

WHICH WAY ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT?

A QUARTER OF A MILLION ON THE STREETS IN APRIL MORATORIUM ... SOLIDARITY WITH THE N. L. F. ... is it "rightwing" to advocate non-registration? ... the role of unions in the anti-war movement ...

COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE :

THE DIVISIONS IN THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

THE SOCIAL STRUGGLES IN WEST EUROPE

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

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THE NEW TURN IN
THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

FOR A GENERAL, NATIONAL STRIKE
AGAINST THE WAR AND CONSCRIPTION.

We have devoted a large section of this issue of INTERNATIONAL to an analysis in a series of short articles by Denis Freney of the anti-war movement in this country.

The significant shift has occurred on a number of planes. The exposure of the atrocities at Song My has released the floodgates of news, and the truth in all its starkness is coming home now to even those who were doubters. As a result, the mass media and the politicians have had to in a period of days, evaluate their positions. THE AUSTRALIAN carried out a remarkable about turn and prominently and publicly began to "crusade" for immediate withdrawal. The Federal A. L. F. leader, Whitlam, leads a deputation of the Committee in Defiance of the National Service Act ... The Sydney wharfies by a large majority decide to blacklist the JEPART. . . The general revulsion grows against the war.

The shift provides a tremendous opportunity. If all other conditions are fulfilled, of winning a major victory in April by mobilising on the streets many thousands, and of even achieving the goal of a quarter of a million in protests throughout the country. But it also provides the possibility and the absolute necessity for mobilisation of large numbers around the more revolutionary slogan of "Victory to the NLF" and raising the whole consciousness of the class by injecting this concept into the struggle.

The role of the unions is also vital. We must see the possibility of the unions, sparked by the general swing and defiance, taking a more radical swing and even the possibility of a general strike against the war, of a brief duration if necessary, on the Friday afternoon of the weekend the protest is set down for. Such action, which will be a practical proposition in April, against the war, must be one of the major goals. . . But in addition, we need other forms of action at the grassroots level: in the universities a general student strike, in the schools, teachers and students to join in action. Such proposals sound almost revolutionary in our context, but (excepting the unions) they did precisely occur in the U. S. A. The concept of a nation-wide general strike against the war on the Friday afternoon before the moratorium weekend, is something that must be fought for right now. It is a demand which makes the quarter of a million marching in the streets a real possibility. It makes for a struggle that will have tremendous revolutionary potential. AND IT IS A REALISABLE SLOGAN: GIVEN THE REAL PREPARATION POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL. . . .

To make the general strike and the moratorium a success will also necessitate the mobilisation of the youth, particularly on a local, suburban basis -- and that will need co-ordination of all forces in localities from now on, and that in a non-sectarian way.

The following articles will help to outline some of the major problems involved in developing the anti-war movement: your criticisms are invited for publication in the next issue.

5 - December 1969.

THE POLITICS OF DEFIANCE.

Defiance has become a key word in Australian radical politics. First came the defiance and deliberate confrontation of the Fenal Powers. Now we are witnessing the defiance of the National Service Act. Both have been eminently successful campaigns, although no conclusion has yet been reached on either of them.

More than anything else the acts of defiance in both these instances highlight the new period of confidence and confrontation with the State into which the Australian labor movement is now entering.

The success of these campaigns gives a startling rebuttal to the Jeremiahs in the Left who have predicted terrible consequences for those who dared to defy a bourgeois law.

These conservatives, be they on the "trotskyist" side of the political spectrum (Resistance and the International Marxist League) or on the "stalinist" side (the conservative union bureaucrats) at first justified themselves by referring to the terrible fate that awaited those who defied the law (the Coal Strike of '49 was the usual spectre raised). One leading member of the IML declared that he was not prepared to spend 25 days in jail, as he had more important things to do... One leading parliamentarian on the (fake) Left in NSW declared it was all "adventurism" (a common word these days), until his "Leader" Whitlam himself engaged in this adventurist enterprise... Now a second leader of the IML declares that the Act of Defiance is on the "extreme rightwing" and is no more significant than breaking a bourgeois law by "pissing in the gutter"....

Whatever the rationalisation from whatever quarter, all these individuals lack any sense of the new period we are entering, or, more serious a real understanding of the mechanisms of capitalist rule in our present society... Both live in past formulae, mechanical and superficially applied to the present situation.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DEFIANCE.

How does capitalism rule in our present society? It is clearly not simply by police and military repression -- rather it is through the complexity of bourgeois democracy. An integral part of the structure is the "respect for law and order" -- that once a law is passed, then it must be respected and the normal "democratic" procedure to have it repealed (ie. assembly, protest etc.). Thus, the ruling class can almost totally dispense with the normal means of repression that exist behind the scenes. That is of course why "law and order" is a sacred totem of the bourgeois- ie. Not only law and order that would be expected in any civilised community (murder etc.) but above all laws which enshrine the powers of the bourgeois State. The Fenal Powers were one form of the control of the State over the unions (others still exist, particularly the more subtle forms of hegemony of capitalist ideas). The part of the Crimes Act being defied by the Committee in Defiance of the National Service Act is only a small sector, and even to a

certain degree an unnecessary aberration to the whole operation of conscription. Yet to defy a law of this nature is a direct challenge to the authority and strength of the State. Because, besides its direct effect in making the law inoperative, it gives a new perspective and force to the anti-war and radical movement it gives it a new confidence which can allow it to see the frailty of the present system of rule and at the same time, the force and repression behind the facade. To defy a law is to question the whole framework within which the system operates. It is to take the struggle onto a new level. That more than anything else was the deeper significance of the Fenal Powers struggle -- it was in itself a contributing factor to the present wave of industrial discontent and militancy which is spreading throughout industry.

It remains true that many who signed and acted out the defiance were not aware and still are unaware of the deeper significance of the whole operation. For them it remains only a higher form of protest, a new and unique means of gaining publicity for the cause.

But, independent of their will, and despite the efforts of the mass media and Whitlam to make it simply that -- another form of protest absorbed in the system -- the fact remains that a law has been defied. The same remains with the Fenal Powers.

NEW FORMS OF DEFIANCE NEEDED.

The movement of defiance must now escalate onto new acts, more unacceptable to the present system. One obvious act of defiance that can be contemplated is collection of aid for the NLF, something which must be tackled as something in itself, but also something which can lead to a confrontation with the State and an end to the grip which has paralysed solidarity action. The class must be brought into mass actions -- that is of course true. But

they will not move independently of the examples set nor of the more advanced elements. What is necessary is the mobilisation of the mass of the working class for radical, revolutionary change. That will not occur unless the grip of bourgeois ideology is broken in striking and spectacular ways. One of the major elements in the grip of bourgeois ideology is precisely, as we have said, "respect for law and order". The rejection and defiance of laws which oppress and contain the mass movement is an integral, even decisive part of any revolutionary awakening. The masses reject and refuse to accept the right of the ruling class to govern -- that is the major, even decisive element in a revolutionary moment in history. They must have the confidence to rule themselves, and the ruling class must have lost, even momentarily, its self-confidence and will to rule. The molecular process to such a consciousness is difficult, even invisible. But it proceeds continually and the role of the revolutionary is to intervene consciously to aid the process.

The arguments advanced against the "defiance" flow largely from an incomprehension of this basic fact. For them, it remains an act of individual "conscience", of Gandhian martyrdom which lacks any point (hence it is "rightwing"). And in any case, these "trotskyists" argue, to fight against conscription is anyhow "rightwing" (?) But we shall deal with the whole question of conscription elsewhere in this issue of INTERNATIONAL... Sufficient to say that the combined effect of condemning the Act of Defiance and anti-conscription is an abject "opting-out" of a vital sphere of the anti-war movement which is now mobilising thousands of youth... DF.. 5.12.69

4.

IS IT "RIGHTWING"
TO CALL FOR NON-REGISTRATION ?

Some astonishing concepts appear within the revolutionary movement. Some say -- although it is seldom written -- that to adopt a slogan of "abolish conscription" is rightwing. To call for the victory of the NLF as a central slogan in demonstrations for them is "adventurist" and "ultraleftist"! ... only "withdraw the troops now" is acceptable as a "mass" demand.

CONSCRIPTION -- THE FIRST
ISSUE A WAKENING YOUTH

While it is true that the "moral" question of the Vietnam War is often a cause to awaken the youth to action, a major and powerful ingredient which leads them to consider individual action is that of conscription. Every youth who turns nineteen or is about to do so, must consider his own individual action. He must take a stand on whether he is prepared to go to Vietnam or not. That means that the whole question of conscription is a major issue for the anti-war movement and one which will mobilise thousands of youth against the war. To leave anti-conscription out of the lexicon of slogans of the anti-war movement and to, worse still, describe the demand "abolish conscription" as rightwing, is to use a current phrase "infantile leftism". It is to limit the movement and not to build at grass-roots upon one of the major concerns of the radical youth of today. The demand to abolish conscription can be approached, of course, from many angles. It can be simply a pacifist demand, based upon acts of individual conscience. It can be even more limited in a demand to abolish conscription for overseas service only. But tackled from a revolutionary perspective it can be more, much more. It can lead to an individual act of defiance to the whole State and tackle the rule of the regime from without the accepted framework. That can be the only way to describe the actions of Laurie Carmichael

and Peter Hornby who have simply refused to accept the law and gone into hiding when necessary and even more openly flouted the authorities to arrest them by marching in mass demonstrations, speaking at rallies, etc.. This in fact, independent of the will of the actors in the drama, adds up to a revolutionary opposition to conscription because, besides the mass mobilisation (still limited) to the aid of the defiers, there is also the act of defiance which snubs a nose to a fundamental aspect of governmental policy.

OPPOSITION INSIDE THE ARMY

An argument often advanced against anti-conscription is that the real role of revolutionaries is to register be conscripted, and then carry out revolutionary work inside the army. Apart from the fact that those who advance this argument do so in a purely platonic way and in fact advise their militants to fail the medical, there is of course no contradiction between draft resistance and defiance and revolutionary work inside the army. In fact, the militancy of draft defiance outside the army only encourages the resistance inside. Desertion among young conscripts is growing to a rate which is truly remarkable for our conditions. They number in the dozens... Inside the army, the conscripts are with each intake increasingly restless.

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THE PERSPECTIVES OF
THE MOVEMENT AGAINST
CONSCRIPTION

The movement for the abolition of conscription must be seen as part of the general anti-war movement, and one which almost automatically leads youth to a higher concept of struggle -- first for the complete withdrawal of Australian and all imperialist troops and next for solidarity with the NLF... Yet because it is in a sense a more "limited" demand, it must not be snubbed as unimportant, etc.. The whole movement for non-registration can be seen as culminating in 1970 in a series of massive defiances of the Act and refusal to register. Conscription is therefore going to remain one of the major questions of concern in the anti-war movement. It offers the possibility of a massive mobilisation of the youth around a demand of immediate concern. But such a mobilisation must take place in the sense of a confrontation with the State, and a real challenge to the whole existing system. That means getting outside traditional "pacifist" means, and an attempt to involve large numbers in

IS SOLIDARITY
ULTRA-LEFT ?

Alongside the cry that "anti-conscription" is "rightwing" goes the cry that to make "solidarity with the NLF" a central slogan (and not a peripheral one) in major attempts at militant city demonstrations, is "ultra-left" and adventurist.. We are told that the only really revolutionary transitional slogan for mass mobilisation is "immediate withdrawal of troops"...

Strange company of revolutionaries when the majority of Democrat leaders in the USA call for the immediate withdrawal, when the AUSTRALIAN now does so, and the A. L. P. leaders also do so. Recall that Holyoake in New Zealand informs us that he expects Australian and NZ troops to be out by the end of 1970... Not to say that "immediate withdrawal of troops" is not a valid, even extremely

militant actions of defiance. Such action can include storming of centres for national service registration, attempt to disrupt the draft, and massive non-registering. If the successive intakes are successful, the radical anti-war movement must do all possible concurrently with the non-registration campaign, to incite those who are inducted to resist within the Army, and to try to incite massive desertion and organisation of a servicemen's union within the Australian Army. For the first time it is now conceivable to begin this work and the logical place to start is among the conscripts, and that from the beginning of the induction period. Desertion, strikes inside the army -- resistance inside the army in general -- is a much more serious thing than the whole act of non-registration and must be tackled with a seriousness of an extreme... Provocations, of all types must be expected. But this is a truly revolutionary task that must be tackled and prepared... 5. 12. 69

valid slogan which must remain a central one in any mobilisation. But to present it as the major transitional slogan around which we must mobilise is false. The slogan which will move people to a higher level of consciousness and around which it is vital to mobilise forces in demonstrations in 1970 numbering up to a thousand is "solidarity".

At the present stage, as a massive movement develops against the war, it is necessary while not cutting oneself off from that mass movement, to inject into it new demands and new levels of demands, to take the whole movement to a new level.

It is wrong to think that advanced actions can only help to limit the mass movement. On the contrary, it is often the advanced actions that precipitate the mass action and that can provide the spirit and heart for the mass to move. It is false to speak about a demonstration of one or two thousand being a mass demonstration. That represents in fact the most conscious vanguard of the anti-war movement. ONLY WHEN WE HAVE DEMONSTRATIONS NUMBERING TO TEN THOUSAND AND MORE CAN WE BEGIN TO SPEAK OF A MASS MOVEMENT. To limit the basis of the mobilisation of those with one or two thousand is wrong and even hinders the development of a real mass movement as it inhibits the growth of the militant and conscious vanguard.

We will examine the present situation in the anti-war movement in relation to a mass mobilisation in the following article.

However, it is necessary to consider how we can mobilise a thousand or more around a central slogan of "Victory to the NLF". First, such a demonstration and vanguard mobilisation cannot and must not be seen as a purely limited one, with some hundreds involved. It must include other slogans (immediate withdrawal, smash conscription, etc.) to mobilise wider forces who will however accept the central slogan as well. The proposal of the Sydney Vietnam Solidarity Committee to call a demonstration on March 13 around the slogan "Victory to the NLF" is an initiative that could prove a vital one for the future of the anti-war movement and provide the basis for the formation of a militant vanguard which can act as the spearhead of the massive mobilisation projected for April. Denis FRENEY -- 5. 12. 69

THE APRIL MORATORIUM-- FOR A QUARTER OF A MILLION ON THE STREETS !

Thirty million marched in the USA in the successive mobilisations late this year. An attempt is to be made in April to obtain such a massive mobilisation in Australia. A mobilisation of some quarter of a million on the streets would be a tremendous blow against the war and for the radicalisation of the population. To achieve such a mobilisation much must be done in the coming months and on both a qualitative and quantitative scale.

LESSONS FROM NOVEMBER 15 MOBILISATION

The last issue of INTERNATIONAL spoke of the possibilities of some similar sort of mobilisation in November 15 AICD -sponsored demonstration. That demonstration failed to attract more than the usual one or two thousand

and was in fact a failure in this respect. Its failure was attributable to the traditional forms of organisation involved, the failure to involve wider layers and get the general populace opposed to the war onto the streets. It reflects a malaise in the whole anti-war movement -- the failure to develop real grassroots organisation

in suburbia, in the factories, in the schools and universities. Vital in the coming months, if a quarter of a million are to be brought onto the streets, is to right now set about establishing moratorium committees at grassroots level -- suburb by suburb, school by school, factory by factory. This is not an impossibility, nor is it beyond the facilities of the left and the anti-war movement. If the concept of the moratorium committee remains centralised, then we will have only a minimal turnout. It is necessary right now to begin, and without preconceptions or without any exclusiveness. The slogans advanced by the Canberra Conference which launched the concept of the moratorium -- "withdraw all foreign troops" and "abolish conscription" provide the basis for such a mobilisation but any action must allow for participation by a whole range of opinions and sectors in their own way and at their own level of consciousness. The concept of the demonstrations then must be above all flexible. Yet it must also have two major component parts: protest at the local level, in the suburbs, factories, schools and universities, and protest at a central point, a culminating demonstration to which the others will be leading up. . .

LOCAL MORATORIUM COMMITTEES VITAL TO SUCCESS

Local moratorium committees can provide the anti-war movement with a totally new framework. These committees should combine representatives of the anti-war forces in local areas. These should include not only representatives of unions, A.L.F. branches, anti-war groups in the locality, religious groups, but also and above all, youth groups -- representatives from the universities, high schools and tech. college students in the area. And forms must be found to involve the unorganised youth of the area

DENIS FRENEY, 5. 12. 69

working in factories, etc. . .

If the moratorium mobilisation is approached in this fashion, with the maximum effort and coordination of all groups, then we can hope for a really large turnout. . .

THE ROLE OF WHITLAM

It is probable that Whitlam and the ALP leadership will support the moratorium. This is already clear from the large number of Labor MPs and Senators who have signified their support. Whitlam has an interest in keeping the radicalisation and anti-war swing bubbling. This will prevent Gorton from consolidating his position in the coming weeks, and will consolidate the swing to Labor which will be visible in coming Senate elections. At the same time, Whitlam no doubt calculates that he will be able to contain a movement which is developing in any case, and that in the event of his being elected, he will be able to fold up anything which develops beforehand (as Wilson did quite successfully with CND). . . Not to say that the radical anti-war forces should turn down any cooperation and in fact not actively encourage it. BUT THEY MUST DO SO WITH THEIR EYES OPEN : THEY MUST FIND THE WAYS AND MEANS OF MAINTAINING A CERTAIN INDEPENDENCE OF THE MOVEMENT FROM THE GRIP OF THE WHITLAMITES AND FIND THE WAYS AND MEANS OF PREVENTING SUCH A SITUATION (Whitlam using the movement then folding it up) ARISING IN THE FUTURE.

The Moratorium will be a major test for the radical anti-war movement. It will be a test also of the capacities of all those who claim to be revolutionaries, to see how capable they are of working in a non-sectarian way, mobilising wide forces, yet maintaining their independence and injecting advanced ideas. . .

THE UNIONS AND THE
ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

If we are to conceive of the moratorium in April developing into a mass action, then we must try to consider the role that the unions can play, because it is there that the left has its real strength and it is there, in contradistinction to the USA that the real forces of the working class can hope to develop into a potentially revolutionary force.

The unions have not been in fact instruments of struggle around the question of war, despite lip-service that has been given to the slogan "peace is union business" which has in fact been interpreted in a stalinist sense and has in fact served often to alienate rather than convince.

The question today is more concrete: what are the unions to do if there are arrests of union officials around the defiance of the National Service Act and possibly at a later period, of the Defence Forces Protection Act (ie. aid to the NLF). Moreover, the fact that the nature of the Vietnam War is now developing among masses of workers, provides a basis for militant political strike action against the War. It is now conceivable, after a concerted campaign and with the new composition of the ACTU leadership, to develop the slogan of a general national strike against the War and Conscription, as part of the Moratorium. The illustrations of the nature of the war, the atrocities which show how far the whole war is an atrocity, means that we can now mobilise workers as a whole for political, strike action. THAT IS THE VITAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AUSTRALIAN SITUATION AND THAT IN THE UNITED STATES. IT IS A REAL STRENGTH OF IMMENSE IMPORTANCE THAT CAN LEAD TO TREMENDOUS CONSEQUENCES IF ALLOWED TO DEVELOP.

"Peace is union business" was often a means for non-engagement in real struggle, being content simply to mouth slogans and raise questions in an abstract way. Now the question is concrete -- how far will the unions and organised workers, be able and willing to participate in a general action of the moratorium type. It is a real goal, and one that should be raised right now, and fought for, with every ounce of vigour available to the union militants. The fact that even Whitlam is now prepared, with some 70 ALP Federal parliamentarians to take part in such an action is witness of the degree the movement is now broadening and the chance of drawing large forces into action. It would be little short of criminal to jog along in the old, routinist way. The time is now for preparation and for action. It is up to those who claim to be revolutionaries to initiate just such an action.

Denis FRENEY
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THE SOCIAL STRUGGLES
IN EUROPE

The beginning of Autumn witnessed the resumption of social struggles in Western Europe.

A new factor is that, to the struggles which were foreseen in France, and above all in Italy, are now added the wild-cat strikes in Germany, marking the reawakening of the working class of that country.

This is evidenced in the victory of the German Social Democratic Party. The strikes in Germany have burst out in the middle of a great economic boom seen in the spectacular external trade expansion, the surplus in balance of payments, the prestige of the strong Mark as a currency, subject to speculation by "floating capital" out for immense profits. But this is also accompanied by inflation which while still moderate is continual, and above all by a crying disproportion in the distribution of riches created by the working people. For these reasons, large sections of workers have dared for the first time in the history of postwar Germany, to brusquely defy the power of the unions integrated in the system, and to go into action, demanding substantial wage rises or in other words, a bigger proportion of the exorbitant profits of German big business.

In France, the strikes broke out as a direct result of the well-considered devaluation of the Summer, and the new rise in inflation, which automatically followed. But if the apparent real direct reason may seem the devaluation, these struggles have a more profound reason -- the social malaise of France going back to May 1968.

We are then still witnessing examples of the radicalisation that occurred among the French workers during these events, and which has been aggravated by the specific economic conditions now existing in the country. The French strikes have revealed that it is a question not only of the improvement in the workers living standards, threatened by inflation, but also of their type of life

in the factories and society. It is insufficient to call simply for a sliding scale of wages which is a suitable central slogan in a period of inflation. The wage-earners also demand that their condition of life in which they work be under their effective control, prior to the management of the economy and the whole of society by the workers. That is surely evident still in a confused way, and is resisted by the union bureaucracies, who would like to see this sentiment disappear. But such demands can be seen more and more clearly as being characteristic of the deepest aspirations not only of the students, but also of the proletarian masses properly so called.

ASPIRATIONS FOR WORKERS
CONTROL IN FRANCE AND ITALY

The still extreme conservatism of the Communist Party union and political apparatus has contained the movement in one for demands which are essentially wage demands. In Italy on the other hand, in the country which is at the present time the main epicentre of the social struggles in West Europe, the tendency is towards the formation of a new workers movement, self-organised and self-managed democratically, aimed at the creation of a real "workers power" in the factories and in society, parallel with the existing bourgeois power, is already, infinitely more clarified. The social struggles foreseen for this autumn began a little everywhere on

The autumn social struggles in Italy which are still continuing, began a little everywhere on rank-and-file initiatives, and forced the unions and political parties to give them immediate support, while the unions and parties adapted remarkably to the mood of the rank-and-file, both organisationally and in relation to demands.

Thus in the big strike struggles now taking place in Italy, the democratically elected delegates and general assemblies combine with the unions to organise and lead the struggles, particularly in all the big factories in the country, particularly at Fiat in Turin and Pirelli in Milan.

Due to the democratic organisation of the movement, it has been possible to go beyond the strictly wage struggles and to contest the bosses' power and the bourgeois power in general in larger fields: from the organisation of work in the factories, to the way to provide cheap housing in the cities and villages where outrageous speculation is now dominant.

Thus, in both Italy and France, the unions have capitalised to their own benefit the major social movements and struggles of autumn and have presented themselves as powerful independent forces which the regime and the parties must from now on take account of.

The "neo-capitalist" State determined to follow a policy of continual concentration and modernisation of production wants to turn the unions into "valuable persons with whom to have a dialogue", who will play the game according to the rules, and who, in collaboration with big business (both State and private) will agree to continually improve the material and social status of the working class, integrated in the system.

That capitalism in the advanced countries wishes to avoid the costly business of an open dictatorship and wishes to in some way associate the working class in the maintenance and development

of production which is constantly developing, flows from the very logic of the system, which demands more and more participation from the workers.

But this system does not function in an "ideal" way in a closed fashion in each country taken separately. In each country, the market tends to become dominated by some hundreds huge multinational enterprises, around which gravitate a number of other industrial, commercial and rural industries.

RESISTANCE OF LAYERS ELIMINATED BY MONOPOLY GROWTH

This development occurs with crises fed by the resistance of middle layers in trade and agriculture in the process of being eliminated, and among workers affected by the changes in the economic situation (inflation, redundancies and reallocation of labour, ...) and from their alienated status in a society aimed at profit and ruled by a hierarchy.

Each capitalist country moreover suffers from inter-capitalist antagonisms and their effects.

The Mark for example in its fluctuations affects a weaker country such as France and by the effects of the decision that Washington has imposed the IMF to create some \$9.5 billion through the form of special drawing rights.

This latter decision shows how the US has gained new strength from the crisis through which a number of capitalist countries have passed.

Due to the rapid advance of the U.S. economy over the growth rate of all other capitalist countries (and the whole world) and due to their internal contradictions among each other, they have been unable to present a united front to the USA... which has been able to establish the supremacy of the dollar -- at least

provisionally... by continuing to finance their balance of payment deficit by converting European capital into Euro-dollar and by loans by US banks.

Now by the IMF decision, the US is practically freed from the obligation to convert dollars into gold and can pay simply through special drawing rights.

It is possible to predict a trend towards the concentration and modernisation of the productive apparatus of neo-capitalism amidst social crises and economic perturbations and difficulties which will aid the rise of the workers movement and the orientation of its struggles towards more ambitious goals.

On this road, to this goal, the traditional union bureaucracies can still offer resistance as can the political parties which oscillate between the tendency to integrate frankly in the system (Amendola in Italy), calling on the CFI to form a grand coalition as a governmental party and those play an autonomous role but without clear political perspectives.

Having rejected the idea that the seizure of power is inconceivable without the essentially extra-parliamentary struggle, which will go outside at a given moment the framework of bourgeois legality, and lacking a clear view of the transition from capitalism to socialism, these apparatuses launch into struggles into which they are essentially pushed by their rank-and-file, and constantly fearing "uncoordinated" movements which may bypass them.

(TRANSLATED FROM SOUS LE DRAPEAU DU SOCIALISME, 5), 1969.)

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While it is clear that infantile "leftism" which rejects any collaboration whatsoever with the unions and advances no transitional political perspective, is in a blind alley each time the social struggle swells up and the questions of power is generalised and posed the questions of power in an objective way, the absence of concrete perspectives among the revolutionary left on the way to conceive the seizure of power in each given country, its form and the transitional society also weighs heavily on the dynamic of the movement.

The essential task of the revolutionary Left in the advanced capitalist countries at the present stage is to push militants and the masses in the big union bodies and political bodies of the working class to call for all political power to a network of democratic workers committees (workers, students, intellectuals) in the factories, social services, universities, etc. with the aim of a democratically self-managed society developing towards socialism.

It is in this general framework that a fuller and more concrete transitional programme for each country must be developed.

For never since the War has the situation been more favourable than now than to develop this project and arm wide layers of workers with it, given their clear desire to struggle.

MICHEL FABLO. November 1969

A LETTER FROM THE
COMMUNIST OPPOSITION
IN THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The extraordinary rise in social struggles this autumn in Italy, of course poses the question of the political solution that the different organisations envisage while on the parliamentary plane, the bourgeoisie has had to orientate itself to a new centre-left government, the CFI has spoken through the weighty voice of Amendola of the need to broaden this opening to the left to include the extreme Left, i.e. the CFL.

It is interesting to note the responses this suggestion has provoked in the Left of the Party organised around the publication L. MANIFESTO. Following the successes of this review among the rising revolutionary forces and its courageous positions on the invasion of Czechoslovakia relations with the CPSU, the leadership of the PCI has reacted violently. But they have not been able to expel the left representatives (ROSSANDO ROSANDA LUIGI FINTOR, ANTOLI NATOLI, etc.). We publish below a significant letter dated 23 August 1969 sent by Luigi Fintor to RINASCITA, and which that magazine did not publish, -- note prefacing this letter published in SOUS LE DRAPEAU DU SOCIALISME, 50) []

Dear RINASCITA,

I would not say that the letter published by comrade Amendola in UNITA under the heading "The Party of Government" (21 August) had a commemorative purpose. It was rather an act, as against an explicit political gesture which brusquely raised basic questions on the basis and method which I hope the central committee will discuss.

In substance, comrade Amendola with his usual authoritativeness, proposes that the Party aims at participation in short term and as a major objective "which no one can escape". But this objective is in fact today foreign to the Party's policy and has not been mentioned in any of its discussions; on the contrary, it is excluded as an acceptable aim. What has pushed comrade Amendola to take a different position on such an essential and decisive question? When it is proposed that a big workers party, twenty years in oppositional struggle, to enter the "governmental camp", it is necessary to state what sort of government one is going to enliven, with what forces you are considering governing and what you want it to do..

Why consider a government with this Christian Democracy and this Socialist Party? A government which will be another edition of the illusions of the Centre-Left and reformism on key questions of orientation in the economy and the balance of the system, of the workers conditions, on student questions and foreign policy? Or is it to be purely a government for "defence of democracy"? The suppose

it will not be one. But if it is not that, then there is a duty to indicate through what struggle process social and political, a situation will be ripened which today is recognised as being upripe, so that we can achieve another form of government-- of a different politics, with new anti-capitalist orientations, that is, an alternative regime and not an

alternative ministry. If that is not done -- and Amendola does not do it, or if he does say something it is as vague as his suggestion is preemptory, -- then what is "inescapable" in fact is to fall into voluntarism, by disorientating the movement and hitting at the oppositional movement, by bringing in the back window the idea that was hunted out the door -- our insertion in a Centre-Left coalition. The references to Togliatti add nothing. We all know that our participation in the anti-fascist post-war coalition took place in totally different conditions which no longer exist. In Togliatti's 1963 interview an orientation emerged, which neither Togliatti nor any other leading body of the Party pushed any further, and only a few months later gave a very different perspective, following the governmental capitulation of the socialists, their split and the worsening of the divisions in the Left. As for the question of the method that Amendola's article raises: was there not, at the end of July, a meeting of the Central Committee on the governmental crisis and the problems of internal politics? Why did Amendola raise the question on the CC instead of twenty days later in UNITA? And was there not more recently a debate on a vote of confidence in Parliament, with a speech by comrade Berlinguer in which there was not the vaguest hint of the

orientation Amendola calls for today? I do not know if this question has been discussed recently in the Party leadership or Political Bureau. I do not think it has, because, otherwise, it would mean that these bodies (which have the most responsibility, but are the most limited in size) have discussed the policy line without the CC, which is the body which has power on this question, and without the Party as a whole having heard anything about it. But discounting the chance anomaly involved of comrade Amendola's initiative with the official stamp of UNITA approval on it, is only more crying. I don't believe that is trying to create a scandal or something academic to raise. It is rather an exemplary confirmation of the gravity and complexity of the problems of the internal life and functioning of our leading bodies, their reciprocal relations and their relationships to the whole of the militants, and the need to tackle these problems in a new way, in all their complexity and reality, their extent and portent. Without hiding behind any pretext.

Yours fraternally,

LUIGI FINTOR

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: A PREVIOUSLY UNPUBLISHED APPEAL OF THE
CZECH COMMUNIST PARTY XIV CONGRESS MEETING DURING SOVIET INVASION..

"The XIV Special Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party addresses the following urgent call to the Communist and Workers Parties in all countries:

The principle of sovereignty and national independence is the fundamental and prior condition for the specific way to socialism; But the blind action of certain groups of bureaucratic leaders has replaced the theoretical arguments on the essence of socialism with brutal force of cannons and tanks and trodden under foot all the basic principles of marxism and internationalism. The hegemonist tendencies and Great Power politics poorly hidden behind talk of the internal Czech situation and the struggle against the invented phantom of counter-revolution, threatens to compromise marxism and socialism for a whole historic epoch. For that reason, by openly condemning before the proletariat of the whole of the working masses

whom you represent the interests of, the brutal and cynical military intervention you act not only in our favour, but in the most direct interests of yourselves. Support our just cause and energetically express your opinion to the Party leader-

THIS IMPORTANT CALL WAS FIRST PUBLISHED IN IL MANIFESTO IN ITALY. OUR TRANSLATION IS TAKEN FROM SOUS LE DRAPEAU DU SOCIALISME, organ of the revolutionary marxist tendency, No. 50.)

ON THE 'AIMS, METHOD AND ORGANISATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY' DRAFT FOR XXII CONGRESS

We have many times commented on the evolution of the CFA. We commented on this evolution not as some detached observers, but as ones passionately interested and concerned, hopeful that out of this evolution would emerge the possibility of a reconstitution and revitalisation of the CFA, which would in turn serve as the basis for a revolutionary socialist party freed from stalinism, grasping revolutionary marxism and rallying to its banner the best thousands of workers, students and intellectuals.

It was to the surprise of many that as early as December 1968 we spoke of a "left turn" in the Party and especially that we hailed the January 1969 National Committee decisions as a "decisive turn" in the history of the CFA.

CONFERENCE DOCUMENT MARKS FINAL STEP IN QUALITATIVE TURN IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The new draft statement to be adopted at the Congress is undoubtedly one of the most important programmatic statements to merge from the Left in the past forty years. It is even possible to say that it is the most mature, creative and revolutionary document adopted by a party with mass influence (in the unions) and with a sizeable membership ever in Australia. It marks the final confirmation of the evolution of the CFA, which has been witnessed in so many ways -- in publications and in particular in AUSTRALIAN LEFT REVIEW, and in action (frontal attack on the Penal Clauses, new militancy

ships which, through the military intervention are trying clearly to break the rebirth of socialism in the USSR and restore the stalinist regime. We invite you all, faced with this situation not to take part in the Conference of Workers and Communist Parties this Autumn in Moscow; we invite you to consider if the CPSU leaders and other interventionist parties continue the same policy (on their present road they can no longer be counted in the ranks of revolutionary marxist parties.

in the unions, appreciation of student struggle..) as well as their support for programmatic positions of real importance (workers control and self-management). The draft is perhaps most important as a matter of direct concern in its references to the unions -- for it is there that the CFA has most mass influence. But it would be wrong, and in any case can't be separated from this, to underestimate the important political programme that is advanced and which revolves around the concepts of self-management and workers control. In a sense, of course, the draft the Congress itself and the struggle against and the final defeat of the stalinist rear guard, will only mark the beginning of

the revitalisation of the CFA as a revolutionary organism. That struggle will be a long one -- which is not to say that some spectacular short-term gains cannot be made which will speed up the total revitalisation.

CFA CONGRESS TO BE HELD IN A PERIOD OF UNPRECEDENTED UPSURGE IN RADICAL MOVEMENT

The CFA 22nd. National Congress due for Easter will take place in a period of unprecedented upsurge. The massive swing of opinion against the War, the continued swing against the government (17% swing to the ALP in recent Victorian State by-election), the wave of industrial militancy, promise to usher in the most spectacular year of revolutionary action Australia has ever seen. In January 1968, we made a similar prediction ("a year of class struggle in this country on a level - qualitatively and quantitatively - that we have not seen for many years"). Few would disagree that we have seen an upsurge this year... Next year, we are certain will witness new peaks of class struggle. And what makes us even more confident in such a prediction is the evolution of the CFA as witnessed in this document.

IMPORTANCE OF PROGRAMMATIC STATEMENT -- A NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY GUIDEBOOK

A revolutionary programme or manifesto -- and the document really falls between the two (not something necessarily bad) -- must today be a guidebook, a revolutionary handbook for revolutionary militants in their struggles on the job, in day-to-day struggle. It means both giving them a total perspective, and at the same time allowing them to see the link between the struggles they wage day by day (and the tactics they use) and the socialist goal and the way to make that not only clear to the workers and students in

form of propaganda but in the actual content and form given to the struggle that arises around a particular issue.

SELF-MANAGEMENT AND WORKERS CONTROL -- BASIC CONCEPTS

The perspective is clear in the section "The New Society" -- "Australia as an independent Socialist Republic; socially owned enterprises to be under the control of Workers Councils, elected and subject to recall; development of the maximum degree of self-management and autonomy consistent with over-all co-ordination and planning in productive units, institutions, professions, etc. in order to: develop the self-activity and control over their own affairs of all members of society; reduce and eventually eliminate the political and coercive functions of the State, combat bureaucracy and the remoteness from groups and individuals of the centres of power and control over their lives... While such self-management would be the basis of all production, planning and social activity, the people as a whole would need finally to decide on plans..."

It is difficult to think of a better formulation of the needs and powers of self-management. Perhaps the major point needing elaboration is the need to specifically outline how the plans would develop (by democratic elaboration from below) and how the market would fit into such a "model" of self-management. But these are details -- although important -- of the basic model already elaborated on by the document. The document continues with some detailed statement of other features of a self-managed socialist society, particularly concerning the guarantee of human and workers rights.

The introduction of a new egalitarian note into the programme is also to be welcomed. While minor amendments and additions could be made to the draft, it remains true that the section on the "New Society" is one of the strongest. Clearly, there exists the intention to differentiate the CFA from the stalinist regimes of the USSR and Eastern Europe by constructing a model which will clearly indicate the existing models of stalinism and neo-stalinism.

Yet, the sector on the "socialist world" in the programme is weak and in reality dodges coming to grips with stalinism. The statement at the end of this passage that the struggle against imperialism (?) has "sometimes conditioned and restricted the full development of socialism and the correct relations between socialist countries with accompanying negative effects on the appeal of socialism in other countries" is, to put it mildly, a weak and insipid excuse for an analysis which contradicts the rest of the document. What is necessary is a statement analysing the crimes of stalinism, the emergence of the bureaucracy and the rise of Stalin. To leave matters simply at the above absurd position on stalinism is to negate the extremely positive detailed revolutionary programme in the remainder.

PROGRAMME LACKS IN SELF-ANALYSIS BY C. F. A.

While there are valuable (even if open to discussion in detail) analyses of the unions and the A. L. F. Yet the Programme lacks the essential element of self-criticism, although there is the statement that the CFA "will submit its past theories, policies and actions to the closest self-critical scrutiny." That is a very welcome development, but one which also be begun now, in the document itself. Otherwise the document again lacks an essential element which can allow the CFA to not only adopt an otherwise excellent

programme, but analyse, rectify and adjust those attitudes and forms of work which are precisely inherited from the past. In other words it is not sufficient to simply adopt a programme, no matter how excellent it may be, but it is also essential to readapt the whole organism, and that is only possible by a total analysis of the past.

In reality, once this programme is adopted and while ideological struggle will proceed on different questions aroused in the programme, the main and decisive battle within the CFA will be for a total analysis of stalinism, and a critical examination of the past.

There are in any case, vital issues which the whole revolutionary left must examine in any case: how is the CFA still only a politically insignificant party in its basic political support among the working class, while the ALP remains the Party with mass political support? Is it purely a question of objective circumstances, or to the contrary, are the main reasons those of the stalinist past of the CFA?

HOW TO DEFEAT REFORMISM

Another vital advance in the document is the analysis of the ALP. No longer have we the simplistic formulae of the past which combined opportunism and sectarianism in a unique way. Rather, a more subtle formulation. But the concept of the "coalition of the left" still fails to really take into account the nature of the workers support of the ALP. Space prevents further analysis: we hope that the next issue of INTERNATIONAL will be almost entirely devoted to the draft programme and other congress documents and that they will contain much more detailed analysis than has been possible here. Contributions are welcomed. We hope the few points here will begin a wider discussion

RIFT IN ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(The following article appeared in The Observer (London), 30/11/69, under the heading "Italian Communists' Row with Leading Lady" and the byline of Neal Ascherson).

THE Italian Communist Party has quarrelled with its leading lady. Signora Rossana Rosanda, the red-haired veteran of the partisans whose revolutionary views have made her into a heroine of the New Left throughout Europe, has been suspended from the Central Committee. So have Aldo Natoli and Luigi Pintor, Communist members of Parliament, who worked with her on the new magazine *Il Manifesto*.

This collision — between revolutionary Communists and party leaders who are taking the respectable, parliamentary road to power — is not just an Italian affair. All the Communist Parties in the West, and the non-Communist Left as well, have been following the dispute closely. Signora Rosanda and *Il Manifesto* stand for all Communists who not only reject Soviet leadership but reject moderate, non-revolutionary tactics as well.

Il Manifesto first came out in June. It appeared at a time when Italy was already in a turmoil of strikes, riots and factory occupations. Many were asking why the huge Italian Communist Party — the biggest political force in Italy — was still trying to edge into Government through alliance with 'bourgeois' parties, when direct revolution seemed possible.

The Rosanda group had already fired a few ranging shots in February, at the Party Congress in Bologna. In spite of efforts to keep the leftists in check, Luigi Pintor called for workers' councils and said the policy of making alliances with other parties was 'building on sand'.

But the first number of *Manifesto* was a sensation. Not only did it scoop the secret theses for the Czechoslovak Party Congress (the one the Russians invaded to stop); the leader demanded open dialogue within the party on basic strategy, and called for a revival of the 'sense of revolution as a rupture and overthrow of the existing order...'

In the climate of Italy today, this intellectually stiff periodical sold out instantly and had to be reprinted. Circulation soared to some 150,000 within a few months. People began to speak of the 'Manifesto Group' and to hope that its members would bridge the gap between the Communist Party and disaffected young Marxists.

Rossana Rosanda had struck the party on its most tender spot. Openly critical of Soviet behaviour in Czechoslovakia and within the world Communist movement, the party

is committed to allowing free and open internal debate. Its leaders seek coalition with the existing parties, promising that a Communist Government would permit a multi-party system and bear no resemblance to intolerant Stalinist models in Eastern Europe.

At first, party leaders were content to warn Rossana and her colleagues, and to discuss their theses in the Communist press. The Manifesto people were not hot-headed students, but formidable and mature Communists, respected throughout the party and beyond. But, as Italy this autumn entered the long-awaited storm of major strikes and street battles with the Christian Democrat minority Government riven by its own disputes, the Manifesto challenge to the Communist leadership appeared to threaten unity when it was most needed.

The party's central committee held a hearing. Rossana and her two colleagues were assured that the party did not want their silence, their surrender or their humiliation, but that, without discipline of some kind, the party would founder in impotent faction fights. The 'Manifesto Group' refused to be quiet.

Last week, the party reluctantly suspended Rossana and her colleagues for 'sponsoring the fragmentation of the party'. This was an embarrassing decision for Italian Communists, committed to tolerance and

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diversity and bold enough to say openly that 'no process of democratisation has begun in the Soviet Union... the masses have not shared in the exercise of power.'

The Party says that the three will be reinstated if they stop publishing II Manifesto, which they will almost certainly refuse to do. The suspensions will produce a walk-out of leftists into various forms of Maoism. Meanwhile parties considering coalition with them have been shaken to find that, where unity is concerned, the liberalism of Italian Communists has a limit.

(EDITORIAL NOTE :

The views of this article are naturally those of the OBSERVER and its journalist, and we do not necessarily subscribe to all opinions stated here particularly on the simplifications in it on the attitude to other parties the united front etc.. The division is of interest to all socialists in Australia and we reproduce this article as an information for our readers...)

The Australian Communist Party attitude to workers councils and to the perspective of an alliance within a bourgeois state has been clarified a great deal in its draft programme. The simplistic 'peaceful road' for mulla has been replaced by a more involved one. The Manifesto group is a revolt against the electoral and parliamentary opportunism so current in most mass Communist Parties in the world. In this respect, the mass CPs are similar to the mass Labor and Socialist Parties and just as liable to division...)

THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY AND THE
AUSTRALIAN LEFT -- A REPLY

By D.G. (Sydney)

Comrade A.W. Rudkin (International 9/1969) is not very clear on whether or not he believes one should ascribe motives to the Soviet bureaucracy.

By describing Soviet actions as blunders rather than crimes, and by stating that the invasion of Czechoslovakia was due to naive suspicion that Dubcek was a tool of western imperialism, he is ascribing motives. Does he mean we shouldn't ascribe bad motives, but only good ones spoiled by incompetence?

Among other things, Comrade Rudkin makes these points:

- "The desires of any caste are of only marginal political significance unless it can win enough mass support, or at least acquiescence, to give effect to its desires."
- "...it is necessary to understand how and why they are able to preserve their privileges and power."

I have no disagreement with the second point, but reject Comrade Rudkin's counterposing it against the first. It is quite possible to take into account both the desires of a caste and the factors which give it its opportunities -- and my original letter to Tribune which sparked off this controversy in fact did this.

I also think Comrade Rudkin's attempt to make the estimate called for in the second point is faulty, but more on that later. My main quarrel is with the first point.

Having dismissed the motives of the East European bureaucracies as of only marginal political importance, Comrade Rudkin then goes on to assert that they have in fact won enough mass support, or at least acquiescence, to give effect to their desires.

Hence, even according to Comrade Rudkin's own criteria, the desires of the Soviet bureaucracy and its allies are of more than marginal political importance.

But Comrade Rudkin's criteria are hopelessly inadequate. Motives of castes, groups and individuals are of very great importance when they bear on whether this or that group or individual is friend or foe -- no matter whether the people concerned can gain enough mass support (or tanks, guns and gorillas) to give effect to their desires or not.

- For example, attention is rightly given to various splinter groups of Nazis and racists in Australia because of what they are seeking to impose, irrespective of their often miniscule mass following. If these groups were part of a left political party their significance for the left would of course rise astronomically.

Yet we do have groupings as hostile, as anti-human, as Nazis and racists, who have direct links with a bureaucracy which numbered more than 10 million people including 1.2 million Communists -- and these command a significant, even threatening, following in the CPA. The very structure of the CPA is based partly on their conception of its role in the society they seek to impose.

Our estimate of the motives of these groupings determines for example what attitude to take to them at the forthcoming CPA Congress. I think it is imperative that the CPA make a complete break with them and that it forthwith cease pandering to them in its press. The party should adopt a constitution so incompatible with their aims that they would leave it.

At present the constitution requires, as its only political demand, that members be supporters of socialism. I think this should in general terms be defined, in the constitution, as being based on social ownership, on self-management of socialized enterprises, and on guaranteed rights of all political trends to present their views to the people and go on doing so. It should be obligatory on party members to uphold the right of the working people, anywhere and in all circumstances, to hear the uncensored views of all who would address them and to make their own decisions on what to accept, and what to reject as anti-socialist.

These proposals are more than a mere tactic to oust the Stalinists. In my opinion they reflect the sort of orientation towards democracy that any progressive party must have. Endless compromises with enemies of democracy, facilitated by arguments that they are "only misguided", have precluded such an orientation in the CPA.

The CPA Discussion Journal has accepted for its January issue an article dealing more fully with the multiple (not merely dual) objective nature of the Soviet bureaucracy, and with reasons why we should treat them as an enemy.

"Uncritical support for every kind of opposition to Soviet bureaucracy" would of course have the bad effects Comrade Rudkin fears, but this is irrelevant as it isn't on the agenda and never has been.

At present, foreign Communists are seen by the workers of the Soviet Union and its colonies only as honoured guests on junketings, which identifies them far more forcefully with foreign capitalists (similarly junketed) than would serious opposition to the bureaucratic rulers.

The persistent refusal of the East European and Soviet rulers to allow genuine popular elections hardly supports Comrade Rudkin's idea that they base their power on mass support. Popular fears of West Germany, of reversal of the residual social gains of the October Revolution, are of course exploitable assets to the ruling caste — but the main basis of their power remains their police network and the kickbacks and privileges they are in a position to bestow on the obedient — not excluding certain Australians.

Finally I wish to thank the editor of International for the space and to stress that although I support the political line of International the views above are my own, and cannot be taken as ground for polemics against International or the Australian Section of the Fourth International.

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