

DIRECT ACTION

NO. 17, APRIL 17 1972

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A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Imperialism Crumbling Under Vietnamese Offensive

Demand U.S. Out Now!

also in this issue

S.Y.A. 3rd National Conference

The Kremlin Against Solzhenitsyn

Militancy Threatens Union Bureaucrats

Strategy for a Mass Feminist Movement



DIRECT ACTION

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EDITORIAL

VIETNAM: THE BEGINNING OF THE END!

Before March 30, when the liberation forces of Vietnam began their march towards Quang Tri in the north and An Loc and Saigon in the south, everything looked rosy for the Pentagon, and indeed for Peking and Moscow too. Everything appeared to be in its place, apart from a few dozen B-52 raids here and there. What was important, though, was that the natives weren't restless.

There is an extraordinary dynamic about the Permanent Revolution which overrides the temporary jubilation of the reactionary forces of the world and befuddles the limited imagination of even the most ruthless Stalinist bureaucrat of the workers' states; where Hungary '56 was undoubtedly a major setback to the world revolution, but without which Czechoslovakia '68 would have had less meaning and Cuba would have been thoroughly stalinised long ago; where Geneva '54 retarded the liberation of the Indochinese peninsula, but without which the liberation forces of the world would perceive no lesson and perhaps follow the same path and suffer the same tragic losses. This is not to applaud counterrevolution merely because despite itself it begets revolution, but to draw attention to the lessons of a long history of Stalinist betrayal: the dynamic of the struggle for human liberation sweeps aside the deformations imposed upon it on the one hand by imperialism and on the other by criminal distortions of revolutionary Marxism.

The current upsurge of the struggle in Vietnam should be viewed in this light. And not for a long time have we witnessed such an agglomeration of desperate attempts to sway the Vietnamese revolution from its course. In this year Richard Nixon climbed the highest summit to do this very thing when it became clear that the Pentagon's "Vietnamisation" strategy was doomed to failure and would publicly be seen to be a failure should the liberation forces engage in battle on the scale of the 1968 Tet offensive.

The United States could win the war in Vietnam if it destroyed the people of Vietnam. But the people of America will not let the Pentagon do it. The United States could destroy the people of Vietnam in either of two ways: firstly by the use of the massive firepower at its disposal or secondly by the recommitment of the ground forces that are presently being withdrawn. Militarily, both of these alternatives could prove successful, despite the heroic resistance of the liberation forces. But as the American people become increasingly aware of

what the subterfuge called Vietnamisation really means, the former option becomes increasingly less possible, and the people have issued many a resounding "No" to the latter option. Besides which, the men of the U.S. Army will not fight.

With these facts in evidence, then, what better alternative for Nixon than to enter the secluded halls of Peking and Moscow? Not a bomb, not a dollar, not an American life lost - and what's a Chiang or Thieu when the whole future of imperialism is at stake?

So to Peking did Richard Nixon go, and he almost made it to Moscow in time as well. He had quite a few reasons for believing that either Peking or Moscow (or both, for despite the rhetoric, the interests of these two bureaucracies coincide more often than not) would be able to bring pressure to bear upon Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to accept a negotiated settlement on terms favourable to Washington and "peaceful co-existence". There have been many times in the past years that we have heard Washington, Peking and Moscow calling for a return to Geneva, where the interests of the people of Indochina were set aside in favour of a mutual understanding between the big powers, where Ho Chi Minh and the forces he led saw the gains they had won on the battlefield slipping away across the conference table. And if Geneva seems too far in the distant past, then we need only remember the machinations of both Peking and Moscow over Bangladesh and Ceylon.

But after Geneva, the big powers were faced with a new mood in Hanoi and amongst the fighters of the south, and if the Vietnamese have told us anything in the last sixteen years of incredible sacrifice, they have told us of their resolve to win on their terms this time. The lesson has been learnt, and the courage and determination of the Vietnamese revolutionaries, as they march to within striking distance of Saigon itself, means much more than a change of government in the south and a certain darkening of the corridors of the Pentagon. It is possible to predict at this stage that the collapse of the Saigon government will have enormous repercussions around the world: that the fall of the provincial city of An Loc will be felt from Warsaw to Buenos Aires, from Johannesburg to Illinois.

In the space of fourteen days U.S. imperialism has suffered its greatest blow since the 1968 Tet offensive. Its



chances of recovery in Vietnam are very slim indeed. These chances must be limited even further by all those outside the battlefield in a renewed effort to force a complete reversal of imperialism's military and political involvement in Indochina. To sit back and merely applaud the victories of the Vietnamese is to ignore the same international responsibility that they have borne through too many years and too many wasted human lives.

Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops, bases and materiel from Indochina- OUT NOW!
End the bombing now!
Not a penny, not a gun for U.S. imperialism's war effort!
Solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Indochinese masses!
Victory to the Vietnamese revolution!

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-WAR ACTIONS APRIL 20-22

SYDNEY:
 April 20th - Rally at 5.30pm
 Martin Plaza. 6pm March through city to Town Hall.
 7pm Meeting in Lower Town Hall. T.D. Allman-key speaker.

MELBOURNE:
 April 21st - Rally at 4pm Treasury Gdns.
 March at 5.30pm to U.S. Consulate.

BRISBANE:
 April 21st - Rally at 2pm Roma St. Gdns.

HOBART:
 April 21st - Rally at Commonwealth Bank Corner, City at 12.30pm-1.30pm
 March to Town Hall 2pm for public meeting.

CANBERRA:
 April 21st - Rally at 4.30pm Civic Centre
 7pm rally at Garema Place.

ADELAIDE:
 April 22nd - Rally at 10am at Elder Park.

On February 22 the Senate of West Berlin rejected the proposed appointment of Ernest Mandel to a professorship in economics at the Free University of Berlin, overruling his nomination by the council of the university's economics department. Six days later Mandel was refused admittance to the territory of the Federal Republic.

Widely seen as a fundamental challenge to civil rights in West Germany and as an integral part of the current intensification of repression in Western Europe, these actions have evoked strong opposition.

A Marxist economist of world repute and a prominent leader of the Fourth International, Ernest Mandel had packed lecture halls in the university during a semester as a guest professor in 1970-71. The council of the economics department considered him so exceptionally qualified that they nominated him as sole candidate for the chair of "social politics."

In its February 22 declaration the Senate, governing body of West Berlin, explained that it "did not question the academic qualifications of the candidate". Rather, it stated, the "political activities of Ernest Mandel, directed against the democratic constitutional state," make him "unfit for academic work on the university."

It backed up this charge with the statement that "Mandel's goal is the creation of a Soviet Republic of a Trotskyist type, headed by a national congress of workers' councils with supreme power in economic and social political questions. In this way the democratic and free social order outlined in the constitution is to be destroyed."

The Senate further charged Mandel with being "one of the main leaders of the Fourth International (Trotskyist)", whose goal, it declared, was "to assure the continuity of the program of revolutionary Marxism, until through the process of permanent revolution, world communism is achieved. In reaching this goal, it sees armed struggle as a means to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international Soviet republic. The organisation considers itself as the instrument to promote and coordinate all activities of the revolutionary vanguard."

This decision met with a sharp response from the students and faculty of the university, who invited Mandel to speak at a protest teach-in on February 28. As he changed flights en route to Berlin, Mandel was stopped by border guards at Frankfurt and expelled from West Germany. According to the authorities his expulsion had been ordered on

ADMIT MANDEL!



request of the Berlin Senate, who felt his appearance at a public meeting there would pose a threat to public safety.

Interior Minister Genscher explained that "the action was aimed not against the 'Marxist theoretician' but against the 'revolutionary' who 'aims to overthrow the established order.' Mandel had often acted in a 'conspiratorial manner', he continued, without specifying how.

Mandel's answer to the West Berlin Senate was read to 2000 participants in the February 28 teach-in. The Senate decision, he declared, shows that the Berlin leadership of the Social-Democratic Party (ruling party in the Senate) is turning away from the principles of the constitutional state. "For according to these principles, no one can be discriminated against unless he has been

declared guilty of a crime or misdemeanor. Measures which discriminate collectively against members of any philosophical, religious or racial minority dismantle the constitutional state in favour of arbitrary rule based on 'reasons of state.' They start with so-called left-radical minorities, and then come those with Jewish grandmothers, then those who agitate for strikes, then journalistic agitation of any form, and finally all those who displease for any reason the local satrap. Fortunately it has not gone so far yet, but the first steps in this direction are made. A McCarthyite witch-hunt is beginning."

Mandel went on to declare the so-called anti-constitutional character of the Fourth International to be a "gross falsification. The whole argumentation only has sense if the Senate believes

the 'free and democratic order' to be synonymous with capitalist exploitation."

The Berlin Senate decision is the most spectacular of a series of recent government actions to bar socialists from teaching posts in West German schools and universities. On this basis the sociologist Host Holzer, a member of the legally constituted German Communist Party was recently denied a post in the University of Bremen. Dr. Wolfgang Lefevre was refused an assistant professorship at the Free University of Berlin on the same grounds.

A wave of protests by all sections of the German community was sparked off by the ban. Margherita von Brentano, a vice president of the University, has resigned in protest. Student meetings were called across Germany; prominent academics have organised a petition against the decision; the national leaderships of both the Young Socialists and Young Democrats, the two youth groups associated with the ruling coalition parties have both objected to the government's action.

The German authorities attempted to justify their decision by referring to Mandel's having been refused admission to the USA, France and Switzerland. In all those countries the ban was attacked by trade unionist and social democratic parliamentarians and academic figures such as Professors Wassill Leontief and Kenneth Galbraith as well as the New York Times and the Washington Post in the USA.

It may be recalled that Professor Mandel has also been banned from Australia. On May 12, 1970 his visa application was rejected by the Australian Embassy in Brussels. Mandel was due to address the Socialist Scholars Conference as well as several public meetings in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. As was the case overseas the Liberal government's decision to ban Mandel generated a storm of protest with many Labor parliamentarians as well as academics and other public figures joining in. (The Australian government has never justified its ban on Mandel nor did it indicate any limitations on it.)

Because of the importance of the civil liberties issues involved plans are under way for an international campaign in defence of Mandel's rights and the right of Germans to hear his views without interference. In Australia the best way we can help the campaign is to renew the pressure on the Australian Government to admit Mandel. In particular the ALP which is likely to come to power after the next elections should make an unequivocal stand stating that it will allow Mandel into Australia so that he can address whoever wants to hear his point of view.

DIRECT ACTION GOES FORTNIGHTLY DRIVE FOR 500 NEW SUBS

As from this issue, Direct Action will appear fortnightly, and in order to provide the paper with a basic circulation we have launched a subscription drive for five hundred new subscribers within eight weeks.

The step to bring Direct Action out fortnightly is a reflection of the continued growth and stability of the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance. We are confident that our circulation will be maintained and later increased on the fortnightly basis.

Direct Action is a socialist newspaper catering to the new radicalization, with coverage of the labour movement, the student movement, the anti-war movement and the struggles of blacks, women and other oppressed sectors of capitalist society. We also attempt to cover the fight against the destruction of our environment by capitalist profit-seekers. Direct Action also has the best coverage of international news from a revolutionary viewpoint, linking up the struggles of the oppressed throughout the world, from the colonial world and the advanced capitalist countries, to the bureaucratically deformed workers states.

With this issue we begin a regular In Brief column. Next issue we will begin an international news page - a round-up of the world revolution. Along with these new features we will continue to keep our big 16 page and colour format, and

our price will remain at ten cents per issue making us the biggest yet cheapest paper on the left.

The special subscription rate is fifteen issues for \$1 (normally the price of ten). So subscribe now!

Our goal is to become the best and most widely-read newspaper on the left. Fortnightly publication is a step in this direction. In order to be well-informed on the revolutionary movement both here and overseas it is important to read Direct Action regularly. The best way to ensure that you don't miss a single issue is to subscribe.

This is our first drive for subscriptions in an organized way. Previously we have relied nearly totally on single issue sales, but from now on we aim to increase the number of our regular readers. We have set as our target this time 500 new subscriptions in eight weeks, starting from this issue. In coming issues of Direct Action we will publish progress reports of how the drive is going.

The quotas for SYA and SWL branches are as follows.

Sydney	--- 150
Melbourne	--- 150
Brisbane	--- 60
Adelaide	--- 30
Hobart	--- 20
Canberra	--- 20
General	--- 30
Total	--- 500

The 'general' quota covers those areas where SYA or SWL does not have branches yet. If any of our readers would like to help us make our goal of 500 new subscribers, you could try and sell subscriptions to your friends as well as subscribing yourself. If you are able to help in this way, write in and we will send you out some subscrip-

tion blanks and sample copies. We are certain that you would have no difficulty in selling subscriptions to your friends - the best socialist newspaper in Australia for just under seven cents a copy, posted!

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On the night of Thursday April 6th two terrorist attacks took place in Melbourne. Two high-powered bombs exploded within minutes of each other, one outside the front door of the 20th floor of the Carlton flat of Marion Jurjevic, a persistent and dedicated campaigner against the Ustashi (Croatian fascist) Movement in Australia. The other shattering a migrant advisory centre in Elizabeth St. which featured a front window display of Yugoslav national costumes.

USTASHI TERROR: INTERVIEW WITH MARION JURJEVIC

Five people were present in the Jurjevic flat at the time of the attack. By a combination of luck and political astuteness, nobody was seriously injured. Although the blast, which was heard blocks away, blew a hole through a concrete floor, shattered whole rows of windows in the 20 storey black and substantially wrecked their flat.

The explosions coincided with celebrations by Croatian nationalists around the date of April 10 which marks the anniversary of the establishment by Hitler and Mussolini of the fascist independent state of Croatia under Fuhrer Ante Pavelic.

There has been a recent upsurge of Ustashi activity in Australia coinciding with a similar development of right-wing Croatian nationalist feeling in Yugoslavia itself. A large public pro-fascist demonstration was recently held in Melbourne (with full police co-operation), while leaflets calling for support of the Croatian "Student Movement" in Yugoslavia have appeared on campuses.

In this country, the establishment of a "committee for democracy in Australia" is a politically encouraging sign. The functions of the committee are mainly to provide protection from Ustashi terrorism for local Yugoslavs and to further the work of exposing Ustashi activities. Marion Jurjevic is a prominent member of the committee as is the Labor parliamentarian Dr. J. F. Cairns.

Following the bombings, both spoke at a meeting at the Unitarian Church, which was packed by the radical movement in solidarity with the cause of Yugoslav anti-fascists. Outside, Croats demonstrated, shouting the racist epithet "Austrian Gypsies" to the crowd inside.

The editors of "Direct Action" believe that the answer to right-wing terror (at this historical stage) lies in the building of a public mass movement against Croatian fascist activities in Australia. To this end, left-wing newspapers should put themselves at the service of those already involved in the campaign. Hence this interview. The support for the committee for democracy in Australia expressed in the Unitarian Church meeting points to the possible development of such a movement, which is the only real protection against terrorism.

The following "Direct Action" interview with Marion Jurjevic was obtained shortly after the meeting.

Mr. Jurjevic showed the "Direct Action" interviewers documented evidence of most incidents described in the interview, including photos of Liberals at Ustashi rallies, the racist booklet produced by the Clifton Hill church and an invitation to attend this year's "Croatian Association" celebration of April 10, which included the words "serb hell" in the Serbo-Croat section, which did not appear in the English.

QUESTION: Could you describe just what happened last Thursday night?

M.J. - At 11.15 visitors to my flat opened the door to go home and saw a blue canvas bag with white trimmings leaning against the right-hand side of the door. One of them asked me if it was my bag, as I had come in only 20 minutes before. When I said it wasn't, someone jokingly said "It must be a bomb". We all stood around looking at it for a while, then when we realised that that was just what it was, we shut the door and I rang the police as the arson squad had previously told me to do if anything like that happened.

After telling the police, we started taking positions around the flat. One visitor went to the kitchen to see if anyone was around. I went and pushed them from the kitchen, and as we were still moving away from the kitchen the explosion occurred. Had we been any nearer the outer windows we would in fact have been thrown out, or closer to the inner wall we would have been killed by the blast. Had we been five minutes later to the door, we would have opened it as it went off.

QUESTION: Did you have any previous indications that this might take place?

M.J. - Yes, I had received a death threat two weeks before. Six years ago, a parcel bomb addressed to me exploded at the Mail Exchange.

QUESTION: You have a long personal history of campaigning to expose the Ustashi in Australia. Could you fill us in on the background to last Thursday's attack?

M.J. - Some years ago I went to Canberra to try to talk to politicians about Ustashi activity. I contacted Dr. Cairns and a few others. I tried to see the Liberals, but they didn't want to talk about it. I produced documents and showed them to Jim Cairns about Ustashi training activities, etc., and Cairns started a continuous campaign in Parliament. No action resulted, even though quite a few Yugoslavs had been killed at this time.

In 1964 we had a deputation to Hamer, who assured us he would take every possible action. Both State and Commonwealth police came to visit me and a state anti-Ustashi squad was established as well as a Commonwealth one. ASIO came and asked me about Ustashi activity and Jim Cairns urged me to give them every co-operation.

But I saw at the time that ASIO was collaborating with the Ustashi. For example in 1963, after Ustashi troops were photographed using Australian military facilities at Wodonga, Fabian Lovokovic, the movement's secretary, admitted that there was no need for them to worry about it, as they had been working with ASIO.

At first, the ASIO members who visited me only asked about the Ustashi, but after the visit of one member, known to me only as Brian, I saw the change--he started to ask me questions about

members of Parliament instead of Ustashi. I brushed him off. Then another policeman called Stan began calling. For a few days, he talked only about the Ustashi. Then I had a meeting with Arthur Calwell and Jim Cairns. He came around behind my place and called me to come out to his car. He asked me what my conversation with Cairns and Calwell was about. I said "Sorry", shut the car door and walked off. They were not interested in getting anti-Ustashi information at all, but in getting information about the Labour Party.

When Superintendent Craig was alive, there was a genuine anti-Ustashi squad for a while. There were a few intelligent fellows who read books about the past of the Croatian movement and who started to seize firearms and publicity material. They were quite well acquainted with what was going on. When Craig died, most of these men were kicked out and replaced by Eatvians, Ukrainians and Germans. Holland (a Catholic Action man) was appointed chief of the state Ustashi and Mafia squad. I went to him and asked him what he was going to do about the Ustashi, to which he replied: "What is it?" The day he became chief, the state squad became inactive. They did no more after that - they were blind to the stabbings and the murders that were going on. One of my best friends was killed; the police did nothing. A few weeks ago a Yugoslav was bashed in Footscray and taken to hospital. He named the attacker, but the police would not act. Only after I rang Dr. Cairns were they willing to take a statement, from which nothing happened at first. Now, after the recent events, the police have decided to take the man to trial.

Ivica Kocik, a man implicated with top German war criminals, holds a senior position in the Department of Labour and National Service. In 1967 he went to Los Angeles to visit the notorious Croat war criminal Artukovic,



Ante Pavelic with Mussolini

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The theoretical journal of the Socialist Workers League
 The January issue contains articles on:
 *The history of the Fourth International;
 *Perspectives for world revolution;
 *The university under neo-capitalism - towards a strategy;
 *The C.F./M.L. - the youth movement;
 Subscriptions to Socialist Review are available at \$2.50 for six issues, post free from: PO Box 186, Haymarket, Sydney, NSW.
 Single copies: 40c each, post free.

then went to Canada and back, and to Europe where he visited the grave of Ante Pavelic. At a European conference, he was appointed "vice-president" of the Ustashi government in exile.

Some time ago I was approached by a man in the street in Richmond about working for a foreign government, for money. I immediately rang security and reported the incident. They hung up on me, and the next day the man who approached me was on a plane to the United States. If he wasn't an agent provocateur in league with ASIO, how would he have got a visa to get out of the country so quickly, especially if he was, as claimed, the agent of a foreign power?

QUESTION: It is a fairly well-known fact that the Ustashi are protected, and in some cases openly endorsed by prominent members of the Liberal Party (eg. McMahon, Gorton). Leading members are senior public servants. The Ustashi can hold public pro-fascist demonstrations with impunity at a time when anti-war demonstrators are constantly harassed. Can you comment on this?

M.J. - Liberal Party members attend Ustashi meetings. At a Ustashi demonstration to the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney, after attending a Requiem Mass for their Fuhrer, Mr. McMahon, (who was then Minister for Foreign Affairs) intervened to prevent the police interfering with the demonstration. The incident was reported in "The Sunday Observer". McMahon's words were - "Leave them alone - they have a good cause". On one occasion he attended a Ustashi function where he was given a doll in Croatian national colours for his wife and child. I advise him to watch that doll - it might explode!

When he became Prime Minister, the Ustashi wrote to Mr. McMahon congratulating him, as they did to Nixon and Brezhnev when they came to power. McMahon was the only one who replied, with a warm letter of praise and thanks to H. Maric, president of H.O.P. (the Croatian Liberation Movement).

Mr. Fuller, Secretary for the Navy attended a Ustashi function representing the Minister (Dr. M. Mackay). I have a photo of Maric giving him a memorandum signed by known war criminals in the Argentine asking Australia to take action against Yugoslavia. Fuller thanked him on behalf of himself, his wife and the Minister for the Navy, apologising for his absence.

Mr. Darby (N.S.W. Liberal MLA) has often been photographed at ceremonies in front of the Ustashi flag, as has Mr. Wentworth. The latter appeared also in front of a picture of Pavelic.

Dr. Solomon (MHR Tasmania) was "foreign guest" at a 10th April celebration of H.O.P. in 1971. He was photographed in front of a banner reading "Glory to the Fuhrer".

In May 1970 Mr. Philip Lynch was present at a meeting of HOP. In reply to a question from a man who is a war criminal, Mr. Lynch assured him that all migrants were welcome in this country if they are of "good political behaviour" and "good character". He called for vigilance by Croats in Australia against Communists.

Father Kasic of the Croatian Catholic Church in Clifton Hill administers the oath for Croatian nationalists, taken on the knife, gun and the cross. He has also published a booklet for his congregation urging young Croats not to intermarry with Australians as "mixed blood" will result. When I described this man as a fascist, Mr. B. A. Santamaria called him "a fine priest".

QUESTION: How can democratically minded Australians best counter the activities of the Ustashi?

First of all, by abstaining from any of their activities, secondly by exposing anything you know about them and above all, by supporting the Committee for Democracy, which will provide legal aid for those threatened by the Ustashi so that they don't live in fear.

The Committee has only been formed one month, but today there were 500 people at the Unitarian Church. Through the Committee, which is a non-party organisation, we hope to put an end to the terror. At the moment, there are two laws - one for the ordinary people, and another for the Ustashi, whose bomb throwing and terrorism is praised by the government.

IN BRIEF

MATAUNGAN RELEASED

Tómano Tovolo, one of the 18 leaders of the Mataungan Association currently on trial in Rabaul after being arrested in the wake of hysteria which followed the killing of New Guinea administration official Emanuel, has been released following the refusal of the Chief Justice presiding over the case to accept a so-called confession submitted by the prosecution. The "confession" was rejected because the Chief Justice was satisfied that violence had been used by the police in order to obtain it.

POPULATE OR PERISH

Was the slogan which the post-war Labor Party government used to launch its immigration drive. Few people then stopped to ask what the slogan meant - did it mean populate or white civilisation in Australia would be overrun by screaming Asiatic hordes? It did. The then Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell was a racist then, just as he is now. But the slogan also had another meaning - populate in order to create a cheap pool of unskilled labour for the Australian bourgeoisie otherwise they will perish. The misery which the Australian post-war immigration policy has created is well known. Immigrant families are undeniably the major occupants of the inner suburban slums of Melbourne and Sydney.

Over the years numerous stories have circulated about immigrants being lured to this country under false pretences. Italians and Greeks used to be the main victims, but now the Immigration Department is turning to new fields and young Latin Americans and Turks are being lured here under the pretext that job opportunities are good and that they will be taught English on arrival. They arrive to find that this is not so, that easily accessible English courses are not available and that only the most poorly paid and menial jobs are open to people who cannot speak English. Obviously the policy is to create a cheap pool of unskilled labour at any cost. Then of course there are the Turks who arrive thinking they are in West Germany...

LETTING THEM KNOW WHO'S BOSS

An Adelaide schoolgirl who made a complaint to police headquarters after seeing two police officers lifting an aborigine from the footpath by his hair and applying

vicious headlocks to him, later withdrew the complaint after having a talk with South Australian Police Commissioner McKinna. McKinna later said that the police officers had used no more force than was necessary to subdue the man. Those blacks - they take a lot of subduing.

VICTIMISATION OF BLACK MILITANT

Black militant Gordon Briscoe was recently arrested outside a hotel in Redfern and charged with using unseemly words and resisting arrest. Briscoe was later fined \$150. Such victimisation of blacks in Redfern is quite common. Gordon Briscoe has been one of the main figures behind the setting up of a legal defence organisation for blacks in the Redfern area. Clearly, the arrest of Briscoe reflects the fact that the police are worried that black people are beginning to organise.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY MARCH

Five hundred people demonstrated their solidarity with the Irish nationalist movement in Melbourne on Saturday March 18. A march proceeded from City Square to Treasury Gardens, where a rally was held with various speakers calling for the release of all internees and the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. Speakers included Ted Bul (Waterside Workers' Federation), Rod Quinn (Socialist Workers League), Dermont Hanaphy (Sean South and Fergal O'Hanlon Society) and Bill Bradby (Worker Student Alliance).



St Patrick's Day March, Melbourne March 18th.

BOBBI SYKES TOURS NEW ZEALAND

Black militant Bobbi Sykes has just completed an extremely successful speaking tour of New Zealand. During the tour she spoke to Maori militants and addressed public meetings on the conditions under which black people are forced to live in Australia. She was attacked by Australian Cabinet Minister Howson (Minister for the Environment, Aboriginals and the Arts), for creating false public opinion about the conditions of black people in this country. The government likes to gloss over its racist policies internationally.

Bobbi's tour, sponsored by the New Zealand Socialist Action League, received wide coverage on the media and she spoke to enthusiastic meetings across the country. Bobbi spoke to public meetings at 120 in Nelson, 200 and 350 in Wellington, 100 in Palmerston North, 150 in Auckland, 350 in Hamilton and 250 in Dunedin.

WAGGA TEACHERS COLLEGE

When NSW Premier Askin visited Wagga Teachers College recently, students blockaded his car until he agreed to meet a deputation protesting against proposals to raise the bond which trainee teachers must enter into, from \$1,000 to \$5,000 and also calling for better wages and conditions for trainee teachers. Wagga Teachers College has a reputation for being one of the most repressive educational institutions in the state.

The Trainee Teachers' Association is at present circulating a petition calling for the abolition of the bond system and is reported to be considering strikes and mass action in support of its claims.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

A public relations officer for the Chrysler company is reported in "The Review" (April 8-14) to have made the following comment on the impending unemployment of 450 workers resulting from the decision to close down the Chrysler plant in Melbourne: "Don't whinge to me about those bastards. They work when they feel like it and where they feel like it. No wonder everyone in the bloody industry has problems with quality control".

Of course the fact that unsafe and low quality cars are being produced is the fault of the lazy workers, not the manufacturers who pay miserable wages and skimp on materials in order to maximise profits!

NO RACISM HERE

Already a racist scare campaign is getting under way over the Labor Party's timid attempts to incorporate elimination of the worst aspects of the infamous White Australia Policy in its programme. Leaflets are circulating with the message "If you want an Asian for a neighbour, vote Labor".

The Liberal Party has condemned the leaflets but their condemnations are somewhat lame when their association with the extreme right wing and racist League of Rights is taken into account. Add to this their refusal to take effective steps to eliminate discrimination against aborigines and the presence of known racists such as Senator Sim within their ranks, and their protestations that they are not racists, look like downright lies.

PROGRESS

The Pacific Islands Monthly in its March edition reports that when CRA's Bougainville copper mine is in full operation it will treat 90,000 short tons of ore per day. From each ton CRA hopes to extract 0.48% copper and 0.36 penny-weights of gold, the rest of the 90,000 tons will be dumped in the Jaba River to be washed into the sea.

EAT YOUR BRAINS OUT

Commenting on the fact that the Customs Department in Victoria recently seized a consignment of flake which had a mercury content above the accepted limit, Victorian Health Minister Rossiter said that there was no reason why people should not continue to eat flake and that he considered it "one of the tastiest fish in the world". Mercury is a cumulative poison which usually attacks the brain, causing cerebral sclerosis. (Flake accounts for 80% of the Victorian fish market).

basis as the "regular" newsboys.

Since the beginning of 1971, "Direct Action" sellers have taken out news-vendors' licences with the city as required under by-law XII of the Adelaide Corporation. When they tried to renew them in September, they were told they would be restricted to selling in certain areas as defined by the council. Such restrictions are not given to the sellers of the daily press. Furthermore, the council refused outright to give licences to four female applicants because they were women. This is a two pronged attack against the civil liberties of Adelaide citizens on the part of the city administration. Firstly arbitrary discrimination against a newspaper because of the political views that it expresses; with the view to restricting its distribution and eventually forcing it off the streets. Secondly, sexist discrimination in refusing to allow women their right to acquire vendors' licences and sell publications on the streets. Two weeks ago summonses were served on five sellers of "Direct Action" ordering them to appear in court at the end of May to face charges of selling without a licence. Since September, many sellers of this paper have had their names taken by both city officers and state police. At no time were they told that they would be charged with an offence.

So far, only one publication has been affected. But the implications of such repressive actions go far beyond the bounds of one individual being fined or one newspaper being forced out of business. They affect every individual in the city. If the council can effectively intimidate and suppress one newspaper, it can do it to all newspapers. If the council can effectively discriminate against women in one sphere, it can do it in all spheres. Such arbitrary practices must be challenged and stopped.

They can only be challenged by all organisations and individuals, regardless of political outlook, uniting together to carry out a campaign against such repressive actions.

To this end, a committee - The Free Press Defence Campaign - has been formed to fight this battle out in the courts as well as to publicise the campaign as widely as possible to gain public support and sympathy. But our numbers and resources are small, and those of the city council are large. So we need both financial support as well as people to actively engage themselves in the work of the committee. We demand:

1. The right of everyone, regardless of political or philosophical outlook, to freely sell and distribute their publications in the streets of Adelaide unhindered by any discriminatory restrictions or harassment.
2. The right of all women to acquire licences for the selling of publications in the streets and the immediate repeal of any act or by-law that might prohibit them from doing so.

If you or your organisation support these demands - if you support the freedom of the press and wish to defend that right - fill in the form below and mail to: FREE PRESS DEFENCE CAMPAIGN, c/o 6 L'Estrange Street, Glenside 5065 or phone 23-4539.

... I enclose \$... donation towards the cost of the campaign.
 ... I would like to become actively engaged in the organising of the campaign - send me more details.
 Name:
 Organisation (if any):
 Address:
 Phone:

REPRESSION:

POLICE RAID BRISBANE SYA/SWL

Following an early morning raid on March 21 by police from the Drug Squad, the Brisbane branches of SYA and SWL were warned: "If you kick up a stink about this, we'll get the Health Department to close this place down".

At about 7.05 a.m. residents at SYA's headquarters at 97 Musgrave Road, Red Hill awoke to find police inside the premises. They were asked to leave or produce a warrant. In answer they said that no warrant was needed and proceeded to search every room.

One resident was shoved through a doorway into his room when he stated that he wished to be present while the room was searched. Another was held while his car was searched, despite protests that he was late for work.

Needless to say, the search proved futile. Then the police began to concentrate their energy on the SYA office, and Socialist Books' downstairs store. Multiple copies of leaflets, publications on the SYA National Conference and internal discussion bulletins were seized. They refused to write a receipt for what had been seized. When asked what this literature had to do with drugs, they replied that Special Branch (i.e. political police) would be interested. They asked several times "haven't Special Branch visited you yet?"

This is only one of several raids which SYA has suffered in the last 12 months. Also in Melbourne recently, the women's liberation headquarters in Rathdowne St. Carlton was raided. In Brisbane during the conference on racism, delegates were tailed quite openly by Special Branch plainclothes police.

This harassment will not serve its purpose: socialists and radicals will not be intimidated into submission.

Any threats to the rights that have been won in Australia to publicise socialist ideas and win support in the fight against exploitation, war and unemployment must be resisted by all. SYA and SWL have protested to the Queensland Police Commissioner and to members of parliament, and further action is planned.

DIRECT ACTION THREATENED IN ADELAIDE

Over the past year the Adelaide City Council has carried on a campaign of harassment and intimidation against sellers of the socialist newspaper "Direct Action". At first this was just the usual name taking etc., that is well known to those active in the labour, women's liberation, black and antiwar movements and to those generally who hold views contrary to that of the established order. However, this took on a new and qualitatively different form last September when the distributors of "Direct Action" were refused licences to sell on the same

Latrobe university students occupy administration

by Darryl Hillgrove

About 350 La Trobe students occupied the administration offices on Tuesday March 28. This action was called as a result of the failure of the administration to reinstate the 26 expelled students and drop fines totalling \$3175. Also the freezing of students' funds by the Council was the cause of mass student anger. Unlike last year, where guerrilla-type "vanguard" actions isolated students, this latest occupation had greater support which carried it through for 3 days.

In Australia - the NCC/DLP campaign is well under way with supreme court writs being taken out by their flunkies against La Trobe, Macquarie, New South Wales and Monash Universities. These writs are related to the student support for La Trobe's current struggles. At Melbourne University the SRC voted \$300 to Niugini's Mataungan Association. However under the threat of legal action by a hand-full of right wing students the SRC backed down.

Clearly the NCC/DLP offensive, backed by the University Administrations, must be exposed and fought by students.

Supreme Court Action
The Supreme Court session on Friday 7th April showed the vicious attempts by the Council to get rid of student activists, particularly SRC president, Brian Pola and Fergus Robinson. Both these students were expelled and "barred" by the Supreme Court from appearing on campus. At this session, eight affidavits were presented, seven of which directly dealt with sightings of Pola and Robinson on campus. Hence, both were held in "contempt of court" and could have been thrown into jail had they been present. So the Council, not to be denied, had issued to them leave to take a Writ of Attachment which can be used to effect an arrest on these students. If arrested the maximum period for jailing is up to seven years. The likelihood of cops coming onto campus, in the near future, is quite strong as La Trobe students have voted in mass meetings for non-recognition of the expulsion orders and full support to all victimized students in the on-campus campaign against repression. Should these arrests occur there will be further mass student/staff protests which will shake the university to its foundations.

The University's Role in Society:
Universities, rather than being a production line for capitalism, should turn towards



and become a powerhouse of anti-capitalist activity. They should provide:
* A spearhead for democratic rights.
* A base for anti-war activities.
* Support the struggle for women's rights - free creches, free contraceptives, an end to discrimination, etc.
* Agitation for an end to working-class-discrimination in University entrance requirements.
* Open-entrance to aboriginals and their rights to scholarships, black studies etc.
* Solidarity with all struggles of the working class -- support their wage demands, strike activity, etc.

Future Action
With these points in mind certain specific tasks are essential for future occupations.
1. The setting up of workshops to produce explanatory literature and posters for distribution to students not already involved in the occupation and to the outside community.
2. Contacting of union officers, wharves building sites, high schools, left-wing shops and any other area from which we can draw community support.

3. The establishing of links with other campuses to tangible acts of solidarity with students throughout Australia.
4. Speakers including trade-union, women's liberation, black movement militants etc. be invited to address the occupation about their activities and support.
This would be a means of -
A) reinforcing the students' struggle by outside support.
B) strengthening the occupation from within - develop a sense of a living, creative occupation centre which would attract non-committed students to join in.
5. The occupation should work to support the coming Moratorium on April 21. Anti-war workshops could be set up, to invite speakers, produce leaflets, etc. These actions are particularly relevant in view of the current heroic offensive by the Vietnamese.
6. Women's Liberation workshops could also be set up to research actual discrimination within the university.
At present, the struggle must continue and future occupations if they are to be successful with broad, mass student support must revolve about the above points.

Teachers plan strike campaign

by Jim McIlroy

Frustration among teachers in all sections of Victorian state education is growing steadily in the face of Education Department and Government intransigence. That incredible mausoleum of teachers' hopes, the Teachers' Tribunal is the focus of their anger at the moment. Militancy is extending more broadly than ever. Even the traditionally conservative primary-teacher based Victorian Teachers' Union (VTU) has now been forced to respond with warnings about the possibility of industrial action. Until now the VTU has opposed all strikes initiated by the Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association (VSTA) and the Technical Teachers' Association of Victoria (TTAV), and in many cases

has played a very reactionary and strike-breaking role. When the VSTA called a one-day strike over the Tribunal issue on March 24 the VTU leadership issued several pernicious leaflets condemning the action and in effect backing the government. Despite this campaign, several thousand VSTA members turned up at a Town Hall meeting and almost unanimously voted for their executive's motion for a series of half-day stoppages. More significant was the strong feeling expressed from the floor in favour of tougher action, including an indefinite strike. Many teachers were hopping mad with the way the VSTA executive and particularly the chairman, Geoff Reid, handled the meeting. The executive motions were manoeuvred

through very efficiently and no effort was made to test the strength of feeling for more militant action. In effect the executive used the meeting as a vote of confidence in themselves, putting up the half-day stoppage idea as a sop to the militants, but one not really confronting the department and government effectively.

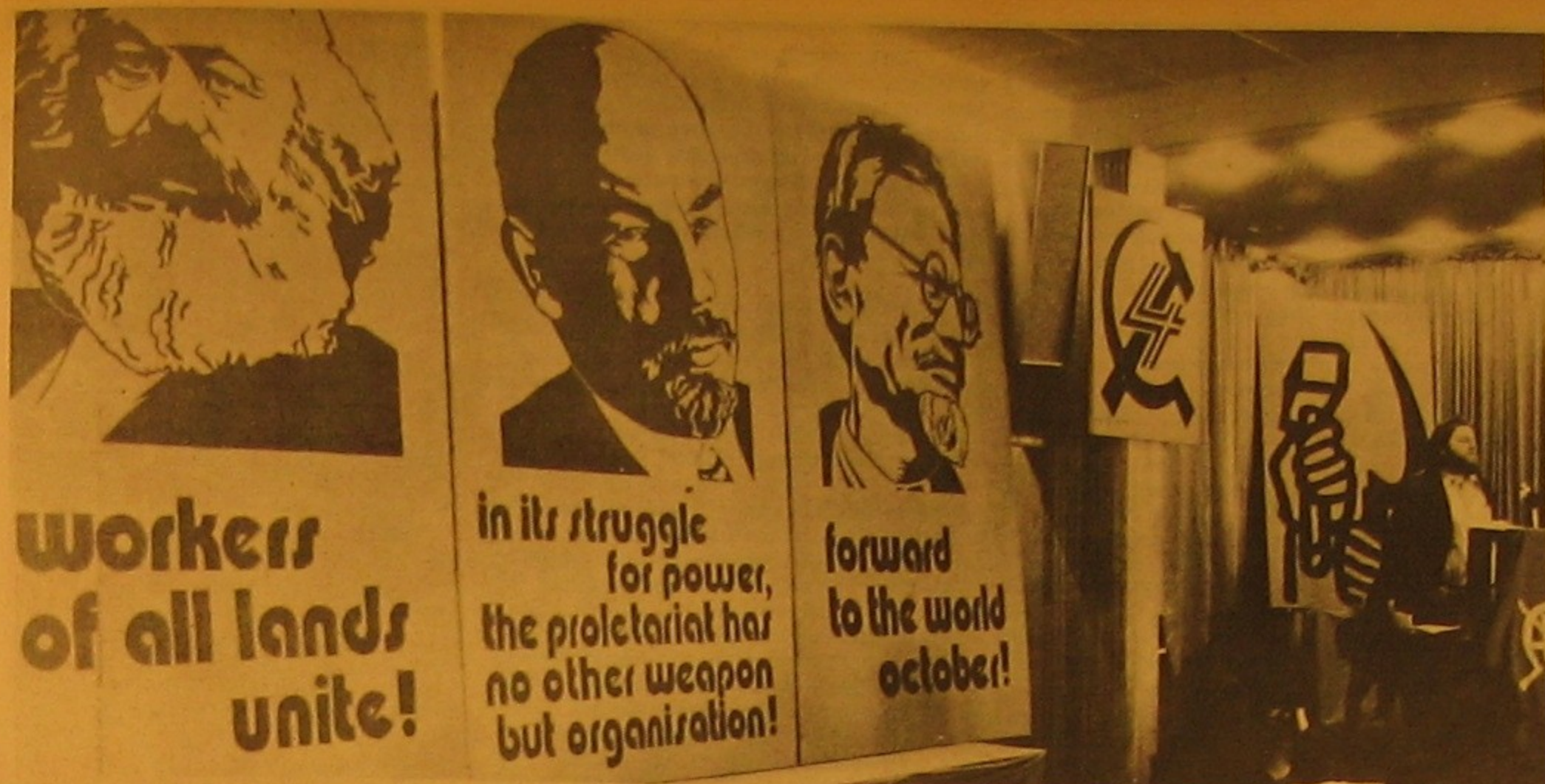
The many militants among the ranks of secondary teachers are isolated from one another right now, and unable to present a united challenge to the hegemony of the professionals in the leadership. What is needed is the development of caucuses of militants within the teachers unions (in particular the VSTA) to press for more militant action in support of teachers claims and to begin to work out transitional programmes for the widening of the focus of teacher action towards challenging the structure and ideologies of the capitalist education system as a whole. Existing groups such as Socialist Teachers have become isolated from rank and file teachers. The approach must be to intervene directly in union meetings, etc., put up motions, stand candidates in union elections on radical programmes etc. A militant group could be the generator of a really broad grass roots movement for fundamental change amongst teachers, developing close links with other sections of the working class movement.

This will depend in large part also on developing links with school student struggles, in taking their demands up as the teachers' own. Teachers have both a proletarian and a supervisory position in the schools (their ideology generally reflects this contradiction). However if they are to be liberated as teachers, they must recognize as part of their own fight that of their 'charges' who are more oppressed by the system. This works both ways. It is significant that there were cases reported of student support during the March 24 VSTA stoppage. At one school, students blocked the gates to prevent non-called teachers from entering, and called them scabs. This unity can be developed further (as was seen at Watsonia

High School etc) by the involvement of parents in a community controlled and open concept of education. Schools should be community centres, and adult education should continue at night. By teachers pushing for such demands, solidarity with teachers strikes for their own claims can be developed among parents.

Teachers are increasingly coming to see themselves as intellectual workers. The concepts of scabbing and the goal of closed staff rooms are now more widely accepted, although there is obviously a long way to go in creating a proletarian consciousness. The demand to join the ACTU is already being raised. Teachers are obviously not escaping the effects of the present economic crisis and employers' offensive any more than other workers. The education crisis and teachers demands focus initially on the overall impoverishment of the system: lack of trained teachers, class sizes, conditions etc. The tribunal acts as a bureaucratic smoke screen for the government's policies in this respect. Teachers' salary claims in all sectors, have now been before the tribunal for years, and now there is no sign of a quick resolution. Clearly the orders are not to shell out any more money in this critical period.

The TTAV has called rolling stoppages starting in the country and spreading to city technical schools, culminating in a one-day strike of all teachers in the metropolitan area and a march to the teachers tribunal on the same day. Even the VTU has chimed in on the salary delay issue, obviously under pressure from below. Things are developing towards a climax, with teachers gradually losing all patience with the tribunal and state government. Perhaps we can anticipate the possibility of a repeat of the high point of teacher political action and effectiveness in Victoria during 1946, when united vigorous industrial and political action by teachers was instrumental in bringing down the reactionary Dunstan government.



SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE 3RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE REGISTERS NEW GAINS

One hundred and seventy people attended the 3rd National Conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance held in Melbourne over the Easter weekend March 31-April 3. Delegates represented newly-formed branches in Brisbane and Hobart, as well as Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Canberra. The membership of the organization has more than doubled since the last conference, and present indications point to a more rapid growth still, over the next few months.

The conference opened on Friday night with an International Report presented by John McCarthy. The report described the severe economic crisis which capitalism is currently facing on an international scale, and outlined the latest developments of the world revolution. Later speakers spoke in detail on the situation in Ireland, the Middle East, New Guinea and South-East Asia, among others, and dealt further with the political repercussions arising from the economic situation, and the effects of unemployment and inflation on the working class.

The first session on Saturday opened with the presentation of the document "Perspectives for the Radicalization" by Jim Percy. This document analysed the ongoing process of radicalization in the context of the capitalist crisis. It went on to describe the development and possibilities for the anti-war, student, women's liberation and black movements, and the effects of these struggles on the working class as a whole. The document also drew comparisons between our unconditional support of these developing anticapitalist movements, and the positions of other tendencies on the left with their opportunism and sectarian abstentionism. This document reaffirmed our central tasks of winning the leadership of the radical youth, in building a strong revolutionary socialist youth organization, and in drawing youthful cadres to build the future section of the Fourth International in Australia.

"A Socialist Strategy for the Universities" was presented by Jim McIlroy. This document made a thoroughgoing analysis of the student movement, and the changing role of the bourgeois university and its role in the revolutionary movement. The document put forward the strategy of the "Red University" as being the means by which the university could be allied with revolutionary struggles. SYA, as a youth organization, was seen as being able to work in the mass movements, and on campuses to develop an outward-looking political awareness amongst student youth, and a willingness to act in solidarity with working class struggles in the wider society.

The Sunday morning session opened with the document "Strategy for a Mass Feminist Movement", presented by Nita Keig. The document described the emergence of the women's liberation movement as a growing and confident force, struggling around its own demands - demands which strike at the institution of the family and at the priorities of the capitalist system. Organizing mass actions was seen as being the only means by which women could win their demands, and the only way of bringing large numbers of women into struggle against the system oppressing them, and in raising their consciousness about the need for a socialist revolution. SYA had played a major role in building actions on March 11 in many cities, and the further building of this movement was seen as being one of our central tasks in the future. The success of the March 11 demonstrations indicated the potential for this movement to win its demands and to add powerful forces to the revolutionary struggle. This document is reprinted in full on pages 8-9 of this issue.

The document "A Socialist Strategy for the Labour Movement" was presented by Dave Holmes. This document sketched the main trends of development of the labour movement since World War 11, considering the current crisis and its repercussions on the labour organizations. It outlined a revolutionary socialist strategy for the labour movement in the current crisis and the specific role of SYA in this movement. Our role in this sphere, must, of necessity be limited, in that we are only a youth organization. However, in attempting to win the leadership of the radicalizing student and worker youth through our involvement in the mass movements, we seek to educate them in the need for solidarity with the struggles of labour. Our role within union youth formations and in apprentices schools, where we already have some contacts, will also be of importance.

During a break in proceedings Russell Johnson, member of the Socialist Action League of New Zealand, a fraternal organization, delivered greetings to the conference on its behalf. Comrade Johnson was returning to New Zealand after having spent eight months in North America and Europe. The news he brought of the growth and influence of our fellow organizations on these continents was extremely inspiring, for in our relative isolation and being a very young organization, we realize, very acutely, the importance of being part of an international movement.

The Sunday evening of the conference was given over to workshops on high schools, solidarity movements, the antiwar movement, the black struggle, ecology, Direct Action and defence campaigns.

Discussion in the defence workshop was centred mainly around projections for a campaign for a lifting of the ban on Ernest Mandel from this country. Also discussed in this workshop was the repression of Direct Action in Adelaide, where five members have received summonses for selling on the streets.

There was a report-back from these workshops, to the whole conference at the conclusion of the session.

On Monday morning the membership heard reports from the branches and the National Office on the progress and growth of the organization since the time of the last conference. All the reports were extremely optimistic and encouraging, although our finances, as always, are stretched to the limit. Reports followed from the Constitution Committee and the Credentials Committee. A new National Committee was elected, of fifteen people, with a new layer of people moving into leadership roles. The conference concluded with the singing of the "Internationale".

The continued and steady growth of our organization over the past year is a vindication of the correctness of our politics. We are the strongest tendency amongst the revolutionary youth. It is not sufficient to merely assess ourselves in terms of our opponents on the left. The enormity and urgency of our tasks are such that nothing less than the development of mass revolutionary organizations capable of leading the working class and other oppressed sectors in successful socialist revolution, will save humanity from barbarism.

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

Whoever succeeds in winning the allegiance of the most intelligent and devoted activists among the rebel youth holds the key to the future. For they will play a major role in making history and deciding the destiny of mankind for the rest of the twentieth century". (Perspectives for the Radicalisation). SYA has made a good start in this task.



Photos above left to right, top to bottom: Jim Percy, John McCarthy, Jim McIlroy, Nita Keig, Dave Holmes, singing the Internationale. Cover: Russell Johnson.

Socialist Books

- "An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory" Ernest Mandel 40c
- "The Leninist Theory of Organization: Its Relevance Today" Ernest Mandel 30c
- "On the Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class" Mandel Novack 30c
- "Peaceful Coexistence and World Revolution" Ernest Mandel 20c
- "Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries" Ernest Mandel 15c
- "The Revolutionary Student Movement" Ernest Mandel 25c
- "Fascism - What it is and how to fight it" Leon Trotsky 15c
- "I Stake My Life" Leon Trotsky 15c
- "Marxism in Our Time" Leon Trotsky 30c
- "Stalinism and Bolshevism" Leon Trotsky 20c
- "The Transitional Program" Leon Trotsky 25c
- "Statutes of the Fourth International" 15c
- "The New Rise of the World Revolution" Fourth International Resolution 10c
- "In Defense of the Women's Movement" Waters, Miller and Reed 15c
- "Problems of Women's Liberation" Evelyn Reed 5c
- "Women: caste, class or oppressed sex?" Evelyn Reed 5c
- "Socialist Man" Isaac Deutscher 10c
- "Class Struggle in Bangla Desh" Tariq Ali 25c
- "The Truth About Israel and Zionism" Nathan Weinstock, Jon Rothschild 15c
- "The Class Nature of Israeli Society" Hanegbi - Machover - Orr 20c

ADD 10c EACH FOR POSTAGE AND ORDER FROM SOCIALIST BOOKS, P.O. BOX 186, HAYMARKET, 2000.

Consciousness of the New Movement

The women's liberation movement has emerged in the past year as another confident and organized expression of the current radicalization. Women, in increasing numbers are rejecting the image created for them by capitalist society, are stepping out of their passive, self-effacing role, and are beginning to assert control over their lives in a direct way.

The women's liberation movement stands for everything that is the opposite to being weak, submissive and unconfident. It represents the struggle of women to realize their full potential as human beings and to reach out, through their struggle to other women. This confidence is reflected in the slogan "Sisterhood is Powerful!" which means fighting to break down the competitiveness and alienation which has existed between women for so long, and proving that women, together, can win their demands.

There have existed throughout history isolated women and movements of women who have fought against the limitations imposed on them by society, and have sought to organize women in struggle. The most notable in recent times was the feminist movement at the turn of this century, which organized massive numbers of women in many countries, around demands for female suffrage, the right to own and dispose of property, access to educational institutions etc. These were all essentially democratic demands, granted at an earlier stage to all layers of society- but not extended to women. As women began to win these demands and change the existing feudal conceptions about their place in society, the movement went into decline. It took half a century for women to begin to realize that formal equality had not basically changed their role in society or their relationship to its institutions.

Today, the women's movement is still fighting for democratic demands- demands for control over reproduction, for the right to legal abortion on demand, and for safe, easily available contraceptives. Demands are still being raised for equality of opportunity in work and education, and for equal wages.

What distinguishes the present movement from struggles around similar demands in the past is that it is at a qualitatively higher stage, because women are beginning to realize that the denial of these basic rights flows directly from the nature and needs of capitalist society. It is this ability of women to relate their oppression so directly to social institutions and to recognize why this society denies them their basic rights that gives the movement such revolutionary potential. More and more, women are coming to the realization that the total liberation of women cannot be achieved without a revolutionary transformation of society.

Role of the Family

Indicative of this is the fact that women are singling out the family as being one of the chief institutions oppressing women, and are examining its role in capitalist society.

Since the emergence of the patriarchal family, women have been relegated to the home and given responsibility for housekeeping and the care of children. This role has been held up to women as being their primary role and responsibility in life. They have been taught to believe that only in being a wife and mother can they receive fulfillment. This has led to a systematic stunting and distorting of women's ambitions and self-image to the point where they see their very identity in terms of their fathers, husbands or boy-friends, because, in this wife/mother role they are robbed of economic and psychological independence. This dependence of women, and of children on men means that in their personal relationships they will tend to be subordinate. The struggle against the patriarchal family is the struggle to free personal relationships from economic chains.

Because having children inside the existing family structure means years of domestic drudgery for all but very rich women, the ability of women to control their bodies and to be able to make decisions about when and whether to bear children is an essential right. Without this, women are unable to make decisions which affect their lives and are forced, through lack of childcare facilities or adequate social services to be economically

dependent on their husbands or families. The reason that the government will not provide low-cost or free childcare facilities on a mass scale is precisely because it helps to break down the existing patriarchal nuclear family where men remain in the home performing individually such social tasks as housework and the care of children, the aged and the sick- (none of whom are useful to capitalism because they are non-productive).

The family performs other tasks useful to this society, and these are chiefly concerned with the conditioning and socializing of the young. It plays a decisive function in the perpetuation of class society. Wealth is passed down to succeeding generations through the family structure. Unlike working class children, the children of the ruling class are assured of every economic and educational advantage.

The family is an authoritarian institution where children learn to accept the exploitative and alienating social relations which exist under capitalism and develop, themselves, the selfish and competitive traits needed to survive in this system. They learn to think, not in terms of society as a whole, but in terms of their families and immediate friends. They become alienated from society because of their alienation from the means of production, and because they must compete as individuals and as family units with other family units for the available jobs and material goods essential for life. In this respect, also, the family is a wasteful economic unit because it requires the useless duplication of goods and appliances, and irrational use of labour in society.

It is within the family that children first learn to adjust to clearly defined sex roles. Boys are encouraged to be aggressive and adventurous and to take an interest in creative and scientific toys, while girls are taught to be passive and to imitate the housekeeping and childminding tasks of their mothers. Likewise in school this conditioning is reinforced by teachers, textbooks and choice of subjects and sports open to each sex. Besides this discrimination, other prejudices and backward social ideas such as religion, patriotism and racism are fostered within the family

However, the traditional family structure is showing obvious signs of breaking down. Young people in particular are becoming cynical about the "sanctity" of marriage and the family and are deviating more and more from traditional norms by experimenting with collective living and rejecting many of the accepted sexual mores of the society. The divorce rate is rising, there is an increase in illegitimate births and many more people are living together without marriage certificates. Added to this, and despite the handicaps of lack of childcare facilities, sex and wage discrimination and double work load, increasing numbers of married women are asserting their right to work outside the home and to earn an independent income. All these factors are contributing to the disintegration of the nuclear family and the rise of a women's movement which is demanding that the state take responsibility for many of the tasks which are presently the burden of women in individual families.

A Revolutionary Strategy

The fact that so many of the present demands of the women's liberation movement strike at the institution of the family means that the movement has an increasingly anti-capitalist consciousness. The ideas which spring from this new consciousness however, are often very vague and unformulated. Women are seeking to know just how they can end their oppression and change a society they recognize to be exploitative and destructive.

A revolutionary strategy for the women's liberation movement must flow from an analysis of the relationship of women's oppression to class society, and of the forces which are required to overthrow both. Only an independent mass movement of women can win the reforms which women so urgently need, and only such a movement can raise the consciousness of the mass of women about their role in society. A revolutionary strategy for this movement must be based on a program of democratic and transitional demands relating directly to the needs of women and forming part of a broader, transitional program for a socialist revolution.

Thousands of women will be mobilized around such demands, many of which will not be achievable outside of a socialist

revolution. Struggles for the right to abortion, childcare, equal pay etc, because they attack capitalist institutions and are resisted by the governments defending these institutions, lead women to an understanding of the nature of the society which keeps them oppressed, and the kind of society which could fulfil their needs.

Because of the inability of capitalism to grant women total freedom, uncompromising feminism can lead only to socialist conclusions. The demands of the movement will develop as the struggle deepens, and these demands will more and more, directly strike at capitalism,

At this stage, the struggle around the right to abortion on demand is perhaps the one capable of mobilizing the greatest numbers of women. Denial of this fundamental right means that women still cannot control reproduction completely, and can stand to lose much by having an unwanted pregnancy. Victories over questions such as these will inspire confidence in the movement, and in the knowledge that still further demands are realizable. Most importantly such victories will bring about far-reaching changes in the lives of thousands of women.

The fight for abortion on demand should be understood to be linked to the demand of "no forced sterilisation". This opposes the ideas of zero population growth, which seek to retain state control over women's bodies.

The women's liberation movement is a movement which strikes at capitalist society from many angles. Already the demands for control over one's body have mobilized many women. The demand for child care centres is basic to freeing women from domestic slavery. Demands for the socialization of laundry, meal services and housecleaning by the provision of low cost, high quality restaurants and laundries, and by organizing house cleaning on an industrial basis are further demands which create alternatives which are superior to the present system where women are individually burdened with these tasks. Women would then be free to engage in whatever form of work suited their needs and abilities best.

The economic demands which women raise are important in raising the consciousness of women as workers. In the past women have often been the least militant, and most poorly unionized section of the workforce, due to their traditional passivity and because their work outside the home was considered secondary and less important. Women are demanding equal pay and denying that they should receive lower wages because they often do less physically demanding work. Women are arguing that all work done in society is valuable, and as such criteria have never been used to judge men's work, nor should they be used to lower wages for women. Other demands for the cessation of all discrimination in jobs on the grounds of sex, and fully paid maternity leave with no loss in seniority. Women workers as they become more conscious through their struggles will add powerful forces to the struggles of the working class against unemployment and inflation, contributing to a rising political consciousness about these issues.

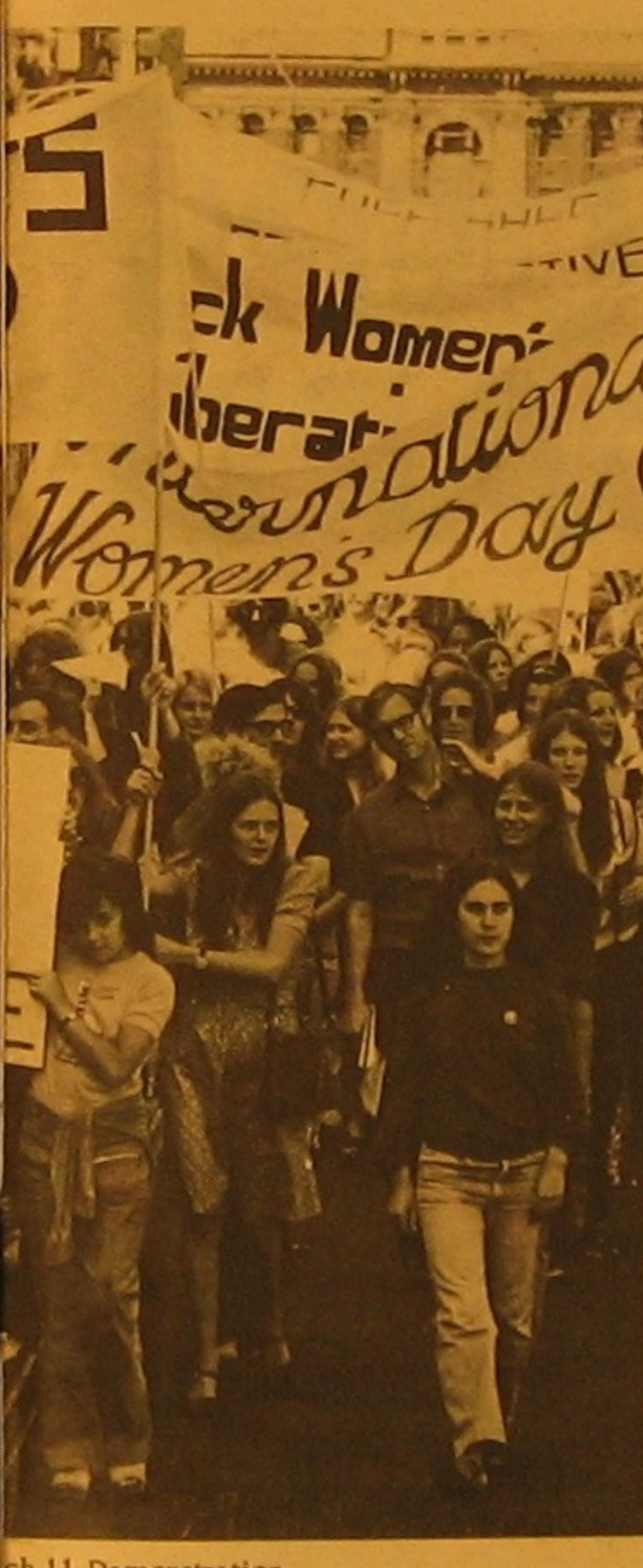
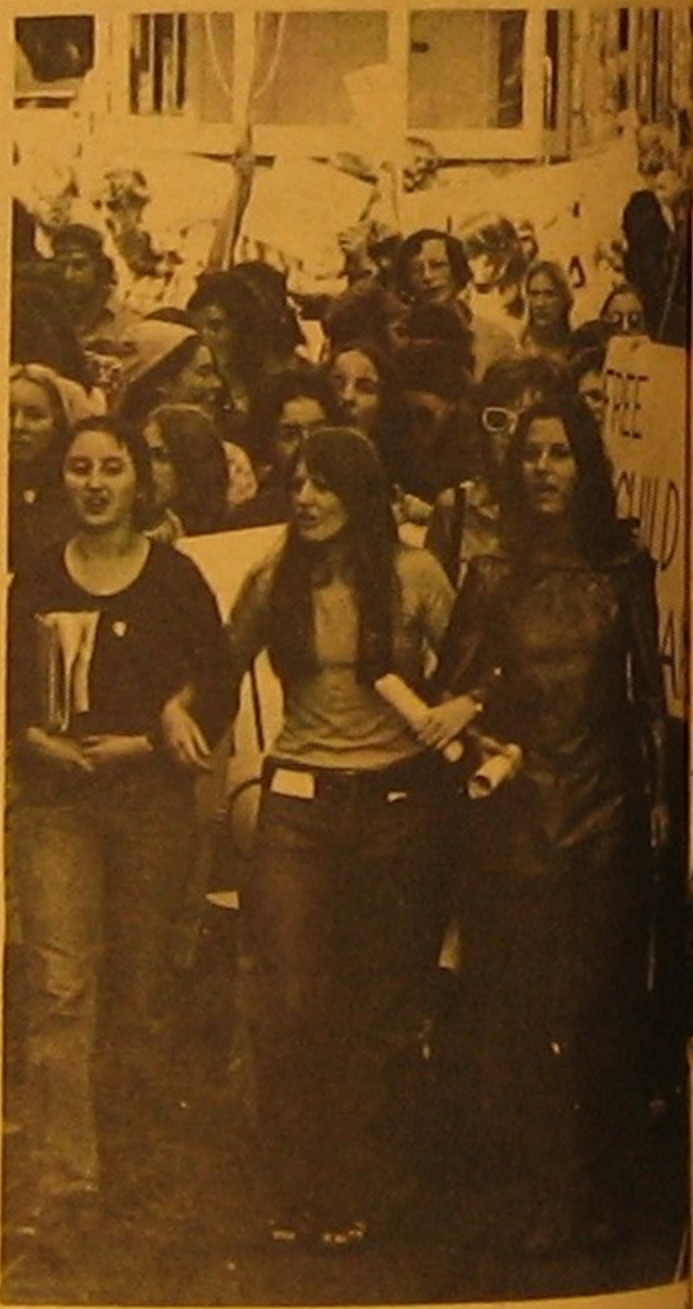
In fighting for the demands of women workers and of the women's liberation movement as a whole, women will probably need to form their own organizations as well as working within the organized labour movement, insisting that unions adopt their demands as their own. This will be an integral part of the fight to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary struggle, fighting for the interests of the working class as a whole.

Demands are being made to give women equal educational opportunities and to prevent the channelling of female children into traditional "female" occupations such as nursing, teaching and office work. The demands for equal educational opportunities are linked with other demands for childcare centres at universities, contraceptive services for all students etc

Identification with the oppression of other groups of people in capitalist society is made more easy for women as consciousness about the many aspects of their own oppression rises. Women have already as a group, protested the role of US and Australian governments in the imperialist war in Vietnam. The women's liberation movement, in the future, will make links with other movements, whose struggles have in common the objective of trying to create a society which caters to human needs. Through struggle will come the realization that the present society must be overthrown completely in order to do this, and that the working class must take power into its own hands, if society is to be reorganized.

Strategy for a Mass Feminist Movement

Resolution adopted at the Easter 1972 3rd National Conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance



Melbourne March 11 Demonstration.

An Independent Movement

Recognition of women's liberation as an independent political movement is key to any understanding of its revolutionary potential. It is a movement with its own unique demands and dynamic, with the potential for mobilizing thousands of women in independent political action. It is only by organizing independently that women can raise their own consciousness and the consciousness of society about their oppression. No other forces in society can be relied upon to win the demands most relevant to women. The existence of the women's liberation movement as an independent movement ensures that women's demands are not made subordinate to other issues, or watered down in any way.

cannot see the transitional nature of demands which attack the family. They claim that it is only against their oppression as workers that women can struggle, and that demands for abortion and childcare centres are "bourgeois" demands, ignoring the fact that it is working class women who have most to gain from these reforms.

There are others who insist that the movement must be consciously socialist or anticapitalist from its inception, failing to understand the process by which women are radicalizing through this movement. These sectarian and pseudo-socialist ideas signify a failure to come to terms with the radicalization of women as one of the many oppressed sectors of society beginning to organize around its own demands and challenge capitalist society.

In the current period, when whole layers of society are undergoing a process of radicalization, the consciousness of different oppressed groupings within the society may develop at a very uneven pace. Some sections of the working class for instance, throw up more advanced demands and use more militant tactics than other sections, at a particular time. The consciousness of women, students or oppressed national groupings can often be witnessed long before the mass of workers begin to move.

What the sectarians are saying is that we should not attempt to develop these opportunities to advance revolutionary consciousness, but should wait for the working class as a whole to take up these struggles. They do not realize that such movements are instrumental in raising the political consciousness of the working class, as well as in fighting the racist and chauvinist prejudices which often exist within it- prejudices which such groups as "Labour Press" often condone and reinforce.

As revolutionary socialists we must work to mobilize the largest possible number of women in struggles around the democratic and transitional demands of the movement, and bring them to a socialist consciousness of their oppression and its relation to class society.

Consciousness-raising Groups

For many women coming into the women's liberation movement, consciousness-raising groups fulfil an important need. They are valuable in showing women that many of their problems do not stem from personal failure and maladjustment, but are shared by all women to some degree. Women are able, through these groups to reeducate themselves about their identity and history, analyse the effects of their conditioning, and discuss ways of fighting their oppression. They are useful in building up the confidence of women and in raising their consciousness about the origins of their oppression.

When, however, women see consciousness-raising as an end in itself, and reject a perspective for action, their ideas become stagnant and self-defeating. These "living-room" feminists are trying to achieve liberation through creating ideal and unalienated personal relationships with a limited group of people- a task in itself impossible under capitalism. These women oppose building mass actions or waging campaigns around women's demands because they consider that the majority of women who participate have a "low level of consciousness" and aren't "true feminists" because of this.

Similar to these are the women who believe that by setting up counter-institutions it is possible to liberate women. The setting-up of privately-run childcare centres, contraceptive clinics etc provide no solution for the majority of women as most do not have the time or resources to do this. The struggle for women's liberation means struggling for the liberation of all women and this means demanding that the government use the enormous resources of the society to provide for the needs of all women. The struggle is not to create one's own institutions to meet personal needs but to wrest the wealth of the society from the hands of the ruling class in order to build a society which caters for the needs of everyone.

There can be no success for people seeking individual solutions within this system. It is impossible to create ideal communities and relationships within this system, because the rottenness and corruption of the society will always break

through, destroying people and poisoning human relationships. Such utopian creations cannot be insulated from the rest of society. People must still work under alienating productive relations and are still liable to be plunged into poverty and unemployment in times of economic downturn. Poverty, oppression and alienation can only be eliminated by overthrowing capitalism and abolishing class society, and the struggle for women's liberation is a part of the struggle for this.

Mass Action

Mass action remains the most effective and powerful weapon in the struggle to win the demands of women. It is through mass street demonstrations and other active mass campaigns that we can most rapidly and effectively reach the thousands of uninvolved women with whom the potential power of the movement lies. Such mass actions are a visible expression of the size, confidence and militancy of the movement. They are the only means by which women are going to achieve any real long or short-term gains. The pressure that can be brought to bear on capitalist governments through mass action is far greater than that of any isolated campaigns or attempts to work within the structure of the parliamentary system. Governments must grant reforms or face the prospect of alienating themselves completely from a large section of society, a section which is rapidly adopting a more radical critique of society and of the means of realizing its demands.

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 that the whole system will need to be changed in order to meet all the demands prerequisite to the freedom of women.

In Australia, on March 11, people witnessed the first mass street demonstrations around women's liberation demands. The size of these demonstrations indicated the potential strength of this movement. It was successful in showing people the size of the movement, and in publicising the demands for abortion, childcare, equal opportunities and the right to work, and in doing this, countering the lies and distortions printed daily in the bourgeois press about women's liberation.

These are the sorts of actions we must fight for in the future-against all elements who want to steer the movement into less effective channels. We must fight to keep the movement independent, particularly of reformists who will seek to use the movement for their own parliamentary advantages, ultimately watering down and betraying the demands of women. Many liberals will try to convince women to seek changes merely by lobbying within political parties and voting women to office. As revolutionaries, we must not reinforce the illusions that many women have in these reformist and bourgeois parties, but to expose the fact that these parties and the economic system they represent cannot provide liberation for women.

Red-baiting

These liberals are often amongst the people who red-bait revolutionary women for trying to co-opt or "manipulate the movement for their own political ends". It is usually those who disagree with the perspective of building an independent, mass movement of women who try to conceal their differences by diverting discussion away from political issues at stake, by prejudicing women from carrying on an open discussion with supporters of a mass action perspective. They attempt to invoke all the "anti-socialist" and "anti-communist" prejudices that have been inculcated in people in capitalist society, in order to bias the opinions of women in the movement.

Whenever red-baiting occurs, it should be taken on and explained for exactly what it is- an attempt to discredit revolutionaries by bringing into play prejudices which the ruling class has cultivated, in order to discourage people from seriously examining the program that a revolutionary organization fights for. SYA women have met with red-baiting already, and can expect to meet with more as the movement grows. It is therefore all the more important to stress the norms of democracy and non-exclusion in any coalitions which are set up to organize campaigns and actions.

The number of women that the March 11 actions were able to mobilize, compared to the numbers who have been brought into consciousness-raising groups, demonstrates the importance of these types of actions

in reaching new women. Many women can be involved in the organization of these actions if a broad and democratic coalition is set up. Experience in building mass actions in the past has repeatedly shown that the greatest numbers can be mobilized when such a broad coalition is set up to organize the action, i.e. the broader the coalition, the wider the support. As they will comprise individuals and organizations with many different aims and interests, unity in such a coalition will depend on agreement around basic, central demands- in this case demands which relate directly to the most urgent needs of women.

They should be open to all women who support these demands, regardless of their politics, class etc and they should be democratic. Democracy within coalitions is essential, if they are to grow and involve more people. All committees to organize and make day-to-day decisions should be democratically elected and responsible to general meetings of the coalition.

Experience in the practical organizing of mass campaigns will increase with time, and this will mean a corresponding increase in the size of actions which are called. The future success of these will depend greatly on the maintenance of democracy in the movement and the ability of coalitions to assimilate and involve new forces. The effective organization of mass campaigns is essential if the enormous potential of the women's liberation movement is to be released.

Our Tasks

As revolutionary socialists, we can play an important role in the women's liberation movement. We are able to provide answers to the many questions which are raised by women as they seek to discover how their oppression originated, how it is presently perpetuated and how it can be ended. We are able, through our experience in the leadership of other mass struggles, to help build the women's liberation movement into a large and powerful movement, capable of winning many of the demands of women.

Our major task in building this movement is to help raise the consciousness of masses of women through participation in struggles which directly attack the institutions and priorities of capitalist society, and in this process, to attract the most conscious women to our full revolutionary program. Many of the women we will eventually recruit will arrive at a socialist perspective through this movement and through contact with socialists active within it. This has already begun to happen. Therefore, our participation in both consciousness-raising groups and mass campaigns is very important. Leading up to March 11, the role of SYA in organizing and building the March Action Campaign was decisive in bringing off actions in some cities. The role we can play in building the women's liberation movement and helping to coordinate actions is considerable. The actions on March 11 have shown that the demands of the movement have the power to attract thousands of women. Opportunities lay open everywhere for building the movement. On the campuses and in high schools, from where a large section of the activists will come there has been very little activity to date. For SYAers on campus in particular, the building of this movement is a prime task, and will open an important avenue of recruitment for SYA, also.

Direct Action is of central importance as a vehicle for reaching many women and explaining the relationship between the struggles of women and the struggle for socialism, and raising their consciousness about many other issues at the same time.

As we will recruit women on the basis of our entire program, it plays a vital, educational role. Within the organization women who have come into SYA through this movement will develop an understanding of all aspects of revolutionary organization and theory, and will be able to play a part in the leadership of the mass struggles which reflect the deepening radicalization of all oppressed layers in our society today.

Women cannot achieve total liberation without a socialist revolution. However, women must fight now to win what demands they can from the capitalist system, and to lay the basis for revolutionary changes in the family and other institutions which presently oppress women. This movement, because it brings women by its very logic, into anticapitalist struggle, will strengthen the revolutionary movement, and be a necessary element in the forces which will forge a new society.

U.S. - G.M. STRIKE

BY GEOFF THOMSON

The Australian Financial Review of Thursday, March 9, 1972 under its US Affairs column carried an article of some interest to socialists, "G.M. Workers strike over 'forced labour'" by a special writer in New York gives a good indication of the current economic crisis in the United States and the way in which the American employers hope to deal with the problem.

Attention was drawn to the new "super-automated" Vega car assembly plant at Loudon, Ohio, by a strike involving the 7,500 workers employed there. Over 97% of the workers at the plant voted to go out complaining that the management has been forcing them to work too hard and too fast in order to cut costs.

Eight hundred workers had been recently laid off but the production rate of 101 cars an hour - the fastest car assembly rate in the world - had been maintained. General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD), GM's top management team, had engineered changes whereby fewer workers could produce at the same rate as before the layoffs; they did this by assigning extra tasks to the remaining workers.

Sizeable layoffs in other GM plants supplying parts to Vega have been predicted. The Vega strike may thus level a serious blow at GM's plan to produce a car capable of competing with low-priced overseas competition.

The article goes on to describe a survey conducted by Business Week into the car industry. Business Week had been motivated by 'the increasingly serious problem of worker discontent on automated assembly lines everywhere.' The survey claims that 'autoworkers in general have not been articulate about reform measures to soften the impact of automation in the industry.' However, not everything is lost. Management and the union have been experimenting with changes.

G.M. has been the most daring and the most systematic in the industry in its attempts to find some solution to the problem of 'worker discontent.' A certain Mr. Frank Schotters, a former GM plant manager, has recently received a top appointment to GM's personnel administration department which is headed by Stephen Fuller, associate dean of the Harvard Business School. It seems that Mr. Schotters' particular merit was seen in the 'new workers motivation techniques' he developed and employed in the Atlanta area.

Mr. Schotters believes that 'communication may be the most important solution. Thus, at GM's Lakewood plant workers and management get together for "rap" sessions on absenteeism and how to improve assembly processes. Other experiments, however, such as "enlarging" jobs - by giving the workers four functions instead of one, for example - have not met with any great success.

On the other hand, Chrysler is experimenting with allowing small groups of workers to make some decisions affecting their jobs. Ford is giving its foremen "sensitivity" training in dealing with the young.

One does not need a crystal ball to comprehend the motives that lie behind these 'new workers motivation techniques.' The American bosses are finding themselves increasingly threatened by falling profit rates, stiffer international competition and a working class that is not going to take attacks on its living standards lying down. They are finding it increasingly difficult to rely on the class collaborationist United Automobile Workers union leaders to contain every independent step of the American workers.

Thus they must resort to something 'new'. They give the workers more 'decision making', they allow the workers to determine the way a given component is assembled, management and labour can 'relate' to each other and discuss matters of 'mutual interest', peace at any cost so long as the profits roll in. This is the way the American

bosses are thinking.

But the bosses are in a terrible fix. The more they manoeuvre, the deeper they go. They cannot patch up the 'poor relations' developing between management and labour. There can be no compromise while workers are being forced to work harder and harder as real wages sink to lower levels.

Australian workers can learn a lot from



Top picture shows AFL-CIO Executive Council, Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters and Leonard Woodcock of the U. A. W. (third and fourth from left) participate George Meany is on the far right.

Bottom picture reflects changing composition of the workforce in the United States.

- LABOR LEADERS QUIT PAY BOARD

BY JON ROTHSCHILD

Nixon's "tripartite" pay board, which supervises wages under "Phase II" of the "Economic Stabilization Program," was stripped of most of its trade-union window-dressing March 22, when three representatives of the American Federation of Labor congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) resigned from the board.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, and Floyd Smith, president of the International Association of Machinists, announced their resignations after a meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council voted unanimously to condemn the functioning of the pay board. The following day, Leonard Woodcock head of the United Automobile Workers (which is not affiliated to the AFL-CIO) also quit. The only trade-union figure left on the board is Frank Fitzsimmons of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The decision of the bureaucrats to disassociate themselves from Nixon's "guidelines" on wages was prompted by a combination of rising discontent over soaring prices, anger over the government's policy of blocking compensating wage increases, and pressure from the Democratic machine. The four who resigned are among the leading labor lieutenants of the Democratic party, whose presidential candidates have sought to capitalize on the failure of "Phase II."

Not a single Democratic candidate opposed last August's freeze on wages, and none has condemned the present policy of holding wages down. But the political vision of U.S. labor bureaucrats does not extend beyond capitalist politics. Unlike the workers in most advanced capitalist countries, the U.S. working class has no political party of its own. Instead of calling for the formation of such a party - which would seem to be a logical consequence of opposition to the entire economic program of the ruling class - the bureaucrats have sought to channel working-class resentment of the Republican policies into support of the second capitalist party.

Two recent events prompted the timing

of the labor resignations. First, the pay board decided to abrogate the West Coast longshore contract, which was negotiated after a 134-day, hard-fought strike. The wage-hike was cut from 20.6 percent to 14.9 percent by the board. The longshoremen seethed with anger.

On March 23, the day after the first resignations, the government published the Consumer Price Index figures for the month of February. The general cost of living had risen 0.5 percent during the month, mostly because of soaring food prices. The increase was the largest monthly jump since the imposition of the wage freeze last August, and if extended over one year would mean an annual increase of 6 percent.

Grocery prices rose 1.9 percent (an annual rate of 20 percent!), the biggest monthly increase in fourteen years. Publication of the figures merely confirmed what every shopper knows - so far as prices are concerned, the stabilization program is a sham.

The statement issued by the AFL-CIO Executive Council when Meany, Abel, and Smith resigned from the pay board reflected the sentiments of most U.S. trade unionists.

"Seven months of the Administration's so-called new economic policy - including four months of Phase II controls - have demonstrated that it is nothing more than a device to make the average worker and consumer both the victim and the goat, while the banks and big business pile up increasing profits.

"In the guise of an anti-inflation policy, the American people are being gouged at the supermarket and squeezed in the paycheck. The heaviest burden of this loydrone program is placed on the backs of those at the bottom of the economic ladder, who are least able to protect themselves. Meanwhile, millions of American workers remain unemployed, their wages frozen at zero, with no real prospect of relief."

The statement noted that "retail food

workers found out Under conditions of a worsening economic situation GM-H has laid off thousands of Australian workers. The remaining workers have to work harder, have to suffer more labour discipline - they may be the next to go. In order to defend their right to a job and a decent living wage Australian workers must fight all productivity deals and all redundancies.

The labor fakers thus bear a large part of the responsibility for the decisions that they now correctly say were aimed at gouging the U.S. consumer. They remained on the board while many crucial contracts were discussed, and resigned only when there were no major contracts being negotiated.

But belated as it was, the AFL-CIO decision was a welcome one for the ranks of the U.S. trade-union movement.

This was reflected in the demagogic response of the Nixon administration. "It is the President's view," said a statement issued by the White House, "that a few labor leaders representing a small percentage of the 80 million wage earners in this country will not be allowed to sabotage the fight against inflation and the fight against higher prices."

Nixon himself called the labor action "selfish and irresponsible." He repeated his time-worn nonsense that "fighting inflation must be everybody's job." Then, aiming a belly blow at George Meany, who boasts that he has never walked a picket line, Tricky Dick added, "Yesterday George Meany walked off the job."

The same day (March 23) Nixon announced the reorganization of the pay board. One business member will be retained (to balance Fitzsimmons). These two, plus the present five "public" members, will constitute the new seven-member board.

The labor resignations are not expected to have much effect on pay-board decisions in the immediate future. But in 1973, major contracts come up for renegotiation in steel, electricity, trucking, manufacturing, auto, railroad, and other industries.

Despite the comprehensive attack, most of it quite well voiced, on the administration's economic program, the AFL-CIO statement presented no concrete plan of action for the ranks of the labor movement.

"The Militant", the revolutionary-socialist weekly that reflects the views of the Socialist Workers party, spelled out such a program in a March 31 editorial:

"They (union leaders) should take the initiative in convening a democratically selected national conference of the labor movement in order to plan a united, powerful struggle against the capitalist wage-control policy.

"Demands such a conference could adopt to protect the living standards of working people are: 1) full compensation for past and anticipated inflation through cost-of-living clauses in all contracts; 2) a shorter work-week at no reduction in pay, so that the existing work can be spread to all who need a job; and 3) immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina to end this war, which has spurred inflation.

"In addition, labor needs its own political instrument to fight for its interests. A labor party based on the trade unions would provide an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of big business."

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TROTSKYIST YOUTH ARRESTED IN CEYLON

Ceylon police raided a private home in Colombo on March 19 and arrested approximately 15 persons attending a meeting of the youth league of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) (LSSP(R)). Ceylon section of the Fourth International.

Beginning in mid-March, the government seemed to have set out to create a climate that would serve to justify arbitrary arrests and indiscriminate attacks on the people once again. The army was put on full alert, barricades were set up in and around key offices, check points for searching vehicles were re-established, and leave was cancelled for all government employees. There were several instances of assaults on innocent civilians by the police, and a number of persons who had been released were re-arrested.

Rumours were afloat to the effect that the government was expecting another insurrection. The object seems to be to intimidate those sections of the working class who are preparing to fight back against the government's attacks on living standards and to provide the "United Front" coalition with a pretext for maintaining emergency rule. Despite the economic burdens imposed on the working class by the last budget, the government has not been able to resolve the deep economic crisis. The next budget is expected to be even more savage.

The youth league meeting raided by the police was held at the home of Prins Rajasooriya, the assistant secretary of the LSSP(R). All the participants in the meeting were arrested and taken to the Wellawatte police station in Colombo.

After questioning by police, Rajasooriya was asked to sign a statement drawn up by the police specifying his replies. He refused to do this when he discovered that the statement contained "answers" that he had not made. He was then detained along with the others. All those arrested are being held incommunicado and it has so far been impossible even to discover the names of all the prisoners.

TRAMWAY STRIKE

BY ALAN FREMLIN

Trams stopped running in Melbourne on Friday March 23, due to the Tramways Board refusal to grant ten days sick leave. At the stop work meeting tramway workers rejected the board's offer of three extra days above the present five. The eleven unions involved described the offer as "unrealistic, unworkable and paltry."

This extra three days can only be used after all accumulated sick leave is used up. The important fact that this brings out is a deliberate attempt by the board to move toward the abolition of cumulative sick leave, while seemingly appearing to be granting concessions to workers. The long term benefits to the ruling class are many. For example, financially they would not have to pay employees large sums on retirement. Also those workers who have been employed for a considerable number of years and

DUNLOP AND SPORT

BY JIM WELSH

Dunlop, that well-known charitable patron of the sports, has struck its great back into the business of Australian tennis administration. Mr. Noel Morris, the managing director of Slaegers (a wholly owned subsidiary of Dunlop) has suggested that the Lawn Tennis Association of Australia (LTAA) has been mal-administered for years, adding that it may be impossible for Dunlop to continue its sponsorship of tennis. Why? Because the LTAA so far has not crawled when Dunlop called.

The whole row is over a ban imposed by the International Lawn Tennis Federation (ILTF) on players under contract to World Championship Tennis (WCT)



Bala Tampoe, the secretary of the LSSP(R) on his tour of Australia in February 1971.

Sirisena, worker at Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills. E. R. Devadasan, militant worker fired from Walkers Limited last year for allegedly attacking a strikebreaker. It has been learned that police officers at certain stations have been told by their superior officers that the group arrested in the raid had been "detained" to "attack Colombo". It remains to be seen whether the government will attempt to make such a farcical charge publicly or will simply try to hold the prisoners without trial under the emergency regulations.

TOUR OF CEYLONESE REVOLUTIONARY

Jaya Vithana, a militant of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) is currently on a speaking tour of the major Australian cities.

He will be speaking about and publicizing the repression in Ceylon that has taken place there since March 1971. Thousands of political prisoners are still held in jails without trial and all political opposition to the Bandaranaike regime is suppressed.

Comrade Vithana will also be speaking on "Building the Fourth International". For information about his speaking engagements and if you want him to address a meeting contact the SYA branch in your state, (see page 2)

demands by calling for another strike action the following Friday. The union also urged the workers to consider their claim by banning overtime, working a maximum of eight hours a day, refusing to work at other depots on their day off and refusing to train new staff.

Other unions have had their demands met in this field. For example, hospital workers get twelve days sick leave in their first year of employment, fourteen days in their second and third years and twenty-one days in the fifth and successive years. The postal workers get three weeks a year on full pay and three weeks on half pay (cumulative).

These examples clearly show the backwardness and inadequacy of the board's offer and the justice of the workers' demands.

The present strike is one example of the workers' growing awareness of the deplorable situation in which they find themselves under the present system where they are forced to resort to direct confrontation to achieve even the most modest demands.

worse is that it is biased to Mr. Morris' financial interests." Touche!

As Reid revealed, the LTAA is run by "big businessmen." It comes as no surprise then that the NSWLTAA has requested the LTAA to seek a dispensation from the ILTF to allow banned players to play in Australia. The instigator of the move, Mr. Colin Sheel, did so in the interests of a contrived Dunlop sponsorship.

This affair clearly illustrates the nature of sport under capitalism - an enterprise ripe for investment. It is no coincidence that the boards of sporting associations are run by businessmen. For example, Sir Maurice Nathan, Chairman of Courage Breweries, is also chairman of the Victorian Football League. Under capitalism, sport is transformed from recreational to "professional" activity. Only under socialism will sport resume its correct perspective.

RISING MILITANCY THREATENS UNION BUREAUCRATS

BY BILL DAVIS

A new rise in working-class militancy and a complementary growth in the repressive forces of the state and the bourgeoisie have become increasingly evident in the chronic industrial turmoil experienced in Australia since 1969.

As with most of the advanced capitalist world, the political scene here for twenty years after the second world war was dominated by bourgeois Cold War ideology. The working class retreated to defensive, economist positions. Wages, hours, and conditions were the limits of working-class consciousness, resulting in a number of unions being easy victims of right-wing Catholic extremist groups. Concurrently with this trend, the workers' party, the Australian Labor party (ALP), was pushed increasingly toward the right.

The long period of working-class quiescence contributed decisively to the string of defeats suffered by the Labor party in successive federal elections and the loss of all state governments held by the ALP at the pinnacle of its power in the late 1940s.

Beginning of the Radicalization

After the shattering electoral defeat suffered by the ALP in 1966, 1967 can be seen as the turning point that ended this decline. In that year the broad labor and antiwar movements turned away from the parliamentary road and began taking political and

more competitive in a contracting international trade market, the bourgeoisie has tried to control an annual inflation of 8 percent by repressive measures to cut demand, control wage rises through productivity deals, accelerate automation and related redundancies, and thus create a manageable pool of unemployed.

It is the clear intention of the employing class to make workers bear the burden of the irrationality of capitalism. In one sense they have been successful: registered unemployment has passed the 120,000 mark and real unemployment is thought to be closer to 160,000. At the same time a clear differentiation has taken place among trade-union bureaucrats who were previously elected as left-wingers at the ACTU congresses in 1967, 1969, and 1971, but have now been exposed as compliant reformists seeking to smother militancy in order to elect a Labor government this year.

ACTU President Bob Hawke, once thought to be a militant, has been a significant casualty; he has been so thoroughly discredited that Liberal

Whenever the boss brought in scabs, or tried to use tradesmen to do the Labourers' work, the pickets threw them off the site and demolished whatever work they had performed. So successful were the BLs that the strike was won. At the same time clear evidence was provided of the class collaboration between the Stalinist leadership of the tradesmen's unions, the right-wing-controlled Sydney Labor Council, employers, and the government.

Following the howls of rage about the sanctity of property, rank-and-filers invaded the Labor Council and a wild brawl broke out. On the recommendation of a pro-Moscow Stalinist, the Builders Labourers Federation was expelled from the Labor Council. Then the Maoist-dominated Federal Executive of the Builders Labourers tried to move in and take over control of its New South Wales branch, which is under the influence of the Dubcek-line Communist party of Australia.

In view of the fact that the New South Wales government runs its buses at a loss and that it actively encourages private, as opposed to public, transport, such a general bus strike coming at Christmastime was doomed to failure. The only way it could have been won would have been for the union movement as a whole to recognise that the real issue was a frontal attack by the bourgeoisie state to utterly smash a union.

However, the Sydney Labor Council refused to contemplate a political response to this declaration of class war; it would not even call a strike in other transport services to prevent alternative means of transport being used.

The lessons that bus drivers learned from this defeat are that any productivity deal implies inevitable redundancies, that other means of industrial action than the simple strike should be considered, that control over safety is integral, and that the right wing should never be trusted.

Layoffs on the Docks
The Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) has a reputation for being the most militant in Australia. At one

time it conducted more strikes than any other industrial sector. But now it is only a pale imitation of the old tiger, when Big Jim Healey (of the Communist party) was general secretary. For the economic difficulties experienced by Australian shipping and stevedoring companies in competition from air and road transportation have led to an intensification of automation, with the introduction of palletisation and then of container handling.

As an inducement to the reformist WWF leadership to accept containerisation and the consequent heavy reduction of the work force, the government and employers offered permanency in a casual industry. Wharfies who made themselves voluntarily redundant were to be paid off with a lump sum for every year worked. This programme had been so successful that in the last couple of years the WWF declined in numbers from 24,000 to 16,000.

But this was not sufficient for the government, which decided that compulsory redundancies should be enforced to reduce a surplus wage bill of \$8,000,000 per annum, although productivity has increased 40 percent in the last two years. As Dianne Zetlin wrote in the February 7 *Direct Action* (Number 14), "The WWF Federal Executive was quite literally bowled over by a feather. Their immediate response was to renege on the decision of the All Ports Conference to accept NO compulsory redundancies. They latched on to petty economic concessions in redundancy payments and accepted the establishment of a precedent for compulsory redundancies. Today 400, tomorrow how many more?"

Reviewing the labor front in *Direct Action* (Number 15), Jim McIlroy summarized: "The State Electricity Commission (Latrobe Valley) strike is linked with the recent Atlantean and waterside workers' disputes as the early battles of a long campaign. The issue of redundancies, directly or indirectly, has been common to all these disputes, as has a rising militancy in the face of the attacks of the bosses. It is vital that these struggles be won in the long run, because defeat of these militant sections will open up the way for a general campaign against all sections of the working class."

Workers Fire Foreman
One recent dispute that did provide evidence of a growing class consciousness was the Harco strike.

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Since 1904, Australian workers had been shackled by a compulsory arbitration system, which was enforced with fines of \$1,000 per day for strikes. Under this crushing imposition, workers in this period rapidly came to realize that there was little justice in a system that gave free rein to employers to set their own prices, but at the same time severely penalized workers who fought to maintain

industry, an occupation, or a union has not taken industrial action in the last two years, particularly in the period since the middle of 1971, when the employers' offensive against the Australian working class really sharpened.

Unemployment Reaches 160,000
To make Australian commodities

Sellout in Victoria

Over the past six months the struggle against redundancies and for control over the job was highlighted dramatically in a number of important disputes.

The Latrobe Valley, situated southeast of Melbourne around the towns of Yallourn, Moe, Morwell, and Traralgon, was once thought to be the Ruhr of Australia. Thousands of workers were lured there by this prospect and have since become captives of their mortgages and hire-purchase commitments. Automation in the power industry has advanced at a dramatic rate, to the point where the prospect of heavy layoffs is now a reality.

Since 1968 total employment in the Valley has fallen 6 percent, and workers are forced to leave their families to go elsewhere in search of work.

The workers employed by the Victorian State Electricity Commission demanded an extra week's leave. In fact their claim had first been made nine years earlier, but no one took it very seriously. With redundancies on a large scale in the offing, the men realised that work sharing offered the only solution, and therefore struck over the leave-claim.

Instead of throwing support behind the strikers at a critical stage when employers and the government were howling for blood, ACTU President Hawke and other union bureaucrats urged the workers to go to arbitration, well knowing that the campaign will be certainly doomed to defeat there.

Labor Council Betrays Busmen

As part of a long-term productivity deal, the New South Wales government offered members of the Bus Employees Union extra pay if they would agree to drive double-decker Atlantean buses without conductors, whose job it is to collect fares and supervise passengers in the cabin. The drivers refused, as they considered that on Sydney and Newcastle roads, traffic was so hazardous that driving was a full-time occupation and it was unreasonable to place responsibility for the safety of passengers on one man.

After flying scabs out from Britain to do the work that Australian bus drivers would not do, the government then began dismissing hundreds of drivers who refused to operate the Atlanteans on a one-man basis. In December the Bus Employees Union declared a general bus strike, which lasted for weeks.

In view of the fact that the New South Wales government runs its buses at a loss and that it actively encourages private, as opposed to public, transport, such a general bus strike coming at Christmastime was doomed to failure. The only way it could have been won would have been for the union movement as a whole to recognise that the real issue was a frontal attack by the bourgeoisie state to utterly smash a union.

However, the Sydney Labor Council refused to contemplate a political response to this declaration of class war; it would not even call a strike in other transport services to prevent alternative means of transport being used.

The lessons that bus drivers learned from this defeat are that any productivity deal implies inevitable redundancies, that other means of industrial action than the simple strike should be considered, that control over safety is integral, and that the right wing should never be trusted.

Layoffs on the Docks

The Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) has a reputation for being the most militant in Australia. At one

time it conducted more strikes than any other industrial sector. But now it is only a pale imitation of the old tiger, when Big Jim Healey (of the Communist party) was general secretary. For the economic difficulties experienced by Australian shipping and stevedoring companies in competition from air and road transportation have led to an intensification of automation, with the introduction of palletisation and then of container handling.

As an inducement to the reformist WWF leadership to accept containerisation and the consequent heavy reduction of the work force, the government and employers offered permanency in a casual industry. Wharfies who made themselves voluntarily redundant were to be paid off with a lump sum for every year worked. This programme had been so successful that in the last couple of years the WWF declined in numbers from 24,000 to 16,000.

But this was not sufficient for the government, which decided that compulsory redundancies should be enforced to reduce a surplus wage bill of \$8,000,000 per annum, although productivity has increased 40 percent in the last two years. As Dianne Zetlin wrote in the February 7 *Direct Action* (Number 14), "The WWF Federal Executive was quite literally bowled over by a feather. Their immediate response was to renege on the decision of the All Ports Conference to accept NO compulsory redundancies. They latched on to petty economic concessions in redundancy payments and accepted the establishment of a precedent for compulsory redundancies. Today 400, tomorrow how many more?"

Reviewing the labor front in *Direct Action* (Number 15), Jim McIlroy summarized: "The State Electricity Commission (Latrobe Valley) strike is linked with the recent Atlantean and waterside workers' disputes as the early battles of a long campaign. The issue of redundancies, directly or indirectly, has been common to all these disputes, as has a rising militancy in the face of the attacks of the bosses. It is vital that these struggles be won in the long run, because defeat of these militant sections will open up the way for a general campaign against all sections of the working class."

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U.S. Congress Votes Equal Rights Amendment

was delivered by the CP-controlled state executive of the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths' Society, which ordered the dismissed men to accept the dismissals without a fight because of anticipated legal costs.

Every time workers take such actions themselves and are then sold out by the union bureaucrats, two valuable lessons are learnt, as they were at Harco—they don't need the boss to run their own lives, and they had better not look to union leadership to make the fight.

No Phones for Capitalists

One strike that is worthy of mention is the Post Office linesmen's dispute. This strike was notable not for raising the issue of job control, but rather because the Amalgamated Postal Workers Union and its members showed a heightened class consciousness in the tactics adopted during the course of the struggle.

Fighting to prevent the loss of an allowance granted since 1914 for underground work, the postal linesmen adopted the tactic of not installing or repairing the telephones of business premises. The Liberal Postmaster General Alan Hulme described this tactic as "disgraceful" and "a complete disregard for decency and morality."

Bourgeois decency and morality perhaps, but it shows that postal workers have a pretty good idea who their persecutors are. Needless to say, Hulme called Hawke in, but the Postal Union would not have him at any price.

Far wider layers of workers than these are fighting against the Liberal government's economic and legal repression of their rights. But in all of them, an observable pattern is emerging. Although more defeats are being suffered than victories won, the demands, in spite of the union bureaucrats, are becoming more political.

The Fight for Control

Control over on-the-job safety conditions, over the right to work, and even over the running of the enterprise is being posed. Rather than becoming cowed by the growing unemployment, the working class is becoming bolder and more aggressive.

The conservative governments react to this show of strength with panic measures—Essential Services Acts, Summary Offences Acts, Public Order Acts, and States of Emergency—to bring the workers to heel. The pro-Moscow Stalinists and the extreme right-wing Catholic Actionists, in an effective alliance, fulminate at worker militancy disrupting the smooth progress toward a Labor government.

Unless that alliance controls or subdues the workers and thus creates confusion in the ranks, a Labor government will certainly be elected this year. This will be a tremendous experience for the workers, for they still believe in the ALP. They think they control the ALP. A Labor government will then be a rude shock to them, as it was to the British working class.

U.S. women won a victory March 22 when the Senate approved an amendment to the Constitution granting equal rights for women. The key clause in the provision, for which feminists have fought for forty-nine years, states: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The amendment was passed by an overwhelming vote of 84 to 8. Sam Ervin, a conservative senator from North Carolina, submitted seven additions to the amendment, all designed to create loopholes in its implementation. It is a measure of the pressure brought to bear on the capitalist politicians by the women's movement that the largest vote Ervin was able to muster (on an addition that would have exempted women from the draft) was eighteen.

The legal consequences of the decision will be widespread. Laws imposing restrictions on women's rights to buy or sell property or to conduct a business, laws setting different ages at which men and women attain legal majority, differing admission standards to universities for men and women, regulations denying employment to women in certain fields, laws denying unemployment compensation to pregnant women—all will be struck down when the amendment becomes law.

Most legal observers also agree that if men are drafted, women will have to be as well—a development that will doubtless spark a new increase in antiwar, antidraft militancy.

Despite the passage of the amendment through both houses of Congress, the cumbersome procedures of U.S. legislation will prevent even formal implementation for several years.

The state of Hawaii ratified the amendment the day it passed the Senate. Thirty-seven other states (three-fourths of the total number) must follow suit before the provision is added to the Constitution.

Even after ratification, the amendment will take effect only after a two-year delay.



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THE KREMLIN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOLZHENITSYN

By George Saunders

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the world-famous Soviet novelist, has become the object of renewed attacks in the Stalinist press, not only in the Soviet Union but internationally. The attacks on him are part of an intensified repressive drive begun by the Kremlin at the turn of the year.

That drive has taken the form of arrests, police searches, press attacks, and a campaign of "information" for party cadres presented by top officials in confidential sessions. Its primary targets are those dissident groups, organizations, publications, and individuals that have become most visible as the movement for socialist democracy has developed in recent years.

For example, Pyotr Yakir has been a major object of the current drive. Son of a Red Army general who was shot in Stalin's purge of 1937, he is the last prominent member still at liberty of the Initiative Group for Defense of Human Rights, which has continued to function although most of its members have been imprisoned, "hospitalized," or exiled.

Valery Chalidze, a leader of the Human Rights Committee, has also been singled out for attack in the press—in terms that threaten legal proceedings, namely, the charge that he gave "slandering anti-Soviet materials" to a foreigner. The best-known member of the Human Rights Committee, nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov, has not as yet been publicly denounced. Apparently the Kremlin feels the ground is insufficiently prepared for that.

Another member of the Human Rights Committee, Aleksandr Galich, a playwright and author of *samizdat* satirical songs, was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union in late December. Galich is a "corresponding member" of the committee, as is Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn himself.

But the renewed attacks on Solzhenitsyn are aimed not so much at any organizational role he plays in the Committee. Indeed he is not an activist or organizational type, although some bureaucrats have charged that he considers himself the "political leader of the opposition." It is the ideas and values he stands for, the fierce independence that he embodies and that his works express, that make him a necessary target if a complete "ideological" housecleaning is to be carried through by the bureaucracy.

His writings contain a merciless critique of the Soviet privileged elite—exposing their corruption, their self-seeking, their cynicism, arbitrariness, and cruelty. At the same time his writings revive Bolshevik, Leninist revolutionary traditions with great vitality and sympathy, and probe the causes of the revolution's degeneration into Stalinism, raising searching questions that endanger the bureaucrats' claim to legitimacy. The religious sympathies and the element of Slavophilia in his writings do not negate the power of his pro-Leninist, antibureaucratic motifs.

In a clean sweep of all visible dissent—something Brezhnev and Company would like to accomplish but which they may find politically unfeasible—such an intransigent figure, enjoying such international stature, could not be overlooked. But he would have to be discredited before he could be brought down.

If there was already a general need to discredit the Nobel Prize-winning novelist, his increased protest activ-

ities in the last few months must have prodded the bureaucrats in their timing. Last fall he issued an open letter denouncing the KGB (political police) for searching his home and beating a friend of his who caught them in the act. The novelist also denounced the KGB for its long-term harassment, vowing to submit in silence no longer.

In December, Solzhenitsyn put pressure on reluctant Swedish authorities, asking in an open letter that his Nobel Prize be awarded to him at a ceremony in Moscow. In the context, such a ceremony would have amounted to a demonstration of defiance against the Stalinist officialdom, which refuses to acknowledge the greatest living Russian writer because of its fear of his pen.

Although the Swedish government, with an eye to its relations with Moscow, has not complied, an unofficial ceremony of oppositional mood nevertheless took place on December 21—not for the Nobel Prize, but in honor of the late editor and poet Aleksandr Tvardovsky—with Solzhenitsyn playing a leading role. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 17, p. 41.)

On December 27, Solzhenitsyn issued his "Tribute (Slovo) in Memory of Tvardovsky," a bitter description of how the bureaucrats who had driven Tvardovsky to his death had then conducted a glib official funeral over his remains. (The full text appears on page 344 of our March 27 issue.) Circulating in *samizdat*, Solzhenitsyn's latest work soon became widely known.

In reprisal for his increasingly open defiance, an official press assault, which had clearly been in preparation for some time, was then put into print. It appeared in the weekly paper of the Soviet Writers Union, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Number 2 for 1972, on January 12.

The attack took the form of a "critique" of Solzhenitsyn's novel *August 1914*, which was published in May 1971 in Paris after all the Soviet publishing houses to which it had been offered had refused it. The main theme in the assault on Solzhenitsyn is that he wishes to return to prerevolutionary czarist Russia and that he is against the October socialist revolution. In fact, *August 1914*, which deals with the early defeats of the czarist regime in World War I, is Solzhenitsyn's attempt to probe and reveal the roots of the revolution in the war and in the corruption of the old order.

Literaturnaya Gazeta claims that the novel is a disguised attack on the present regime (Does it equate itself with the czarist bureaucracy?), that it lends aid and comfort to "anti-Soviet people," and that it romanticizes prerevolutionary Russia, while maligning the Bolshevik Revolution. Solzhenitsyn's real conception is, apparently, a series of novels of which this is the first, that will ultimately bring him to a portrait and analysis of the revolution. The present novel is far from having laid out Solzhenitsyn's views on that event.

Literaturnaya Gazeta goes further, however, in its efforts to ascribe pro-czarist and procapitalist views to the novelist. It prints a condensed translation of an article that appeared in December in the German picture magazine *Der Stern*. This was based mainly on an interview obtained by *Stern's* Moscow correspondent from an eighty-two-year-old woman who claims to be Solzhenitsyn's cousin—one Irina Ivanovna Shcherbak of the town of Georgievsk.

Here is how Robert G. Kaiser, in a *Washington Post* article datelined January 12, describes the elderly Shcherbak's function in the story:

"She describes the writer's [Solzhenitsyn's] rich forebears, right down to the Rolls Royce car his grandfather supposedly owned. (A purported picture of the car appeared in *Literary Gazette* today.) She also says her famous cousin treated her badly, after she told him stories of his family's life before the revolution."

Shcherbak claimed that Solzhenitsyn's parents had been wealthy bourgeois and that his grandparents had been big landowners—owning over 4,000 acres and 20,000 head of sheep. *Literaturnaya Gazeta* claims that "these facts have been confirmed," protesting all the while that it does not intend to make a "vulgar sociological" equation between a person's family background and activity in later life.

Of course, that is precisely what it intends. Solzhenitsyn for his part has categorically denied the story of his alleged "wealthy" background. In fact, he is from a poor family. His father, a schoolteacher, died before Solzhe-

nitsyn was born, in 1918. His mother supported herself and him by working as a typist in Rostov. He was educated in Soviet schools and, being a capable student, went on to earn a university degree in physics and mathematics. He even did some postgraduate work on the strength of a "Stalin scholarship" in 1940.

There may be a simple key to the riddle of "cousin" Irina Shcherbak. First of all, the *Stern* correspondent does not indicate how he "turned her up" in the out-of-the-way town of Georgievsk. The Soviet paper reports he simply traveled there out of curiosity. How timely! And he even found a picture of a pre-1917 Rolls Royce, convenient as a People's Exhibit A in the case of the "class enemy" A. I. Solzhenitsyn.

The truth about the *Stern* interview can be deduced from a similar incident of several years ago, before the novelist was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union. A purported interview with Solzhenitsyn was made available to the Western press by Victor Louis, the enigmatic Soviet citizen who works for a London paper and acts as an agent for the Soviet government on very high levels. Louis' article was a subtle but unmistakable smear job. Professing objectivity and friendliness toward Solzhenitsyn, Louis ultimately

blown up in the West." He was awarded the Nobel Prize, she charged, "merely because he had slandered Soviet reality." A witness for the prosecution also charged that Bukovsky had supplied him with manuscript copies of Solzhenitsyn's novels *Cancer Ward* and *The First Circle*, as though doing so were a criminal act. Bukovsky, let us recall, was sentenced to a total of twelve years in prison and exile.

So intent are the Kremlin authorities on attacking the great novelist that they have even trotted out one of their house poets to cross swords with Solzhenitsyn before an international audience. Usually they prefer the tactic of silence, pretending that the issue does not exist.

The *New York Times* on February 12 printed a translation of Solzhenitsyn's memorial tribute to Tvardovsky. On March 3, the Soviet poet Yevgeny Smelyakov—himself a former camp inmate, but one who remained loyal to Stalinism—wrote a reply, which was printed in the *Times* on March 11.

Smelyakov denies that Tvardovsky was mistreated. He was "recognized by his people and his Government," Smelyakov asserts. As proof he cites the fact that the Soviet Military Publishing House has printed Tvardov-



sky's war poem *Vasily Tyorkin* countless times, that his complete works and special selections of his works have been published, that he has received three State Prizes, including one just before he died. "This does not look like hounding, does it?"

Smelyakov is of course speaking of Tvardovsky only as an author of poems. (His very last poem, which circulates in *samizdat*, has not even been published in the "complete works.") But Solzhenitsyn's entire theme was Tvardovsky as editor of *Novy Mir*. Smelyakov breathes not a word of that.

To be sure, Tvardovsky's poetry is officially approved with a few exceptions, but he was driven out of his position as editor of *Novy Mir*, which he held for fourteen years, because he insisted on publishing anti-Stalinist material there—and not the least of that material was prose by Solzhenitsyn.

Smelyakov exposes a "contradiction" in Solzhenitsyn's argument. Solzhenitsyn admits, he says, that Soviet soldiers sent wreaths to be laid on the late poet's coffin, which disproves that Tvardovsky was at odds with the army.

This is almost too childish. Solzhenitsyn charges that the army officialdom banned *Novy Mir*, because of its anti-Stalinist content, as reading material for rank-and-file troops in the late 1960s. In fact, the Soviet press often printed articles by Soviet brass attacking *Novy Mir* and its editors. Smelyakov does not deny—or even mention that.

Finally, echoing the theme that Solzhenitsyn is "anti-Soviet," Smelyakov asserts that his opponent has illusions "that Soviet power will fall some day and some upcoming youth will build Matryona's world* on its smoldering ruins."

Solzhenitsyn has indeed predicted that Soviet youth's voices will ring out sharply some day against the bureaucratic cancer that sits on the back of the Soviet system and hinders its full development. The reference to Matryona's world is incomprehensible. Smelyakov seems to be suggesting that Solzhenitsyn favors a return to the "simple peasant life" of prerevolutionary Russia.

But in fact his short novel, "Matryona's House," is a sharp attack on the dehumanizing power of private property and primitive capitalist accumulative motives, such as must have produced the kulak class on the land. And Matryona is the embodiment of the victim of acquisitive greed and bureaucratic indifference.

She is nonetheless a person who preserves human values—love, selfless labor—despite oppression. The youth of the world, in making a revolution, will indeed build a world where Matryonas can live—in the smoldering ruins of both capitalism and bureaucraticism, with all their Larnis, Smelyakovs, and *Literaturnaya Gazetas*. □

*"Matryona's House" is one of two short novels by Solzhenitsyn in the paperback book *We Never Make Mistakes*, W.W. Norton, New York, N.Y., 1971, \$1.35, translated by Paul W. Blackstock.



DIRECT RULE FAILS TO END CRISIS IN IRELAND

By David Thorstad

The British government announced March 24 that it had decided to suspend the government and parliament in Northern Ireland and impose direct rule from London for at least one year.

Prime Minister Edward Heath, who presented the proposals to the House of Commons, also appointed Commons leader William Whitelaw to assume power as secretary of state for Northern Ireland. Whitelaw will appoint an advisory commission to assist him in running the province.

The Heath proposals provide for plebiscites to be held over a period of years on whether Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic should be reunited; that "a start should be made on phasing out internment"; and that all repressive powers of the state—courts, police, prisons, etc.—be directly invested in the British Parliament and government.

The latter provision was unacceptable to Northern Ireland Prime Minister Brian Faulkner and his government. They will therefore resign when direct rule takes effect on March 30.

"I thought that by our actions and our political prisoners, including those in the six counties [Northern Ireland], the 26 counties [the Irish Republic], and those in Britain," said MacStiofain. At a news conference in Belfast March 25, Bernard Weinraub reported in the March 26 *New York Times*, Kevin McCorry of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association demanded a complete end to internment. "We do not accept that the so-called phasing out of internment represents a genuine attempt by the London Government to come to grips with this problem," he said.

Certain implications of the Heath proposals were indeed sinister and depressing, but they were not what Faulkner had in mind. The "Heath package" will hardly be greeted with joy by most of the estimated 900 internees in Northern Ireland, for instance. For not only is the hated policy of internment not being abandoned, but only those internees "whose release is no longer thought likely to involve an unacceptable risk to security" (approximately 100, according to Alvin Shuster in the March 25 *New York Times*) are to be released. It would be "possible to consider" further releases, Heath said, if the "security situation" meets vaguely worded standards of improvement.

"As long as active terrorism persists and bombings and shootings continue, and until respect for law and a normal situation of order have been restored throughout the province, we must retain the power to arrest and intern those who there is good reason to believe are actively involved in terrorism and violence," he insisted.

British officials disclosed that 4,000 additional British soldiers were standing by to be sent to Northern Ireland, which is already occupied by 15,000 British troops.

Another sinister by-product of the Heath proposals is the apparent encouragement Dublin sees in them for furthering its own campaign to crack down on the republican movement. Irish Republic Prime Minister John Lynch said he welcomed the Heath move as a "step forward in seeking a lasting solution" and making pos-

sible an improvement in Irish-British relations.

"The British Government is hoping that Mr. Lynch will crack down on Irish Republican Army guerrillas using the republic as a sanctuary," wrote Shuster. "Sources in Dublin suggested that Mr. Lynch now felt he could move against them without running the risk of being accused of propping up a sectarian regime in Belfast."

The reaction of both the Official and Provisional wings of the republican movement was "an angry and immediate rejection of Mr. Heath's actions," according to the *New York Times*.

Chief of staff of the Officials, Cathal Goulding, said they were tantamount to imposing martial law in Northern Ireland.

Chief of staff of the Provisionals, Sean MacStiofain, said "We cannot and will not suspend or discontinue our operations until our demands are met." The demands include a declaration of intent by the British government to withdraw British troops and an immediate withdrawal of soldiers from the streets; recognition of the right of the Irish people to determine their own future; abolition—not merely suspension—of the Northern Ireland parliament; and a general amnesty. "We want an amnesty for all political prisoners, including those in the six counties [Northern Ireland], the 26 counties [the Irish Republic], and those in Britain," said MacStiofain. And expressed the odd notion that "peace with justice" might be achieved through "compromise." Spokesman Barrett McGurn told the press: "We hope that as a result of the action announced by the British Government and the attitude expressed yesterday by the Government of Ireland an opportunity will be created for all those involved in the Northern Ireland problem to now proceed in the spirit of compromise to secure peace with justice."

But direct rule will bring neither peace nor justice to Northern Ireland. It cannot bring peace so long as the underlying causes of strife there—a lack of jobs, an absence of full civil rights for the Catholic minority, and discrimination—continue to prevail. And Heath has done nothing substantial to alleviate these grievances.

Moreover, it was not concern for justice that motivated Heath to take the extreme measure of imposing, for the first time in more than fifty years, direct rule from London. Observers generally seem agreed that Northern Ireland was on the verge of civil war. In the context of ever rising tensions, Faulkner appeared unable to contain the situation. And so London moved decisively before things went completely out of control. It did so for several reasons.

First, a dramatic move would serve at least temporarily to divert attention away from the deteriorating situation in Northern Ireland by giving the impression that London will do something to improve it.

Second, while granting—or appearing to grant—a few minor concessions to the oppressed minority, it could at the same time prepare to commit even greater numbers of troops to strengthen its repressive garrison.

Finally, it would indirectly help Lynch to mount pressure against the republican movement by making it possible for him to make vague promises about a united Ireland of the future and to crack down on anyone who rocks the boat. □



MARCH ON MAY DAY



WITH S.Y.A.

Melbourne

Monday May 1st,
4.30pm. Trades Hall
March to City Square.

Sunday May 7th,
2.30pm. Trades Hall
March to Yarra Bank.

Sydney

Sunday May 7th,
1.30pm Hay Street
March to Domain.