is still going on.

Adelaide

In recent weeks, Direct Action sellers have been continually harassed by Council inspectors either asking for licences or ordering sellers off the streets. Our more experienced sellers treated the inspectors with the respect due to them and kept on selling. The police were called in and one of our sellers (Comrade Doug

Jordan) was victimised.

He is being called before the court to explain why he dared to sell "Direct Action" in the same way as bourgeois papers are sold in Adelaide. Doug has been charged because he sold a paper to a worker who stopped his car and called out that he wanted to buy one. The fact that thousands of "Adelaide Advertisers" are sold in this way every day, makes no difference. Formally Doug has been charged with a breach of the Motor Traffic Act. In fact he was charged for selling a revolutionary newspaper.

Harassment of "Direct Action" sellers in Adelaide is being carried out at the present time on the basis of two repressive laws. One, passed around 1870 forbids women from selling newspapers on the streets (said a city council officer when questioned by one of our members "It's just not done at all"). It might have been done in 1870, but it is done now by members of the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League throughout the Eastern states of Australia. The other repressive law empowers the council to direct holders of licences to sell newspapers wherever the council thinks they should sell. In the case of "Direct Action" the council thinks they should sell on back streets and on little-used intersections. Our sellers think differently.

Sydney

Months ago harassment by city council parking officers led sellers of "Direct Action" to make enquiries about obtaining licences to sell. Various sections of the council were contacted, (notably the Town Clerk and the Public Health Department).

SUPPORT ISRAELI DRAFT RESISTERS

The plight of draft resisters in Israel and the role of the Israeli government at last reached the pages of the daily papers through the courageous protest by Benjamin Merhavy on the steps of Parliament House in Canberra in the first week in January. Despite the pro-Israel bias of the media, and intimidation by both the police and Zionist thugs (Benjamin and his wife have been physically assaulted outside Zionist meetings in Melbourne), the repressive nature of the Israeli regime was brought home to a large number of Australians.

Benjamin decided to demonstrate after receiving a telegram from the Israeli Socialist Organisation saying that one of the draft resisters, Gilyora Neumann (see article D.A. 10) was still being held in a military prison and still refused to register. Demonstrations have been held in Israel, London and in New York as

well, and a group of prominent rabbis and lay Jews have signed statements in support.

Benjamin started his protest on Tuesday morning, with posters reading: "Protest Against the Zionist Regime in Israel," and "Protest Against the Persecution of Draft Resisters in Israel," and maintained a hunger strike until midday Friday. He was very brutally and rudely handled when arrested by the police. (The Judge in the Court of Petty Sessions ordered an investigation into the charges of brutality).

When released, he returned to continue the protest, this time with a barrage of reporters and T.V. cameras. After being threatened with further arrests by the two special branch police, Benjamin ended his protest, but by that time the point had been very well made.

legislation or some issue of concern to workers.

(b) At the Sunday Yarra Bank rally the emphasis should be placed on rank and file activists as speakers--better three or four workers briefly reporting on their struggles than one long tedious speech from a professional unionist.

(c) As the Women's Liberation movement has exposed the abysmal failure of trade unions to fairly represent women's problems, a Women's Liberation speaker should be included.

(d) In view of the betrayal of the people of Bangla Desh by the Mao bureaucracy, we oppose the idea of a guest speaker from Peking. We propose that a workers' representative, someone in the forefront of the fight against imperialism, be invited from embattled Indo-China, elsewhere in Asia, the US, or Western Europe (the expenses could be defrayed by an interstate lecture tour).

(e) The hired brass bands be dispensed with and modern musical groups be engaged with a view to providing anti-war, socialist and labour music during the procession.

We neither regard our proposals as complete nor as beyond debate.

We urge an early and open discussion on the building of a worthwhile May Day celebration.



The Pimps of Imperialism by Jorge Bost, Mexico

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Melbourne demonstration Friday D February 4, 4.30pm, City Sq. Other centres contact SYA for information.

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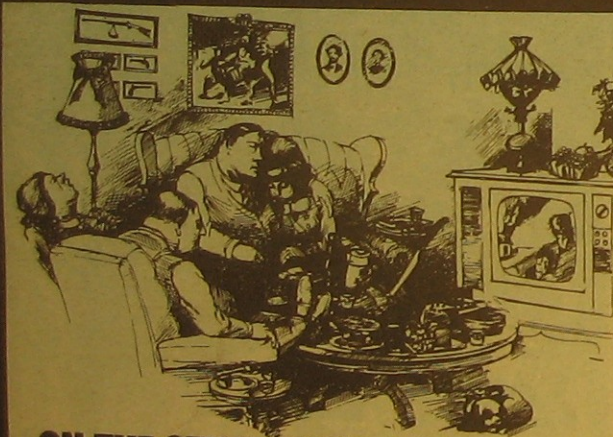
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