

INTERNATIONAL 5

JANUARY-
FEBRUARY
1969****

(68)

A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

COMERGES IT APPEARS
THAT YOU HAVE STOPPED
WORKING.

YES YES YES
* * * * *

IF YOU'VE COME ON STRIKE IT'S
BECAUSE YOU HAVE DEMANDS TO
MAKE. I AM YOUR DELEGATE YOU DON'T
HAVE TO HIDE ANYTHING FROM ME.

* * * * *

IS IT WAGES? IS THAT IT,
COMRADES? YOU WANT A RAISE, DON'T
YOU?
... ..

* * * * *

IS IT SOCIAL SECURITY THEM? VACATIONS?
SPEAK UP! I HAVE TO MAKE THE GOVERNMENT
AND THE BODIES FACE UP TO THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. SPEAK TO YOUR DELEGATE!

Who loves you
CAME ON!
SPEAK UP!

* * * * *

YOU FILTHY SONS OF BITCHES!
YOU ARE COMING TO TELL
ME WHY YOU'RE ON STRIKE YOU'RE
GOING TO SHIT OR GET OFF
THE POT!

WE WANT TO MAKE THE REVOLUTION.
* * * * *

THE REVOLUTION! YOU'RE CRAZY!
THE GOVERNMENT AND THE BODIES WILL
NEVER GO AHEAD WITH THAT.

* * * * *

1969

■ A YEAR OF
■ STRUGGLE

teachers

N.S.W. TEACHERS
ON THE MOVE

students

UNIVERSITIES REOPEN:
"OCCUPATION" as PERSPECTIVE
A PROGRAMME FOR
THE UNIVERSITIES

strikes

THE STRIKE WAVE :
A REVOLUTIONARY POLICY
NEEDED BY THE LEFT

C.p.a.

THE JANUARY NATIONAL
COMMITTEE MEETING
MARKS A DECISIVE TURN

R.S.A.

REPORT OF FOUNDING CONFERENCE
AND COMMENT ON ITS PERSPECTIVES



10c.

EDITORIAL NOTES

1969 -- GREATEST YEAR FOR AUSTRALIAN LEFT
IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Predictions of the future are often risky ventures. Yet there are such clear signs of 1969 being a year of class struggle in this country on a level (both quantitative and qualitative) that we have not seen for many years, that we feel we can make the above prediction with some justification.

Let us list here the signs as we see them: the increased rate of strike struggle already visible in January and the signs of an approaching confrontation with the Penal Powers and Arbitration System; the preparation in most universities throughout Australia for struggles not only around Conscription and anti-war demands, but also around student-staff Power, interpreted as self-management; the rising militancy of "white-collar" workers, seen especially amongst NSW teachers where an explosive confrontation with the State is in the offing almost daily; the radicalisation and organisation of high school students in most States; the new level reached by anti-war demonstrations following the "confrontations" in Melbourne on July 4, in Sydney on September 20 and in Brisbane on October 21; the growing movement for workers control, now actively discussed at many levels in the labor movement; the growth of the worker-student alliance, particularly in Brisbane.

These are the "objective" factors. But equally, if not more important, are the important developments at the level of leadership. The formation of the Revolutionary Socialist Alliance in Sydney at the end of January and the projected national RSA conference in six months time, mark important steps towards the uniting of all revolutionary socialists in the one organisation. We here are not blessed with the extreme fractionalising of the revolutionary Left visible in Europe. That arises out of our earlier weakness, but now is a strength. The RSA groups not only the "trotskyists", but the big majority of revolutionary students who have approached a revolutionary socialist position in recent months, an important number of YSLers, and of radical anti-stalinists in the CFA as a whole.

Yet equally important, if not more important, as the founding of the RSA were the decisions taken at the National Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Australia over Australia Day weekend, 1969. The decisions taken there mark a decisive turn to the LEFT by the Aarons leadership and a continuation of the process of "deStalinisation" to a point where the full break with the Soviet bureaucracy is inevitable. They may well mark a qualitative change in the CFA.

RISING STRIKE STRUGGLES

The TAA airways strike, the railways strike, the threatened explosion of the postal strike again, all provide pointers to the rash of strike struggles we are likely to see in the coming months. The "work-value" judgements have produced widespread discontent and are likely to be the base of most industrial struggles. Yet it is not difficult to see in different strikes that have occurred over the past period a deeper grain of discontent scarcely tapped or even recognized. Wages struggles, struggles for better conditions because they are the traditional form of struggle, while in themselves also having the potential of developing into transitional struggles against capitalism and challenging the whole structure of capitalism (by struggling against State bodies fixing wages, against Arbitration, and against the concept of maintaining wages at a certain fixed level of the "cake") are often seen only as a means of quietening the deeper frustrations and alienation of the worker, by giving him a few extra bob to keep him quiet.

NEW CONCEPT OF WAGE STRUGGLES --

The fight for an extra few bob in itself is something that capitalism can easily handle. What is necessary is that socialists in the unions understand that wage demands often express deeper discontents, and try to develop a given wage struggle into a broader, more profound battle. The opportunity for this is clear in growing discontent that workers feel with the long-drawn out, rather pointless arbitration system. The theme of direct action is growing. Workers increasingly accept that the cost of a strike is \$1,000 for the union. So much so that union leaders can't talk men back because of that threat. As a result the ruling class is forced more and more to consider using individual fines on workers as the only means of stopping strikes. But each time they have considered their use, they have been forced to retreat. The West Australian boilermakers refused to pay their fines last year and were willing to go to prison if necessary. The unions

threatened a general strike and feeling was high if they were jailed. As a result, the employers "anonymously" paid their fines. The Federal Government has had to leave the individual fines on postal workers after last year's strike uncollected. They were about to place the same fines on TAA workers but were saved literally by the strike ending minutes before.

In the present Australian context, any attempt to jail workers for striking and not paying fines, would result in a tremendous upsurge of struggle of dimensions unpredictable.

Not to say that this should be done "coldly" -- there must be a preliminary period of propaganda and spreading the idea among the unionists. The confrontation must be as carefully planned as possible, around the best issue. But the confrontation must come...

The whole question of militant unions meekly paying fines must also be reexamined. If students and young workers are prepared to go to jail rather than fight in Vietnam, why should union officials not be prepared, after a considered campaign

and around the right issue, to also risk a jail sentence through not paying a fine?

Yet, arbitration and penal powers are not the only issues around which the confrontation can occur. There is also a whole series of strikes which directly express the feeling of the workers that they should have some decisive say in decision-making. The best example was the Brisbane building workers safety strike late last year. Although the demand for worker control over safety was won, the subsequent defeat that followed in January, with the sacking of the militant most directly concerned in organising the struggle, shows how firstly, such struggles which directly challenge the authority of the boss can win out perhaps temporarily, but even in the short run are incompatible with the boss's interests and even needs.

Union leaderships have far too often been unwilling to raise themselves out of the rut of routinism and the Court. The ACTU has been a direct hindrance to all and any strike struggle. Yet the change in the balance on the ACTU executive to give the Left-Centre a slight edge could if the Left pressed its advantage, open up the floodgates to a mighty year of strike struggles. What makes this a hope, is above all the LEFT swing of the Aarons leadership in the CPA which has taken up all these questions. But more on that later.

Revolutionary socialists, and students must now seek to directly intervene, not artificially, but through contact with union militants on the job and aim to form action committees on a union-wide basis, and where possible on the shop floor, to promote the above ideas and work them out.

* * * * *

UNIVERSITIES PREPARE FOR A BIG YEAR

The summer holidays have been a period of unique preparation and discussion among student militants. Usually a "dead" period of the year, it has been marked by intensive discussion and preparation in most cities. That in itself is a sign of the rapidly developing revolutionary maturity of the student movement. The question of student power, the worker-student alliance, of self-management in all its implications, of "counter-hegemony", of the perspective of "occupations" with the clear indication of its meaning for self-management, have all been discussed, clarified and action prepared.

OCCUPATIONS AS A PERSPECTIVE

In some universities, the idea of "occupation" as a perspective, flowing from overseas experience, has been discussed and attitudes formulated. In the most positive

discussions, the concept of "occupations" has been seen as a means of illustrating in concrete terms what self-management means and how it can be applied. The lessons of course must be drawn for the students, and so occupations

must be well-prepared both technically and also with the view of spreading the ideas of self-management among the students.

But equally, if not more important, is the task of using the "occupations" and running of the universities as a means of conveying the idea of self-management to the mass of workers. That implies that firstly the students must already have contact with a wide layer of worker militants, and that secondly, they must be prepared to go out to the factories and offices and mobilise worker support for their cause. The best result will be achieved among young workers who will respond.

"Occupations", let us repeat, only form a perspective, a goal to be aimed at. Excepting perhaps around issues which the mass of students are really roused, occupations will be rare if at all present this year. But it is important to have that perspective in mind in all struggles.

UNITING STUDENTS AROUND TRANSITIONAL ISSUES

It is clear to most students militants that students as a whole will not be rallied directly around out-and-out revolutionary slogans, although significant minorities can and must be.

So revolutionaries on the campuses must also take up all issues that arise, and around which students feel deeply. But they must try at all times to make the link between these issues and the felt needs of the students, and the need for self-management, and struggle against the capitalist State.

To take up issues in a reformist way only is to lead to sure defeat.

To shun these struggles around minor issues in favour of simplistic revolutionary propaganda is to limit the potential of the movement and deny really massive struggles leading eventually to occupations.

A PROGRAMME IS NEEDED

The university crisis today however takes in the whole nature of the university and so student militants have some ideas on such issues as the nature of courses, examinations, entry to the universities, quota systems, the opening of the university to all interested, the government of the university, the financing of higher education, etc.. The article translated from the French published elsewhere in this issue of INTERNATIONAL is of much interest in this regard and should be carefully studied and criticised.

Certainly, without deeper analysis of the university, student militants are going to simply not see some of the potentially revolutionary issues. Take the quota system as an example. Because campus revolutionaries have for too long just been looking at the university through the framework already established, they have not seriously challenged the quota system. Yet here the injustice of the modern university is clear. A real campaign against the quota means a campaign starting now particularly among sixth-formers in the high schools could be the prelude to a major struggle next year.

Clarification of the nature of the university and the society revolutionaries want can avoid a narrow pragmatism that can be self-defeating.

The experiences in direct democracy at Monash through MAS, is an important example that should be publicised and if possible imitated in all universities. But the problems such direct democracy pose; at a later stage, and the need for an organisation of students at the faculty, lab, and lecture-room level still remain. The experience of direct democracy as with MAS is only a first, though necessary and important step.

Relations with the academic staff are important. The staff too can be won to a new concept of the university. But, more than the students, they will be won through a critique of the present establishment and elaboration of an alternative model. As well, their "union" interests must be respected, insofar as they do not express reactionary concepts.

TEACHERS ON THE MOVE

The significance of the movement of revolt among NSW teachers can hardly be underestimated. The movement against "extra" periods in 1968 and the October 1 strike (see INTERNATIONAL 4) culminated in the December NSW Teachers Federation Conference which was surely the most remarkable and militant one in the union's history.

The conference saw the clear emergence of a sizable Left wing which at times was in control of the conference and had many more militant resolutions adopted on the second day, and even when the "counter-revolution" set in on the third day and the executive rallied its forces still had the support of a third of the conference.

The mood of teachers, particularly young teachers, at the conference

Take for example the question of sizes of lecture classes. It seems that it is really contradictory to the interest of students for the staff to refuse classes over a certain size. But in fact, in a broader perspective it is in everyone's interest. Similarly the end of the quota system and open entry to the university may appear to involve even larger classes -- but in fact if approached in a correct way can pose the need for more universities, more staff, more finance and autonomy in financing...

In conclusion, student militants need not be pessimistic about 1969 (and all those "analyses" which "predict" a fall-off in student action are virtually counter-revolutionary). The university authorities have good cause to be nervous. They can comfortably expect a real challenge this year.

was one of extreme anger and frustration. They refused to listen to words of caution from the leadership, nor would they suffer the incompetent bureaucratic manipulation that occurred on the third day of conference.

Their anger was vented in an extraordinary way and despite the disorganisation of the more conscious left...

The shock tremors of the

Conference echoed in the staffrooms in the first weeks back at school, and already on the date of writing (7.2.69) most of the most militant schools propose to refuse to take oversize classes, and that even without the promise of support from the Federation and the conscious sabotage of any propaganda around this question by the Federation leadership.

The teachers in the schools concerned feel that their solidarity will be enough. Any attempt at victimisation by the Department will mean that the whole staff will go on strike, and probably a whole series of schools in that area.

As a result, the Department is anxiously looking to the leaders of the NSW Teachers Federation to get the teachers to accept the classes, which would otherwise be untaught and unsupervised.

Yet teachers will probably refuse to retreat, and may even force the Department to send more teachers above their allocation. Once the Department gives in on this question, the floodgates will be opened...

The situation is now at crisis point and may have exploded even before this publication reaches readers. That is, providing the NSWTF leaders do not persuade teachers to retreat, and that is unlikely.

WHILE AMONG THE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Meanwhile, in NSW, Victoria and Queensland, high school students are beginning to organise and strengthen existing organisations. In NSW, the Student Underground Movement (HSSA WVN) has expanded its newsheet, STUDENT UNDERGROUND and is producing a number of newsheets for a number of different schools. The first issue of Student Underground for 1969 opened with an article attacking the quality of education, the authoritarian school structure, etc... while a number of the individual school sheets went into particulars... All in all, it seems the movement has got off to a good start. But there is still need for

Most other high school staffs are determining to refuse oversize classes by March 10. But the test may well come before then. In any case, a tremendous confrontation is on the agenda.

The most shameful thing is the role of the traditional "left" in the Federation. Completely unable to conceive of the new situation, they blame the "trotskyists" and form a united front with the "Centre" to contain and turn back teacher militancy. A sad fate for some. But meanwhile the Right wait quietly on the sidelines, never openly opposing teacher action, waiting for the teacher action to be defeated by the "Left" - Centre establishment, and then moving onto the attack. (We speak of the real Right and not the lunatic fringe of the Reform Committee). So those who have preached "unity" (on the LCD) now find themselves united with the Centre and Right against teacher militancy and the real Left which had a minimum of one-third support at Conference! Such are the wages of opportunism...

The Left must now begin to think beyond the coming confrontation, clarify their broader aims, mobilise around new slogans (teacher-student-parent control of education at all levels for example) and plan out future strategy...

consideration to a real charter of student demands, generalising from the situation in different schools and built up to the real feelings and anxieties of the high school student. The need is in fact not only to mobilise the more militant, conscious and active students (although it is an absolutely necessary first step) but to find the ways in which the mass of high school students (particularly of course in the senior two years) can be mobilised for changes in the school.

The other high school student movement (Secondary Students Educational Union), while attempting also to come to grips with the problems mentioned above, have fallen into the trap of trying to appear "respectable" and have adopted as their motto "Reform not Revolt". Such a slogan, if really put into practice can only be deadening to any student movement. Nevertheless, despite undoubted outside influences, the SSEU is attempting to work out its lines of approach and out of it may come elements (even in the minority) who will have clarified their ideas in confrontation with the "reformers" and be able to link up with the Student Underground Movement in a more conscious and powerful way.

Meanwhile, there is the real problem of coordination and joint action between militant high school students and militant teachers. The difficulties are great on both sides, with teachers because of a certain patronising tone, and with students because of distrust of teachers and a certain desire for independence of them (quite correctly). But discussions on an equal footing could well provide a basis for coordination and joint action.

WORKERS CONTROL AND SELF-MANAGEMENT
COME TO THE CENTRE OF THE STAGE ON THE LEFT

One of the most remarkable things to have occurred in the past months on the Left is the way in which workers control and self-management have suddenly assumed the spotlight.

INTERNATIONAL has for many years stressed the way in which self-management is a powerful transitional slogan, and in which it ties in with the new nature of capitalist society in this period of industrial, scientific and technological revolution.

And that applies not only to INTERNATIONAL in its new format, but in the ten years previously when it was a free,

oneed handout. The decisions of the January NC meeting of the CPA has stressed the need for workers power and democratic control to be highlighted, and the militants educated in its full meaning. But more on that later.

Self-management is now the key concept discussed among university, teacher and student militants throughout the country. It is the basis for much planned

action at all levels in 1969. It is a
concern to all who wish to really
open up revolutionary perspectives
in their field of militant work.

Revolutionary marxists welcome
the discussion opening on workers
control and self-management and
will spend much time engaging in it.

A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
IS FORMED...

At the end of January over 120 revolutionary socialists met in Conference
in Sydney to establish a Revolutionary Socialist Alliance. The discussion was
certainly on a high level and most people present were absorbed in its
debates. At the end of the conference, it could be clearly said that a new
revolutionary organisation had been born and was certain to grow in strength
and support.

The RSA adopted a provisional
constitution which stated its aims in
the following fashion :

"to establish a socialist republic
based on the social ownership of the
means of production and the principle
of self-management by the workers
producers, students, and citizens of
their particular spheres of production,
distribution, and of the educational
centres, cultural institutions and
social service bodies, within the
framework of a national Plan arrived
at by democratic participation.

"to build a grouping of revolutionary
cadres of the number and quality needed
to carry out this revolutionary
transformation.

"as a preparatory stage in this
building of the required leadership,
to form an alliance whose democratic
structures will recognize both the
responsibility of the leading body or
bodies to initiate activity based on
the majority viewpoint, and the right
of members to propagate minority
viewpoints on any issue."

The provisional constitution also
recognizes the important principle

of "right of recall" :

"Members elected to any comm-
ittee or any secretarial function in
the RSA may be recalled by a majority
of any body which elected that
committee or person. This providing
that a full month's notice has been
given to all RSA members concerned
of the intention to move recall."

R. S. A. NOT A NEW PARTY

Despite many sharp disagree-
ments and debates, there was near-
unanimity of the concept of the RSA
as an alliance and not as a new Party
establishing itself in organisational
competition with existing organisations.
It is rather through the influence
of its ideas, propagated through these
existing workers parties and unions
that the RSA will work, and hope to
build the foundation of a new, revolution-
ary socialist party.

It was precisely on the question
of how to build the revolutionary
socialist party in relation to existing
formations, that real dissension
occurred. It was around the import-

ance, relatively, of work
in relation to the ALP, CPA,
and independent RSA work, that
the debate hinged.

As it is important, we shall
offer a few viewpoints here on
the debate and issues raised
which will necessarily have
to be controversial and therefore
open to debate in INTERNATIONAL.

"ULTRA-ENTRISM"
an infantile disorder ?

The debate turned around
the importance of work in
relation to the ALP. Revolution-
ary Marxists present, while
agreeing that work in relation
to the ALP was decisive in the
long-term for the revolutionary
movement, refused to accept a
simplistic picture which turned all
possible action of the RSA around
the immediate entry of the vast
majority of its membership (in-
cluding youth and students) into the
ALP as a main field of work.

Revolutionary Marxists
stressed that there were tremend-
ous fields of work for revolution-
ary socialist ideas in the youth,
student and anti-war movement,
as well as in the unions and the
CPA, and that not to recognize
the potential of building a cadre-
force in the thousands in the coming
months and years, simply because
of the dogmatism of "entrism"
would be ludicrous and suicidal.

But we also combated ideas
that we could forget about the
ALP, and wipe it off. Rather,
work in relation to the ALP must
continue at all times, but not
in a mechanistic way, or conceived
in terms of machine politics, but in

a creative and mobilisatory way.
But it would be suicidal to persuade
youth and students to join the ALP
as a major field of work, without
their understanding the nature of
that work, or of resisting all
the pressures. "Ultra-entrism"
is mechanistic and dogmatic
politics at its worst.

The revulsion most youth
and student militants feel for the
ALP is not "petty bourgeois"
but based upon a real concept of
the role the ALP serves in
propping up capitalism. But it
is necessary to go beyond that
and think of how that obstacle is
to be overcome... But not to
recognise it as a major obstacle
in the first place, or to minimise
that is to fall into the well of
opportunism even before you begin.

ON THE C. P. A.

The "ultra-entrists", during
the conference at least, were
sceptical of the potentials in the
CPA. The decisive evolution
of CPA since Czechoslovakia,
and particularly since the January
NC is denied by them.

The conference adopted as
guidelines for action in relation
to the CPA a statement that
CP members will "struggle for
the reconstitution and reorient-
ation of the CPA so that all
revolutionary socialists may be
included in the reconstituted
Party."

The Conference then went
on to elaborate four conditions
to be fulfilled if that is to occur.

Despite the heat of the debate
and the differences that emerged
on questions mentioned above,
there was an underlying spirit

of comradeship and good humour which prevented any splits or disunity around issues on which there was common agreement.

The RSA as an alliance adopted a formulation by which the comrades working in different spheres would determine their work in that sphere, while questions of differences in orientation and other political issues would be the subject of continuing debate.

Already this formula seems an eminently suitable one to the present state of the revolutionary Left and will be one which will have to be examined in an empirical way as time goes on.

The Conference resolved to invite all interState groups to send representatives to a parity committee to prepare for a national conference in September. Although there were representatives from all States, they were unable to speak for their RSA's, or the RSA was only in embryonic form. Nevertheless, it is clear already that the RSA will have as members most of the important student and youth leaders in most universities. It has a wide audience in the CPA and particularly in the 'YSL and in the 'under 30's'. The RSA has a big role to play in the development of a new revolutionary socialist party, and in the mass movement.

YOU CAN RECEIVE
THE TEXT OF MOTIONS
ADOPTED AT THE R. S. A
CONFERENCE FREE FROM
A. McLEAN, Box 13, Balmain, NSW-2096

THE COMMUNIST PARTY MAKES
A DECISIVE TURN

It is not accidental that we have left perhaps the most important development in the past months to last. Rather to understand the importance of the new decisive -- even qualitative -- turn in the CPA fully, one has to understand all that we have written above.

The National Committee of the CPA met on Australia Day weekend and adopted a number of vitally important resolutions. We can list them as follows :

The call for study of workers power and democratic control and

their application ; stress on importance of rank-and-file committees and action committees in unions and on shop-floor ; need to confront arbitration and penal powers ; the need for revitalised unions on above lines ; the support for NLF and

sectors of the population, not of course as an abstraction, but seen concretely in the particular sphere. The demand to run the sector of the economy or society is the greatest when the bureaucracy is at its greatest, and the alienation and frustration of the work force at its highest.

Concretely, it is in the field of education -- both secondary and tertiary -- that revolutionary socialists have the best means of proving their point about the immediate and urgent relevance of self-management.

However, the active intervention in all strikes and struggles can show the relevance of it.

In the railway strike, it was necessary to go directly to the aid of the railway workers and help them in their struggle (especially to get their message over to the public). But it was also necessary to discuss ways and means of the railway workers themselves running and taking-over the railways.

For instance, a concrete proposal that could well have been advanced could have been that the railway workers occupy the railway stations and workshops, and that they discuss there ways in which they, themselves, could operate the railways, and aim to restore services to those workers using the railways under the management of elected committees of railway workers.

Such discussions would undoubtedly have to cover such questions as financing the railways, the question of interest payments, etc., as well as the way they could improve railway services and give wage justice.

Such proposals would no doubt have found an echo among the workers which would have surprised many, but even if only the seeds of an idea were planted in conditions of

struggle, then a big step would be taken, no doubt, in the future, when the RSA gets its organisational structure functioning properly, and when the universities reopen, such action will be taken.

But how much more relevant would such action be if pushed by the CPA itself. . . .

That is why self-management as distinct from simply workers control is a real and revolutionary slogan best adapted to Australian conditions.

The value of such action by the railway men to illustrate self-management to the workers as a whole would have been immense.

IS STALINISM RELEVANT TODAY?

Another tendency which has to be combatted, is that which fails to understand the importance of de-stalinisation for the evolution of the CPA. The article by Eric Aarons in TRIBUNE, 12. 2. 69, rightly stresses the need to make a Revolution here as our best contribution to the world movement is stressed, but the importance of a correct understanding of stalinism missed.

Stalinism has affected every nook and cranny of the Australian labor movement and is apparent in many varying attitudes. After social-democracy it is the greatest stumbling block in the way to socialist advance. No one would claim we have to wait for the victory of the political revolution for socialist democracy in the USSR before we could have a revolution here. But it is true, that we need a revolutionary party which is crystal-clear on the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy, and, even more important, rejects all the opportunist or sectarian policies inherited from the stalinist period

TOWARDS A PROGRAMME FOR THE UNIVERSITY

This document is one submitted for discussion in the REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT in France. It is translated from SOUS LE DRAPEAU DU SOCIALISME, No. 46, organ of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the Fourth International. The document reflects much of the critical examination of the University in France after the May-June Revolt.

WHY THE STUDENT COMMUNE AROSE

The university is only a particular expression of the contradictions existing between the development of productive forces and neo-imperialist society. To the general contradictions of the capitalist mode of production are added those specific to the present phase of capitalism. In France, where the unequal development between the different organisational levels is particularly flagrant, the university crisis has become explosive and is able to activate the major contradictions up to the level of the Revolution.

THE POORLY-ADAPTED UNIVERSITY

The development of productive forces demands a quantitative and qualitative change in education. The growing complexity of production and management techniques, and their rapid evolution implies a work-force with new types of qualifications. This applies not only to intellectual professions but also to manual work.

An ever-increasing number must have a sufficiently wide field of knowledge to be able to take into account neighbouring disciplines into his work. The rapid obsolescence of many techniques means that workers in their lifetime have to review and deepen their knowledge and even learn an entirely new specialisation. The French University has accomplished neither of the three tasks facing it satisfactorily: training the bourgeois elite, renewing its teaching body, and training technicians, research workers and executives. The university is poorly-

adapted. This corresponds to the new contradictions which it will find it difficult to overcome.

a) Mode of Life

While Big Capital needs a high level of knowledge among a growing percentage of wage-earners, it is building a society of ever-increasing absurdity. The reign of profit determines the most marked constraints in daily life. But these constraints open up compensatory needs which in turn open up new markets to big Capital.

As a result, an important part of social life is spent on pure waste due to the present results of private property of the means of production. Moreover, the demand for manufactured goods is exasperated by the "consumer model" developed by the different forms of advertising. The rise in living standards is accompanied by a growing dissatisfaction.

The incoherence of this society is felt particularly by the students who combine a certain cultural level with

a still superficial integration in this society. It is therefore understandable that a common characteristic of the student revolts in advanced capitalist societies has been a virulent criticism of the "consumer society". The generalisation of culture therefore becomes as both necessary and dangerous for Big Capital as was the teaching of workers to read for bourgeois society last century.

b) The Social Structures

But the sharpened criticism by students of neo-imperialist society is only possible due to the lot that awaits them. University degrees are no longer automatically a means of participation in ruling circles. Students know that in their majority they will fill minor posts and can see the time coming when they will have lost their few material privileges and be confounded with the proletariat. The university crisis, far from being explained by the uncertainty students feel regarding their future, is, on the contrary, explained by the certainty as to their future.

c) A Society in search of its own Political Balance.

It is even not possible any longer to convince students and even a part of the new middle layers that this society and the place they occupy in it can be changed through the parliamentary game. Bourgeois democracy is dead. It is no longer possible to reconcile the needs of different layers of the bourgeoisie in a parliament. Worker representatives -- even reformists -- become too numerous. The traditional petty bourgeoisie in constant regression no longer provides a sufficient social base for capitalism to play the game of universal suffrage. Moreover, this layer has remained malthusian and conservative in a period of rapid change.

15. d) Bonapartism makes the necessary changes more difficult.

Because he is destined to play a subordinate role in society, Big Capital cannot allow the average student freedom of research. Thus the student must passively digest knowledge to be able to passively apply it. The specific centralism of French capitalist society^e of reform makes it more difficult for education to the different present functions of the University, than it is in other countries.

The use of the old universities for the training of a bourgeois elite is a blind alley. It is therefore necessary to limit the number of engineers at the same time as their training is already too specialised to allow them an effective preparation for the tasks their jobs demand. The changes in the French University are more difficult in that the sclerosis is more ancient. In theory, however, it is possible in the more or less long term, for the University to be fitted into the capitalist order. It would necessitate a new type of bourgeois democracy based on privileged elements of the new middle layers. But the pyramidal hierarchy of bonapartism makes the effective participation of these layers and in part the students in decision-making impossible. De Gaulle and Faure and others can only make promises which are little able to be taken seriously.

In any case, the attempt to give neo-imperialist society a social base could not succeed before some years in which the new capitalist contradictions will in any case grow. It is unlikely then that the university crisis is close to being solved.

2. THE STUDENT MOVEMENTS

All these conditions have resulted in a total questioning of everything. This has resulted in two quite distinct, but converging, movements.

a) Movement for immediate demands

A majority of students supported the immediate demands put forward by

the UNEF (United Students' Federation --ed.) The UNEF could only rarely mobilise the student mass and never in a durable and efficacious way. That was due not only to the forms of action and organisation that the UNEF proposed, but above all because these movements remained isolated and therefore could find no echo among other layers of the population and notably among the working class. However, not only did these efforts provoke no effort by the regime to improve the university, but the changes proposed under the Fouchet Scheme only worsened the situation without making any remedy, even on secondary questions.

b) Elsewhere, militants beginning from this same criticism of the university went further more rapidly. During the development of the anti-imperialist struggle of the colonised people over a whole period, the growth of socialist content in this struggle gave great aid to the politicisation and gathering of these militants. The support to the Algerian FLN, the admiration of the castrist period in Latin America, the defence of the Vietnamese people, were all stages in action and politicisation. A certain number of students found a place in existing political groups and above all in the FER, JCR, UJCM, while the UEC was reduced in forces and influence. (1)

These political groups continue to play a quite special role. None of them play or wish to play the role of revolutionary leadership in its milieu, but are content to advance generalised analyses without wishing to be able to propose a programme of action, which (1) FER - Student Revolutionary Front, JCR - Revolutionary Communist Youth, UJCM, Marxist-Leninist Communist Youth Union, UEC - Communist Student Union. First two "trotskyist" third Maoist, last, official CF.

starting from the immediate problems and integrating the major political questions through the dynamic of its slogans, will lead a large sector of the students to participate in the revolutionary movement.

The most advanced effort in this regard was the 22 March Movement. However, these groups, because of the diversity of their theses, play a decisive role in the politicisation of a movement originating from immediate demands,

c) A Synthesis is necessary.

In May, these movements --apparently distinct and contradictory existed. But many militants have gone through a decisive experience. No more than in any other layer of the population can the revolutionary organisations hope to directly organise the majority of the students in their own ranks. But, it is possible and necessary for revolutionary militants, starting from the immediate aspirations of the majority of the students to develop mass action which shows that the satisfaction of demands expressed suppose the seizure of power by the working class and its allies. In May that was understood by broad layers.

The partial failure of the general strike has certainly provoked disillusion. But the factors generating the revolutionary crisis remain --it is necessary to prepare for the next stages. That demands the definition of a programme of action, explicitly in a revolutionary perspective, but starting from reformist illusions. Such a programme can only result from the critical reflection on slogans which have spontaneously appeared in this movement confronted with the experience of previous revolutionary movements. It demands a broad discussion involving the majority of revolutionary militants in the university, but also in the factories. It supposes constant improvement in daily experience and an adaptation to concrete circumstances in each milieu.

The proposals assembled below are aimed at opening up this discussion.

II. ELEMENTS OF A PROGRAMME

1. Training and Education

A) No more pointless specialisation.

One of the demands of students and part of the staff is perhaps now in part being satisfied, but then one only needs a little common sense to see it was almost necessary to make a revolution to have it satisfied still very partially.

Narrowly specialised education is no more possible without it ending up almost devoid of sense. The doctor is unable to work without a serious understanding of psychology, the architect needs to be a little an engineer and sociologist. It is clear too that a worker and farmer can less work now without a knowledge of economics and maths.

The old faculties must be integrated in the University and only be a means of specialisation supposing a more generalised university.

b) The University must open its doors to society.

Since May, it has been agreed that one can't become a doctor only through book knowledge, but it is still generally considered that an engineer has no need for direct experience in society in notably the mode of life and conditions of life of the majority of the population -- the proletariat. It is indespicable that society opens its doors out to scientific technical and social life. For that, a period of study must integrate a period of work, but also in a more general way, the students must themselves be teachers, researchers, to the degree of their knowledge.

c) A New Pedagogy.

The passive absorption of theories reputedly exact by the professors must be replaced by the absorption of basic data, but above all by methods

of analysis and understanding of problems examined. The individual work for a degree must be replaced by the work of a pluri-disciplined group as much as possible, the better to reply pedagogically and materially to the new problems of education. Considered simply from the more-or-less long term economic angle, the absolute gulf established between teacher and taught leads to an impasse. University teachers and students must permanently question and define the very base and form of teaching.

d) Degrees versus knowledge

The members of the university must also decide on methods of evaluating study. There can be no absolute rule in face of differing disciplines; but there is little interest in knowing if the student has well digested professorial concepts --rather what is of interest is if he has critically and coherently tackled problems arising from the discipline. Generally, speaking it seems that during collective work, students and teachers would be able to evaluate the value of each other's work resulting in a permanent control of knowledge gained. Collective memories often form a means of effective control of knowledge and creative aptitude. The system of certificates, diplomas, degrees and theses now in use allows nothing real to be judged.

It could testify to a good memory or attendance at some lectures. As for individual theses, they are either superficial and uninteresting, or the result of dozens of years of study. But they can also be the result of the work of anonymous students used as "workhorses". In all these cases, they are less and less able to allow the training of research workers and technicians especially given that technique and research more and more use pluri-disciplined work.

2. The University open to all Social life must penetrate the University.

Permanent experience and challenge, the way in which knowledge progresses

demand that that the university welcome all those who bring new problems to it. The university can no longer exist as a moment in the life of a minority, but rather must become the special place for the exercise of creative ability by the greatest possible number.

Scientists, professional persons, artists, trade union and political militants must all find a natural place in the University.

In general then the individual must be able and have the means of expressing himself there. Students and staff must from right now have the right to invite those they want to hear, on subjects they want to hear.

Right of meeting, right of information, offices for university, cultural artistic, trade union and political organisation: no privilege in knowledge.

The main role is no longer to train bosses, but to mould a new civilization, master of new instruments of labour. At present, a higher degree of culture not only results in more interesting jobs for those so privileged, but exorbitant material privilege.

The student is only an apprentice who must begin to take part in production of goods or services sooner or later. He must have a study scholarship equal to a minimum wage. He must not be prey to decisions of a capitalist government or a bourgeois family who often have malthusian ideas. In their hands, scholarships are only means of selecting potential bosses from the sons of the working class. Education must be the right of all without giving material privileges for this double objective. The hierarchy of individual income, and wages must be limited.

3. THE AUTONOMY OF THE UNIVERSITY.

To carry out these new functions, the university must escape from the malthusian policy of the bourgeois State. The finances and form of education must escape from the short-term needs of ruling layers. But the condition of autonomy is financial autonomy.

THE UNIVERSITY MUST RECEIVE A FIXED PORTION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME (including scholarships.) This autonomy will only be assured if this accompanies the autonomy of a large number of university establishments. Otherwise, individual universities will be unable to maintain their autonomy. It is also necessary to avoid the situation of having "poor" and bourgeois universities as exist in the USA.

UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY WILL ONLY EXIST IF THE UNIVERSITY IS A WHOLE.

University self-management

As with manual and intellectual workers, the universities do not wish any longer to be simple objects of a society, of a bonapartist regime. The university above all cannot be an object manipulated by very small circles, if it is to meet its very real social needs. Autonomy alone can be assured if it is not abandoned to a body of mandarins who are continually linked with leading layers.

Autonomy supposes self-management by the whole university body. But alongside the students, the teaching staff and the administrative staff, must participate representatives of workers interested them-

selves, and their children, that is, workers peasants, engineers, intellectuals and artists.

For the representation of general interests to be in the hands of the State, Deputies, parents of pupils and a fortiori to the bosses, would show that the university remains essentially a service to the privileged.

Right now, without awaiting the return of the students, (nb. this was written during European summer holidays --ed.) educators must prepare a CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF THE UNIVERSITY. They must not wait, for for many years they have called in vain for changes in education. It is only when they did things for themselves in May that the General had to give way and abandon the Fouchet Plan which resolutely refused to face the real needs.

In this whole society based on violence brutal and insidious, it is not sufficient to say what is necessary -- it is necessary to do it.

Against Integration and repression.

But each time the capitalist regime is struck with fear, it tries both to integrate and redirect demands including those giving rise to most disorder, and to repress, thus trying to return the river to its bed.

The mystification has begun: the students are offered participation in pointless discussions which in fact concern only the best way to apply governmental directives.

DOWN WITH CO-MANAGEMENT the universities must not be accomplices they must use the gains of May to establish university control over the university.

They must refuse pseudo-democracy of delegation of power, which transforms the delegates into transmission belts of bourgeois authority and the members of the university into a passive mass. They must demand delegates

subject to recall at all times.

Against the police in uniform and in plainclothes, against the mercenary and fascist bands formed as commandos of repression, they must form university self-defence units.

4. ORGANISATION OF THE STRUGGLE

Mobilisation is democracy

It is neither possible nor sufficient to count as in May simply on spontaneity. Initiative and autonomy are the bases of any mass movement. Rank-and-file initiative is not opposed to discipline demanded by action. However, that does in turn require an effectively democratic organisation. To reduce this democracy to the right to speak, to vast assemblies, is only a caricature. Democracy can only exist if it allows collective elaboration and action and not only the right to vote.

Moreover, conservative forces appear, above all in the teaching body. The whole of the student body must therefore be organised on the basis of the elementary education units -- the 'amphis', sections, labs, etc.. Delegates from these basic bodies, controlled and recallable must represent the students at all levels, only delegating this authority to a smaller number on rare occasions.

These rank-and-file assemblies must be the essential body for the mobilisation, controlling & renewing their delegates continually.

But militants must compare experience and work out their views in a particular framework. This militant organisation could well be the UNEF (French students union).

The committees of action should also apply this democracy. Their officers must be controlled, recallable and with a limited tenure of office, the more so as the committees must be of a size to allow a real elaboration of ideas. But the UNEF if it is to be

a part of a socialist perspective, it must beat the level of the immediate preoccupations of the students, otherwise it will be cut off from its own base and be replaced by organisations loyal to the regime. The UNEF has the possibility of leading the majority of the students around its propositions, based on education and the contradictions the rein. Again, it must choose action as the means of raising the awareness of the broad layers of students.

III. A REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE.

1. The solution lies in the Socialist Revolution.

While examples exist of university autonomy in the capitalist world, the authentically new university adapted to the level of productive forces can only be created, as far as we are concerned, in a new society. The whole of labour must be socially useful and not a third or more spent on the permanent army, the forces of repression, useless gadgetry, advertising... A society based on political and economic self-management, with no man or group acting as the messiah.

Only a revolution will allow that, and nothing short of it. We don't however demand that everyone adopt our point of view to fight together on a single point. Among the demands we support, there are some which can be achieved immediately, but if the others are not won, they will also be lost.

2. What was lacking in May

May, the general repetition of the Revolution, refigured socialist structures and showed what was lacking to the revolutionaries. That was a line for intervention, structures for elaboration of programme, common direction and leadership.

The durable success of university demands depends finally on the historic success of the workers demands. The university action programme must form part of a more general programme.

In the same way, revolutionary militants in the university must link up with those in other layers and particularly with those of the proletariat. For they face the problem of overcoming the atomisation of the fighting groups, for a united revolutionary movement.

No particular group can claim a monopoly of revolutionary leadership. The revolutionary leadership will only take shape through revolutionary democracy.

In May that could have been possible through a federation of strike and action committees. In the coming stages, the names can be changed, but it will still be a question of crystallising the desire of intellectual and manual workers, wishing to take their future in their own hands, and do it right now.

15 September 1968.

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APOLOGIES FOR DELAY IN INTERNATIONAL.

Apologies to our readers for delay in publication of INTERNATIONAL. Our complaints we have received indicate anyhow that some are interested....

The reasons for the delay will be clear to readers. The RSA Founding Conference was held at the end of January and necessitated the delay so that we could cover its main conclusions.

Then came the decisions of the January NC of the CPA, which necessitated a further delay.

Add to that the fact that we have all been very active in different fields of work, and you have the reasons for the delay.

However, to make up for the delay, we are sending this issue of INTERNATIONAL out as a sample copy to over a thousand persons on our mailing list. We hope that a sizeable number will subscribe and help us make INTERNATIONAL a printed magazine. To regular readers: please, subscribe-- it is the best way to help us to make INTERNATIONAL an even more powerful weapon in the labor movement...

THE NEXT ISSUE OF INTERNATIONAL.

We hope (1) to bring out the next issue of INTERNATIONAL (ie. March-April) mid-March. We hope to feature particularly the whole question of Education with an article by Doug White and several other contributions. ANY READER WISHING TO COMMENT ON ANY ARTICLE IN THIS OR PAST INTERNATIONAL PLEASE SEND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS IN BEFORE 7 March.

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... of the anti-war movement; opening of a campaign to examine relations with the Soviet Union; reaffirmation of call for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia and sympathy with Palach; the refusal to condemn Frank Hardy for his articles attacking the Soviet bureaucracy; the decision to appoint a committee to meet to discuss the possible restructuring of the CPA...

Decisions of course are only on paper -- but even so have their importance. But there are signs that in important spheres -- especially in the unions, there are real efforts being made to implement them.

NEED TO FULLY IMPLEMENT JANUARY N. C. DECISIONS

The full and thorough implementation of the decisions of the January NC would open up the possibility of transforming the CPA into a party which could be the basis for the building of a revolutionary socialist party numbering into the many thousands.

In other words, the reorientation of CP union militants around the question of workers control and self-management and of confrontation with the arbitration system, and the frank examination of stalinism and its role in the CPA open up the perspective of a complete transformation of the CPA.

Such a transformation will not occur without difficulty, nor will it occur overnight. Important steps have been taken however. Marxists outside the CPA must now seriously consider entering the CPA with the aim of participating in the decisive struggle to reorient-

ate the CPA around the January NC decisions.

It is clear in any case that revolutionary socialists must take part in the discussion opening up in the CPA.

STALINISTS REMAIN STRONG

Those who oppose the NC decisions, although they have been unable to win support in the aggregate meetings called to discuss them, nevertheless remain strong, especially in Sydney. The fact that union leaders like Clancy and Elliott remain stalinist in orientation on key issues points to their real strength.

They also remain the more conservative on internal union questions and refuse to consider self-management.

Although then the anti-stalinist left forces have won an important victory, the stalinist opposition still remains, fighting a rearguard action.

How can revolutionary socialists best speed the evolution inside the CPA?

WORKERS CONTROL AND SELF-MANAGEMENT ARE URGENT SLOGANS RIGHT NOW

One tendency that has to be combatted is that which, while accepting the concept of workers control and self-management as "interesting" and worthy of "study", denies it any real validity right now. (Jack Hutson does this when he states that it is "not a real proposition under present Australian conditions" -- Australian Left Review, Feb-Mar. 1969)

Self-management is a slogan which has immediate appeal in all

and, as well, rids itself of the dogmatism which prevents analysis of the new situation.

But, in fact, it is clear that you can't understand the nature and errors of previous stalinist policies unless you are crystal clear about the nature of stalinism and bureaucracy as a world and total phenomenon.

Thus to be fully effective in Australian conditions, and to fully work out a policy for Australian reality, the CPA has in the process of doing this to fully clarify the question of stalinism and bureaucracy, and of the whole past...

Need we mention also the need to clarify the position in relation to the Soviet bureaucracy in a thorough and crystal-clear way, to reestablish political credentials among the vast mass of Australian workers who certainly know what happened under stalinism, even if some of the "vanguard" have been in blissful ignorance for decades...

The CPA will only be able to speak with political authority when it decisively rejects the Soviet bureaucratic dictatorship and calls for its overthrow and replacement by a regime of socialist democracy based on the principle of self-management in all spheres of social

political and economic life.

JANUARY N. C. DECISIONS MARK A DECISIVE TURN FOR CPA.

No matter the speed with which the NC decisions are implemented and developed, the step has been taken which opens up all the major questions inside the CPA in a decisive way.

Revolutionary socialists welcome this development and will seek to be the best in urging their full implementation, both in their text and in their spirit.

Student revolutionaries and RSA members must seriously consider the evolution in the CPA, study its development, try to aid its evolution, and look forward to the day when all revolutionary socialist forces can unite in a single revolutionary socialist party based upon a reconstituted and revitalised CPA.

The Conference of Left Action will provide a unique possibility for revolutionary socialists to discuss, argue and formulate joint action with all sectors of the working class movement, including CP militants.

We urge all our readers to make a special effort to attend the different sessions over Easter weekend, 1969, in Sydney.

15. 2. 69

CONFERENCE OF LEFT ACTION

A very important gathering for the Australian Left, the Conference of Left Action will be held in Sydney at the Teachers Federation Auditorium over Easter Weekend 1969. FULL DETAILS FROM THE CONFERENCE ORGANISERS, c/- Box A247, Sydney South PO, Sydney. We urge all readers to attend...

INTERNATIONAL is the organ of the Australian Section of the Fourth International (Revolutionary-Marxist Tendency). It is published by A. McLean, PO Box 13, Balmain, NSW -- 2041. AUSTRALIA.