

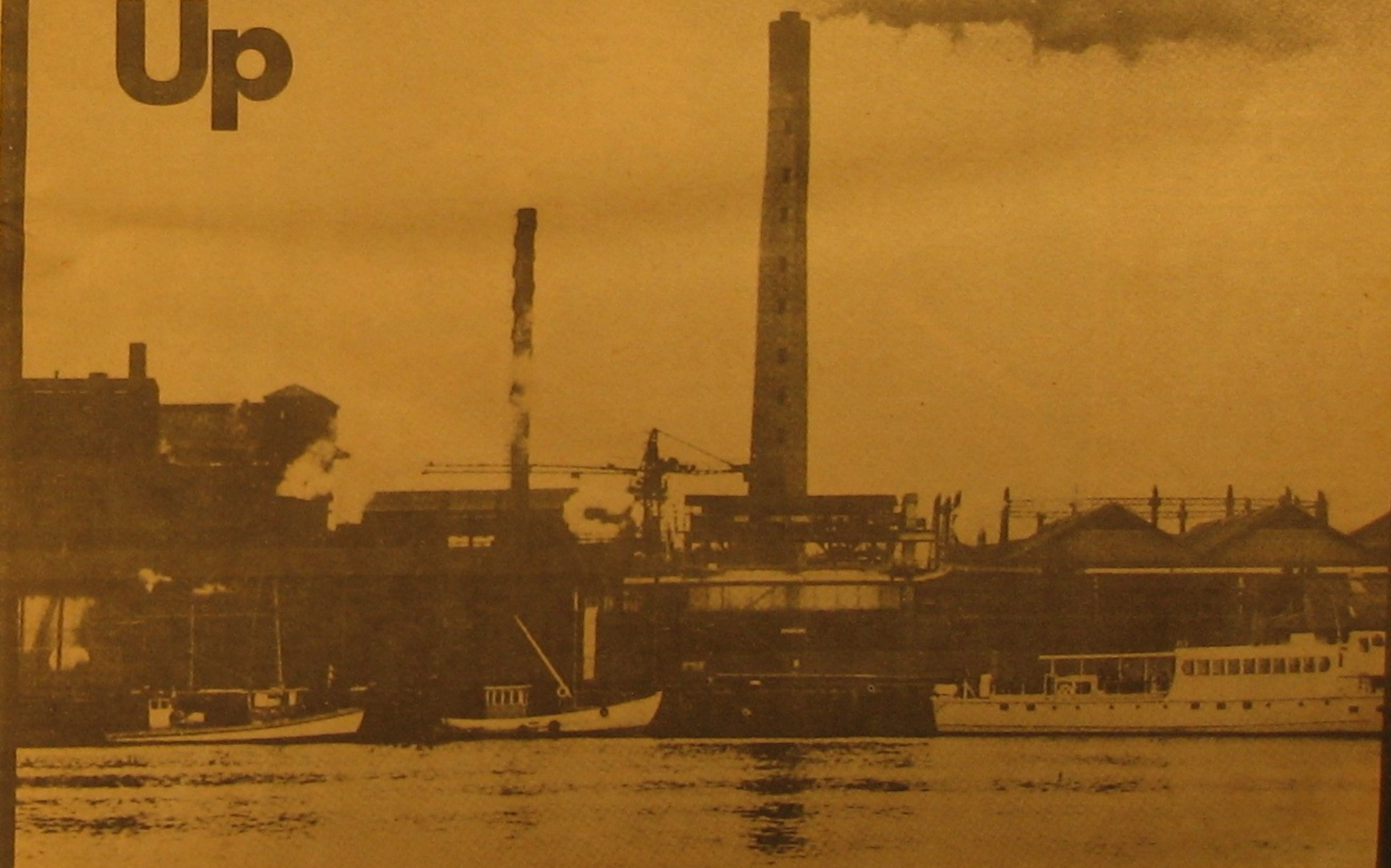
DIRECT ACTION

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Job Safety
Quebec
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and
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Capitalism Fouls Things Up



DIRECT ACTION

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Number 3, December 1970

CONTROL ON THE JOB— SAFETY FIRST!

ROD QUINN

It should not take a Royal Commission to tell building workers that they— and only they, must control job safety. As the Royal Commission into the West Gate bridge "accident" unfolds, it becomes clear that everyone concerned—except the workers, was aware of the terrible risk being taken.

For too long, building workers have accepted employers' experts at their word. The fact that an engineer covers for his boss by lying about safety seemed too monstrous to believe. Building workers found it hard to grasp that they were classified as "bods" or as a "labor factor." Bruce Palling, writing in Melbourne's Sunday Review 1/11/70, quoted E.A. Watts' safety officer speaking of the problem of "...building workers' low I.Q." Tunks (the safety officer) said that Watts had a very good record of safety with only three men killed in twelve years.

(The author of this Direct Action article has a) participated in a strike against E.A. Watts around a safety issue and b) been treated by a Watts' first aid man for a steel splinter in the eye; the first aid man set to work with a match stick until the victim fled to a doctor's surgery for the necessary minor operation)

There is still a housing problem in Australia, chronic hospital, school and university space shortages cripple many institutions yet there is a building boom. Cashing in on the festival are names like Utah constructions, Dillingham, Costain and of course Freeman Fox of West Gate notoriety, who join with Australian companies.

In barely a decade and a half, Australians have seen the transformation of their capital cities. Beginning in the insurance office and banking section then slowly moving down-town, -steel, concrete and glass multi-storey office blocks have all but obliterated inter-city contrasts and idiosyncrasies.

This million dollar juggernaut has shattered building traditions, confused trade unions and created along with vast architectural and social problems, the need for new forms of defensive and offensive struggle on the part of building workers. The savage competition and sharpening exploitation mark the inhuman nature of the industry. Perhaps nowhere else is the anarchistic nature of capitalist economics so clearly visible.

The years of blunted militancy when union officials channelled fight after fight into the peaceful realms of Conciliation Commission Chambers have left a toll of apathy among traditionally aggressive carpenters and builders' labourers. Compulsory cooling-off periods, tame-cat organizers and blacklists for unrepentant rank-and-file leaders have robbed workers of their only reliable weapon.

Clearly, building trade unions failed to unify and influence workers towards offensive

and would point to the collective bargaining agreements guaranteeing over-award pay and proper pie-warmers etc. The reality, however, is that the necessary one-hour's notice of dismissal is still invoked with monotonous regularity—most building workers have difficulty in planning their budget (finance companies often won't lend money to building workers). Primitive toilets, stinking, overcrowded lunch-sheds doubling as change-sheds and inadequate washing facilities are still the rule.

How to reverse the decline? How to wrest even the elementary standards from the builder-hooligans?

The S.Y.A. sees the recent builders labourers vigilante tactics as a positive development. The tactic, ideally suited to the transitory style of the industry, could be extended to check-mate rat-bag sub-contractors. In some respects, sub-contractors have been used effectively by building financiers in the same way as workers could use vigilantes. Sub-contractors are mobile and hard to pin down. They can breach safety restrictions, under-pay casual workers, provide no facilities and then disappear and offer for loyal services to some other "respectable" master builder. Alert building workers, armed with their vigilante-type group in co-operation with job committees could provide more than a match for even the most elusive sub-contractor. The magnificent defence of some parklands, conducted by the Builders Labourers Federation against an employer of scab labour, stands as an example of flexible tactics in a quite common situation. The land, in North Carlton (Vic) is owned by the Victorian Railways.

Local residents backed by the Carlton Association and the militant group of 26 unions have insisted that instead of turning the land over to industry, it should be used for parkland. After early morning confrontations, locals and unionists (notably builders labourers) blocked the builder and sent the masked scabs home.

At the time of writing, a writ has been served on the builder. Nature, with the aid of mysterious nocturnal creatures is claiming the land back to its embrace

Doubtless, many union officials would claim that wages and conditions are not deteriorating



Nowhere is workers' control such an imperative demand as in the construction industry. No builder can afford to relinquish his hold on any part of his site. No worker can afford to entrust his personal safety to a builder. The S.Y.A. urges the widest extension of job committees. The first responsibility of a militant on the job should be to rank-and-file activity, with the general rise of site militancy, the corrupt and inept among union bureaucrats would be swept away. Unity at job level reduces inter-union squabbles to absurdity.

Not one nail should be driven before the boss provides proper safety. No more casual hiring and firing, absolutely no work in inclement weather and immediate and unconditional 100% compensation pay should be minimum demands advanced at job level before work reaches the finishing stages.

(The above are not unreal slogans in the context of potentially fighting workers. Workers in other advanced capitalist countries have already won some of these demands.)

Take the conflict from the courtroom back on to the jobs—the raising of revolutionary consciousness among workers comes from brilliant negotiators not from peddlars of irrelevant dogma. The time has passed when the truant left could live in the reflected glory of other people's revolutions. The burgeoning consciousness among workers demands our responsible involvement.

Scene below shows the Westgate Bridge and the collapsed section. Building workers have recently shown their potential militancy with the adoption of anti-war resolutions which also advocate blackballing war profiteers (see page 10).

QUEBEC: A COLONY OF ENGLISH CANADA

Mark Gans

(The following article is from the Canadian socialist newspaper LABOR CHALLENGE, in a special issue that appeared at the height of the Quebec crisis, October 23. The N.D.P. is the New Democratic Party, Canada's labour party.)

"We must," said NDP leader Tommy Douglas, "take control of the matter—getting at the root of the matter—which is why the people of Quebec, even if they do not agree with the methods of the FLQ seem to feel an identity with them." Why, indeed?

Start with a heightened sense of national oppression. Quebecois are aware as never before that Poverty speaks French and Privilege speaks English. The French-speaking Quebecois was, more likely than not, born poor, in an overcrowded urban slum, into a large family which had only a generation or two ago migrated from the narrow insularity of rural Quebec. He is still poor, as are the 70% of Montreal family heads who today earn less than \$6,000 a year. About 40% are in really dire straits, with an earning power of less than \$4,000—the conservatively drawn poverty line of the federal government.

He grew up in an environment not unlike that experienced by Pierre Vallieres, an FLQ leader who, in his autobiography, "Negres Blancs d'Amerique" has described it as replete with dilapidated housing, disease, ignorance, gang warfare and street battles in which "whole families fought with iron bars, chains, chairs and baseball bats" where "children dreamed of gigantic fires, terrible murderers who slit women's throats, and kidnappers of babies."

As a result, the Quebecois gets the worst, most underpaid jobs. He occupies the lowest rungs on the occupational ladder and is the last to be hired and first to be fired.

Unemployment in Quebec is generally twice as high as Ontario's and close to half the Canadian total.

In some of the more depressed regions outside Montreal, more than half the working population knows welfare as a fact of life.

HELP!

Capitalism has more than the most vicious arsenal of weapons at its disposal. It also has working for it the most gigantic publicity machine the world has ever seen. Every day the press, television and radio pour out a flood of lies called information. Ranged against it are a handful of publications. "Hopeless," you say. "How can you stand up to that monstrous apparatus and hope to win?" But it can be done. The Vietnamese are proving to the world that David can defeat Goliath.

But it isn't easy. Putting out a newspaper requires writers and photographers and artists and typists and a host of volunteers. It also requires money. To pay the printer, and the typesetter, and the phone company, and the landlord, and altogether too many other people. You can't run a newspaper on dedication alone. You can't build socialism with determination alone. We can't succeed alone: we need your help.

We need you and we need your money. To start with, send us a dollar for a subscription, to give us a base for growth. And get everyone else you know to subscribe: help spread the antidote to the daily press. But subscriptions don't provide for expansion. We need money to reach new areas, new people. Money to make this paper more relevant to you. We need your money. We have no way to get it except to ask for it. Help build socialism by giving us your money. Today. All of it. See back page for donation clip-off.

Quebec is thoroughly controlled by foreign capital, and its effects have so thoroughly distorted the economy that it conforms, in many ways to the classic colony. Consider: A heavy concentration on extractive and cheap-labour industries; minimal allocation of funds for such basic services as health and education; a large pool of under and unemployed labour, the division of the working class along national lines; gross regional disparities which allow modern industrial cities to coexist with squalid pools of rural underdevelopment; and a native propertied class restricted, by and large, to small-scale urban manufacturing and rural agriculture, with large industrial and finance capital in the hands of foreigners.

This is the situation which has become increasingly challenged by the Quebecois people in the last decade.

This has been a period marked by the growth of a powerful student movement, the steady rise of independent sentiment and the shattering of old political alignments.

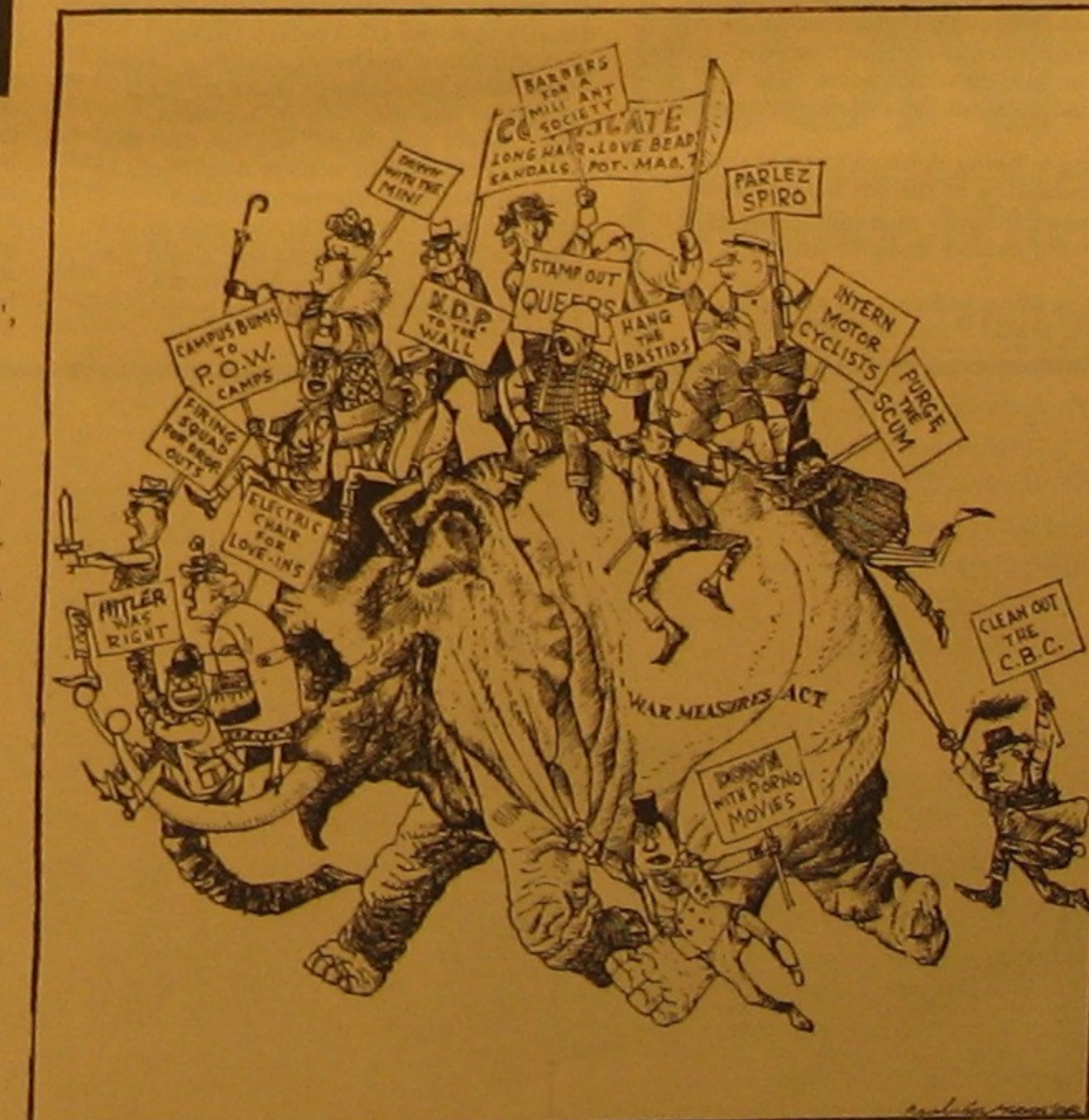
It has also been a period of militant labour struggle. The last decade, particularly its closing years, has been marked by protracted and often violent strikes, including factory occupations at Domtar, Vickers and Davies shipbuilding, and even the formation of an armed workers' defense corps at a paper mill in East Angus-Windsor.

These twin currents—of independent agitation and labour upsurge—fused toward the end of the last decade. Last year was a watershed in the Quebecois workers' struggle, which saw an increasing number marching in protest with independentist students over a variety of national issues like Bill 63 (the government sponsored language bill designed to entrench English school privilege) and McGill Francais (a popular proposal to turn that bastion of English privilege into a French-speaking university), and labour issues like the Lapalme layoff of postal workers, the police strike and the Murray Hill bus monopoly.

Although they have yet to develop their own party or program, the growing support of many Quebecois workers for political independence was clearly demonstrated by their heavy vote for the party Quebecois in last April's elections. But the vote for the pro-capitalist PQ is only symptomatic. The thrust of working class nationalism is profoundly revolutionary. The Quebec workers' support for the statehood signifies above all, a deep rejection of the status quo—and, by implication, the social structures which it consecrates.

That is why, in effect, the FLQ's call for a Quebec economy owned and operated by the workers and farmers themselves could find a response among broad layers of the population.

And these sentiments—War Measures Act notwithstanding—will endure and develop beyond the passing of the FLQ from the stage of Quebec politics.



Mr. B. A. Santamaria has been strangely silent about the alternative state power that is being set up during the Pope's visit. At the time of the Moratorium he dressed up his McCarthyite objections to the Moratorium in a high-flown theory about the Moratorium marshalls holding actual state power for the day (if only he knew!). A private army of something like 6000 Roman Catholics has been recruited to "protect" the Pope, yet Santa has been strangely silent. Perhaps it's just people's armies he doesn't like!

Sales of "Direct Action" No. 2 in Melbourne have been extremely encouraging. We had expected it to be harder to sell than No. 1, without a Moratorium to sell it at, and thought it would be difficult to sell the 1000 that were sold of No. 1. In fact, we have nearly sold 2000! Sales at places like the city, Prahran and Carlton shopping centres on Saturday mornings will be a fairly regular outlet in future as well as pop concerts, films etc. Two ALP rank-and-file meetings netted a total of 400 DA's sold, and with the feature of No. 2 being on the Arab revolution, 150 were sold direct to the Arab community or at meetings on the Middle East (indeed at two of these meetings our sales average was 100% or over, many people buying several copies).

Of course the sight of "Direct Action" sellers at every political event in Melbourne, doesn't always win us friends in some circles. The Maoists are particularly irked by the sight, and the obvious success and popularity of the paper (perhaps it brings to their minds unfortunate memories of attempts to sell "Vanguard"?). At a folk concert at the Melbourne Town Hall to raise money for the victims of the Westgate Bridge disaster, they revealed their petty and vicious attitude. Several Maoists were distributing a builders' labourers leaflet on the disaster and one of them attempted to harrass an SYA member selling "Direct Action". A few moments later two girls going to the concert returned their leaflets to him. Embarrassed by his reaction in front of a deposed Trotskyist, the Maoist petulantly turned and attempted to match the papers out of the DA seller's hand. (In an argument later, their paranoia went to such lengths as to claim that the two girls who returned the leaflets were Trotskyists!)

However, although the Maoists couldn't stop us selling that night, the cops did. Apparently leading dignitaries were expected at the concert (a means of absolution for the capitalists' criminal attitude to workers' safety?) and orders were given and cops called to clear us away. An SYA member who is a member of the Builders' Labourers Union then attempted to help hand out the union leaflets. At this, a petty-minded little Stalinist rushed over and tried to stop him. His justification? "He's a Trotskyist!" (Incidentally, none of the Maoists distributing the leaflets were in the Builders' Labourers Union themselves).

POLLUTION

JOHN PRICE

We are beginning to realise that we may be witnessing the final disaster in human history. Scientists are warning us and the news media have taken to passing the warnings on. The word "pollution" is turning up even in election speeches.

But the problem goes far beyond the merely unpleasant or even dangerous pollution of our surroundings; the survival of humanity is at stake. We are faced with environmental destruction on a scale that may reduce mankind to a miserable remnant or destroy it completely.

Only a minority of the world's population can get enough food even now, and our environment is rapidly filling up with substances which harm us or reduce the earth's capacity to support us. Over the next few decades man seems inclined to finish off the world's supplies of high-grade resources, decimate food productivity, make our surroundings quite poisonous and radioactive, all in the name of corporate survival. This survival is in turn dictated by the profit system which has long ago outlived its usefulness to man.

An allied question to pollution is the question of "over-population", and it is used to some extent by apologists for the capitalist system in order to cover up the increasing irrationalities of that system. Certainly, over-population is a world-wide problem in the context of world-wide capitalism, simply because the problem of feeding the millions starving in the under-developed countries does not enter into the scheme of profit making.

A typical example is shown in the fact that fisheries in Peru do not feed the protein-hungry population because the fish are sold to the highest bidder - a cat food manufacturer in the United States.

Thus the question of over-population should be seen as one which mainly arises out of the capitalist system itself. For instance, China has now virtually eliminated the problem of widespread hunger, despite bureaucratic misleadership. This is in direct contrast to neighbouring India, still within the capitalist system, and one of the first countries to spring to mind when one speaks of starving masses.

Likewise in Cuba, as soon as the revolution had triumphed, the problem was not over-population but scarcity of labour power. In a few short months Cuba was transformed from a country in which millions were unemployed or under-employed, most of the year to a country which had an almost unlimited need for labour power. At the same time, starvation, malnutrition and illiteracy were virtually eliminated. Health care became every individual's

right, not a privilege enjoyed by a wealthy few. Clearly, Cuba's problem was not over-population and Cuba's example shows the direction man must take.

Over-population can thus be seen as being engendered and aggravated by capitalism, and it can only be eliminated by rational planning on a world scale; in short, world socialism. It may still be a problem for some time under a society in transition to socialism but is immediately alleviated to a large extent in a planned economy. More importantly, the prospects for curbing future unwanted population growth are infinitely brighter and more feasible.

For a penetrating and factual survey of the whole question read "The Doomsday Book" by Gordon Rattray Taylor (Thames & Hudson, \$5.95). Nothing much shorter could even summarise the predicament. Taylor raises some prospects that are quite drastic, always making clear which are worrying possibilities and which are positively imminent. I shall mention a few of them; for discussion, evidence and references, read the book.

It may be, for example, that the world's climate depends on a delicate balance which we are about to disturb by adding dust to the atmosphere, interfering with carbon dioxide levels and altering the earth's surfaces. We may be risking either the destruction of all life by overheating within 70 years or a new ice age beginning about 1980. (Consolation: not both).

By attempting to extract larger yields from chemically-regulated intensive farming we invite ecological disasters and worse famine than ever.

Building large dams can almost certainly cause earthquakes.

The oceans are still used as dumps for thousands of products with unknown biological effects, but it is no longer possible to regard the sea as an infinite sink, capable of diluting and absorbing everything drained into it. Lead is now present in the Pacific at ten times its natural level. About half the world's mercury production reaches the oceans, and already fish from the Baltic are accumulating so much as to be inedible. Pesticides and herbicides may even threaten the marine plankton which produce 70% of the world's oxygen, and feed the fish on which more than half mankind depends for essential protein.

Nothing is being done to control the contamination of the air with asbestos, which is evidently quite efficient at producing cancer and fibrosis.

Already some Indians are probably getting lethal doses of DDT which is

accumulating in all of us. It can damage the brain and nervous system, and may cause cirrhosis, cancer and reproductive disorders. DDT collects in fatty tissues, and one might concentrate enough of it to suffer from poisoning by getting fat and slimming drastically.

Lead is increasingly present in the air, food, drinking water and of course, us. Many Americans undoubtedly contain more than the doubtful "safety level" of this cumulative poison. There is evidence that lead considerably shortens life-span in doses too small to cause

A more direct result, but harder to measure, is the danger of disorders caused by the stresses of overcrowded living. There is convincing evidence that owing to frustrated territorial instincts, this damage is quite severe. Taylor warns against hoping for a purely "technicist" solution to the environment problem, which would at best leave a barely satisfactory way of life. Man "may succeed in detoxifying the soil; he may clean the air enough to breathe, and purify at least some of the water. He may avert starvation by giving up steaks in favour of algae and converted petroleum ... If by drugs or conditioning processes, people are led to accept such a life without too much regret, what kind of victory will that be? ... a world in which people live like battery hens? ... a world in which everyone has to work many hours a week to re-establish an approximation to the conditions which, at a more reasonable level of population nature would provide free of charge, would make a mockery of technology ... and even this solution only contrives to be possible if population growth is eventually brought under control and the level stabilised".

In short, we must achieve population control sooner or later, and unless we do it rather soon, we will only succeed in substituting a minor catastrophe for a major one.

"Boy, You Had Me Worried for a Moment There— I Thought You Said Three to Five Years!"



signs of poisoning (it works on rats, so it probably works on us). The US, despite its medical care and low infant mortality, ranks only 32nd in the world for life expectancy! Meanwhile, technology finds increasing use for other toxic metals - cadmium, beryllium and thallium.

Radioactive substances are perhaps the most frightening of the pollutants added to the environment we eat, drink, breathe and walk about it. They are an unavoidable by-product of nuclear power generation, which in turn is an unavoidable response to the energy needs of super-population technology (coal and oil cause smog and are running out anyway). Taylor shows clearly that the US Atomic Energy Commission is guilty of amazing deceit concerning the damage done by their activities and the risks of accident. The "safety standards" suggest that the AEC is prepared to accept doubling the natural rate of radiation-induced diseases like leukaemia, as part of the electricity bill. (But no one could sue them for it: in any given case the chance that the damage was man-made would be only 50-50!).

Ultimately, population is absolutely limited by the earth's capacity to produce food, and that is limited by the supply of solar energy which drives the plant kingdom. (Food either consists of plants or feeds on them). Food production is also limited by fuel supplies for the technology supporting modern cultivation. Technologists sometimes propose a science fiction future for the billions in which artificial cultivation is powered by atomic energy, together with super-scientific industry capable of using ordinary rocks when high-grade minerals run out. But (1) the innovations are highly unlikely to be ready in time for the population and (2) the earth's capacity to dispose of waste heat places a definite limit on the use of power stations.

Population explosions have been observed many times in animals other than man. They are normally followed by an extremely rapid crash. Often it is not food shortage which causes the crash; many animals have evolved mechanisms for avoiding increase to starvation point. Taylor remarks, "flour beetles, when crowded, produce a gas which is lethal to their larvae and which

is also anti-aprodisiac. Many species of animals ... kill or even eat their young when conditions become crowded". In many mammals it is found that crowding produces severe stress disorders long before starvation begins. These disorders produce adrenal abnormalities and death, resulting in a population crash to about a third of the original numbers. Something of this mechanism apparently survives in man, who suffers from similar disorders under the stresses of crowding. However, I doubt if it can be expected - as some ethologists seem to - that these stress disorders alone can produce a population crash in man. What we can be sure of is that overcrowding will produce physical and mental disorders which will add to the miseries of the technicist "solution".

But we are headed for a population crash. We may expect seven billion people in 30 years' time, and if seven billion people produce an environment that can supply only one billion at a pinch, there will be a population crash. The starving areas of today's world could give only a faint idea of what it will be like when this situation begins to set in.

Taylor's book gives an analysis of the scientific and biological factors in the problem, but what of the political results? What will happen to the capitalist system?

If productivity is to decline sharply, the present practices of negotiation and compromise by the bourgeoisie will be ruled out. To date, the working class has not "won a larger slice of the cake"; but the cake itself has got bigger, enabling the rulers to buy off social pressures with apparent concessions. But a new era of stagnation and scarcity may possibly determine fascism as the only system by which capitalism can carry on. Socialists may retort that it could also lead to world revolution, but if it comes so late the revolution will inherit a ruined planet. Socialism would then be built on a scarcity far worse than Russia's in 1920, and that might produce unimaginable authoritarianism and bureaucratic privilege, administered by nightmare technologies of surveillance and control.

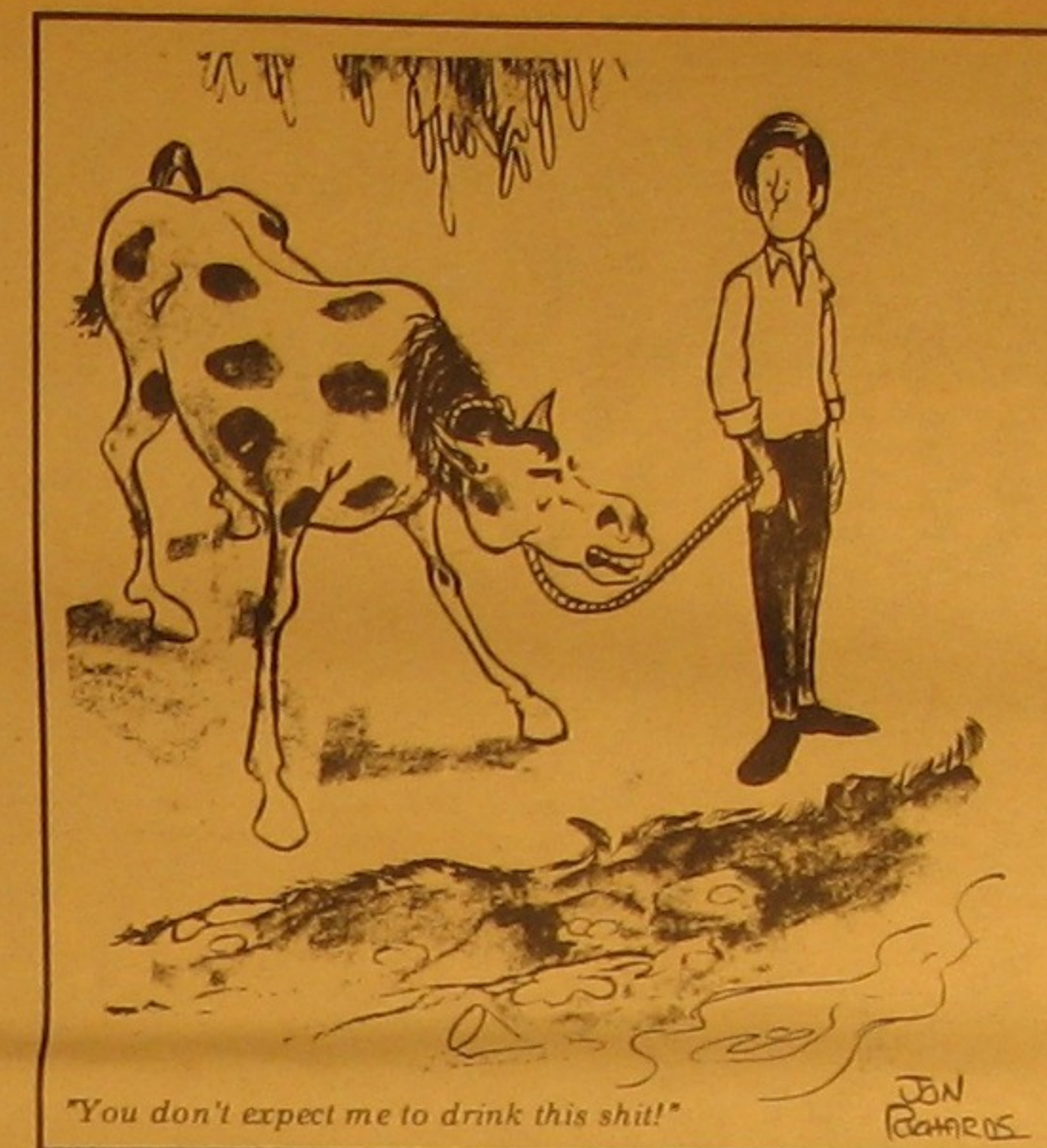
If action is delayed, even this prospect may be optimistic. The higher technology goes in supporting super-populations, the more precarious it gets, and the further it has to fall. Huge populations depend increasingly on elaborate measures for water supply, electricity, sewerage, food distribution and communication. A sufficiently wide-spread failure of these systems might lead to disintegration growing into total disorder and catastrophe, which once beyond containment could only spread. That would be a "free enterprise" population cut-back. The only alternative is to have a planned cut-back.

Taylor stresses the fact that we need action now. The question is, what sort of action will get results? Taylor's answer is an essentially reformist one.

He asks, "as one of the 3.5 billion people now at risk in consequence of this irresponsibility, why are the individuals who sanctioned these actions allowed to stay in business?" (He is speaking of the AEC, but the same might be asked of any of the destroyers). But questions like this make sense only for the reformist, who hopes to make the rulers responsive to his needs. This viewpoint leads to pessimism. Taylor says that "the lesson of history is that (man) never avoids catastrophes; he just spends his time recovering from them. No doubt history will repeat itself".

Socialists will see it differently: perhaps the problem remains unsolved because capitalism is inherently incapable of solving it. If so, we must remember when we demand measures to save the environment, that the system can satisfy us only by being destroyed.

For example: science may find that the heavy use of insecticides, nitrate fertilisers, breeding for yield, hormone crop treatment etc., are contrary to the interests of the individual farmer. The logic of profit-taking is insensitive to the environment problem. The reformist solution is to get the ruling class to enforce a whole array of limiting regulations, designed to contradict the farmer's interests for the sake of mankind. Problems of enforcement aside, it is just possible I suppose that an "enlightened" ruling class might do that to the farmers. What seems quite impossible is the enforcement of parallel curbs on industry. Token con-



cessions are made (smokeless zones etc.) but we need substantial (and costly) changes. Enterprises must be subjected to the logic of human welfare rather than profit, and that takes planning - socialist planning, not the neo-capitalist sort.

The environment problem under capitalism is that nowhere do we find motivating interests united with decisive power.

Isaac Deutscher writes, "private control, even as exercised by the big modern corporations, sectionalises and disorganises an essentially integrated social mechanism, which needs to be actually and rationally integrated. The Marxist case against capitalism rests largely, though not exclusively, on this argument. So does its case for socialism".

Nothing makes this integration more desperately urgent than the problem of saving our environment.

Capitalism is equally incapable of dealing effectively with the population problem. For economic stability it demands population instability; the system is hooked on growth. Marx predicted the missionary activity by which capitalism spread across the globe in the nineteenth century; an export of capital delayed the threat of excessive productive capacity. Today's flood of absurd and wasteful commodities is a parallel mission to stretch the market to its limits. It seems likely that long before population control began to be useful from the environmental point of view, it would panic the capitalists into action.

Ernest Mandel said, "subordinating - not production to human needs but human needs to production - that is the very essence of capitalism". This applies to population: industrial production requires the production of markets, which in turn require the production of people. But there is a real human need to have fewer humans.

The environment question belongs on the list of compelling reasons for revolution. Reformism raises only false hopes, whether it takes the form of writing letters to the minister or terrorist bombings. A large percentage of "revolutionary" bombings in the US are directed against polluters - a fact which brings out the weakness of the tactic. No "masses" are going to be radicalised by seeing a chemical works blown up, and certainly the punishment won't reform industry into lowering pollution levels. The problem with capitalism is that natural selection favours the profitable enterprise, which will be the worse polluter, other things being equal. Anti-pollution is expensive. Of course pollution is more expensive, but the catch is that the polluter doesn't pay for it, so he isn't motivated by it. The profits from pollution can cover the bomb damage.

If population and pollution control are demands which can be met only through revolution, some of those who are concerned about it can be won over to a revolutionary position. And the pollution crisis is sharpest for workers; capitalists have been allowing a "profitable" pollution of the work

by conservation in one country. Discussing the USSR, the non-Stalinist Left has often contrasted its pervasions of socialist culture and politics with the stunning achievement of transforming a backward feudal state into the world's second industrial power. Clearly Russia has some of the advantages of Marxism, and compared with capitalism there seems to be no reason why it couldn't take effective environmental action, apart from the priority given to competing with America. But as long as the people exert no authority over the planners, there is no guarantee of action either. A glance at a demographic map shows that the bureaucrats can at least distribute population more logically than capitalist mechanisms do.

But there are no signs of a realistically serious awareness. Vast damming and diversion schemes are proposed with a lack of foresight that invites disaster and there is an anti-pollution movement to save Lake Baikal from industrial effluent.

Socialists overseas in advanced capitalist countries have raised demands as the basis for building a movement around the pollution issue.

These demands include such aspects

- (1) demanding that the polluters pay for stopping pollution and not pass the cost on to the people in higher prices and taxes;
- (2) accomplishing this by demanding that polluters open their books making their financial transactions public so that effective controls of profits and prices can be instituted;
- (3) demanding the nationalisation of all businesses and industries which are unwilling or unable to stop pollution;
- (4) demanding that pollution control be regulated by workers in the plants organised into factory committees.

Four decades ago the world was experiencing the catastrophic betrayal and wastage of a period of revolutionary opportunity. Today the prospects are rising again.

It is perhaps our last chance.

NATIONAL MORATORIUM ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

Sydney, 17th-21st February, 1971

SIR JOHN CLANCY AUDITORIUM UNIVERSITY OF NSW

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This photo and cover photo show views of the Yarra.

WORLD REVOLUTION TODAY— TROTSKYISM OR STALINISM? ERNEST MANDEL

The very fact that Monty Johnstone is here debating with me this evening on the problem of Trotskyism today should in itself be considered evidence of what Trotskyism is not. I am not going to insult the intelligence of anyone present by saying that it is not counter-revolutionary or an agency of fascism, or an agency of imperialism, or any of that nonsense. For if that were the case, not only would this debate not take place but many other things which have been happening in the world in the last few years would be incomprehensible.

One thing Trotskyism is not is a defeated tendency in the international workers movement. It is not a Menshevik-type revision of Marxism that has been crushed definitively, as was said in the Soviet Union in its fifteenth party congress in 1927; as was repeated by the unfortunate Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev at the twentieth party congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956; as has been repeated over and over again in innumerable publications under the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Because if it were really a crushed, defeated, non-existent, eliminated, Menshevik tendency, why would anybody want to discuss with it? Why is Monty Johnstone here debating? Why is the Soviet bureaucracy after having crushed, destroyed, eliminated and vanquished this tendency, forty, thirty, twenty and ten years ago, why are the spokesmen of these bureaucrats today forced to write books, pamphlets and articles and keep coming back to this problem? Why have there been three or four new books on Trotskyism published in the Soviet Union in the last twelve months, if ours is a definitively defeated tendency?

So I think that the first point we ought to make this evening is to render historical justice to the founder of the Red Army and to the leader of the insurrection of the October Revolution which initiated the first victorious working class revolution in a whole country. On this ninetieth anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky, which coincides with the anniversary of the October Revolution, the political movement he founded, the ideas he stood for, the programme he defended, live stronger than ever in the world.



This article is reprinted from *International Socialist Review*. Mandel, recently excluded by the Australian Government from making a speaking tour here, is an internationally known Belgian Marxist economist. This article is Mandel's contribution to a debate with Monty Johnstone, a leading member of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

There is today a vibrant youth movement. Thousands of young people are coming to Trotskyism all over the world. And that is the only reason Monty Johnstone of the Communist Party feels obliged to debate with us about Trotskyism, that is the only reason why the Soviet bureaucracy has to put out a steady stream of speeches, pamphlets, magazine articles and books on the subject of Trotsky.

Trotskyism today is mainly a youth movement, a movement of youth that is being built and expanded on the five continents. For that very same reason I am not going to dwell in the least on the question that Monty Johnstone is going to talk about did not quite a lot: what Trotsky wrote or did not write in 1905, in 1912, in 1917 or in 1918. For I want to say from the beginning that this is pretty irrelevant to the actualities of the contemporary revolutionary struggles. Does anyone really think that 250,000 people vote for a Trotskyist presidential candidate in France, does anyone really think that in Ceylon today a Trotskyist trade union leader leads tens of thousands of workers in big strikes, does anyone really think that tens of thousands of people demonstrate behind banners which the whole of public opinion



in Japan today calls Trotskyist, because of what Trotsky wrote in 1907 or 1912?

The overwhelming majority of these people have not read what he wrote and are not interested in reading all that - this is a mistake on their part, because everybody should be interested in the history of the revolutionary movement - but they rightly regard that as irrelevant to the main problem which we have to understand and explain: what is the origin, what is the root of the strength of world Trotskyism today, why do thousands and thousands of people flock to its banner on a world scale, and why do the Soviet bureaucrats and Monty Johnstone, their British spokesman, have to reopen a debate which they hoped had been finished with machine-gun bullets thirty or thirty-five years ago, in the period of the infamous Moscow trials?

I will give four basic reasons why the Trotskyist movement is stronger now than ever before; why thousands of people are adhering to it throughout the world; why it has a bigger numerical, geographical and political extension than ever before, even during the 1920's, while it was still a tendency inside the Communist parties and the Communist International.

The first reason has to do with a basic problem of the colonial revolution and the way forward for the under-developed, semi-colonial countries. Stalinism and Stalinist parties, parties which call themselves Communist, still follow a

Menshevik or semi-Menshevik policy. That is, they believe as the Russian Mensheviks believed, that because these countries are backward, because the industrial bourgeoisie has not yet come to political power, that the immediate strategic task for the working class and poor peasantry is somehow to establish an alliance with this national bourgeoisie against imperialism and against feudal and semi-feudal forces. The aim of such an alliance would be to arrive at a coalition form of government - a "government of the four classes" as it was called in China from 1925 to 1927 - a government of the "National Front", or a regime of "National Democracy", as it was called in the new official programme of the Soviet Communist Party.

Experience has confirmed what Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution proclaimed as early as 1906, that there is no way out for any under-developed colonial or semi-colonial country along such a road; that any struggle that limits itself to fighting against rural feudal or semi-feudal landlords, or foreign imperialism, while keeping the national bourgeoisie in power, while maintaining capitalist property relations intact, while refraining from establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat allied to the poor peasantry, will inevitably leave these under-developed countries backward, stagnating, exploited and super-exploited by international and national capital.

Such a policy will not be able to tear the millions populating these countries out of their age-old miseries. Experience has also taught a much more terrible lesson. Thousands and thousands of Communists in Brazil in 1964, in Iraq in 1958, and 500,000 Communists in Indonesia in 1965 had to pay with their lives for the illusion that it was possible, desirable or necessary to establish durable relationships of coalition and collaboration with bourgeois or semi-bourgeois political forces. Such a subordination and sacrifice of independent mass struggle can only lead to crushing defeat for the working class and the poor peasantry.

Trotskyism lives and grows, wins new members, attracts new tendencies and builds new parties in the under-developed countries because it stands for this basic rule of revolution. There is no way out for these colonial and semi-colonial countries but the way of the permanent revolution. There is no possibility of acquiring real national liberation, real independence from imperialism, without overthrowing the bourgeois class together with the agents of foreign imperialism and with the feudal and semi-feudal landlords. There is no possibility of liberating the people, peasants and workers, without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat allied with the poor peasantry, without creating a workers' state. Only in those countries where this happened - China, Cuba, North Vietnam, and it's happening now in South Vietnam - is there a way to social and economic progress. Wherever, through the responsibility of the Communist parties following the Moscow line, which is Stalinist Menshevism, that has been prevented from happening, there have been defeats, misery, tears and bloodshed for the working people of these countries.

It is this contemporary reality, rather than quotations from 1907, 1917 or 1921

that has to be faced by anyone who wants to understand what is going on in this sector of the world revolution. For the Trotskyist movement, for the revolutionary Marxists throughout the world, it was a moment of great vindication when the leading idea of the permanent revolution - that the only road to victory in a backward country is through a socialist revolution - was taken over by the Cuban revolutionaries and proclaimed in the Second Declaration of Havana, after the first victorious revolution in the Western Hemisphere. This gave proof that Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International had been 100% correct in their strategic line for the under-developed countries.



The second reason for the growth of Trotskyism on a world scale is that we stand completely and unconditionally for the revolutionary road to socialism in the industrialised imperialist countries as against the reformist electoral road defended by the Communist parties in Western Europe, Japan, North America, Australia and New Zealand. When we say that we follow the revolutionary road, this does not mean that we are partisans of putschism or adventurism, that we think that a few hundred people here and a few hundred there can snatch power unexpectedly without anybody taking notice of it, in the advanced capitalist countries. There the bourgeoisie represents tremendous power. It has political experience, it has the benefits of political tradition and political continuity. Its rule over these countries does not depend simply and solely upon its weapons of repression - its army and its police - but rather upon the ideological and political influence it still wields over a large part of the petty bourgeoisie and even among a part of the working class itself.

Our clear and uncompromising stand in favour of the revolutionary road to socialism essentially pivots around three points:

* Firstly, objective situations independent of the will and control of any group or party periodically create pre-revolutionary situations in industrially advanced countries. At these moments of revolutionary mass upsurge these objective situations unavoidably lead to large-scale actions of the working class such as general strikes and factory occupations which obviously go beyond the limits of struggle for immediate wage demands and working conditions. The duty of revolutionary parties and groups representing the revolutionary vanguard is to prepare themselves and the best working class militants to intervene during these hours, days and weeks, for it is only through these periodic upsurges of the mass movement that the chance is presented to overthrow capitalist power.

You cannot overthrow capitalism gradually. You cannot abolish a bourgeois army battalion by battalion, you cannot destroy the power of the bourgeoisie piece by piece. You can only accomplish these aims through the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, and revolutionary actions of this sort are not possible every day when "business as usual" prevails. Revolutionary action is possible only during those pre-revolutionary situations when the conflict is sharpest. A party, a vanguard and a class must be prepared to intervene at that juncture in a decisive manner in order to make a breakthrough toward the conquest of power and a victorious socialist revolution.

* Secondly, if you want to develop a situation in which the working class wants to know what to do next, in which conditions for revolution are favourable, you must engage in prior propaganda, agitation and action for transitional demands, especially for the key demand for workers' control of production, which grows as other demands of the working class in its struggle for power in the industrialised countries. To think that a working class, which has been educated, day after day, month after month, year after year, in

nothing but immediate trade union demands and electoral politics will in some mysterious way suddenly become capable of revolutionary consciousness and action in a revolutionary situation is to believe in magic or miracles.

Lenin said that the ABC of revolutionary policy and the duty of a revolutionary party is to conduct revolutionary propaganda also in periods that are not yet revolutionary. Lenin said that this is precisely what makes the difference between a revolutionary party and a reformist or a centrist party. When revolution does break out, many people suddenly discover their revolutionary soul. But a revolutionary party has the constant duty to propagandise for revolution even if the situation has not yet reached the point of showdown between the classes. Its work in this respect can be an influential factor in accelerating revolutionary consciousness.

* Thirdly, we believe that the struggle for transitional demands, for those demands which cannot be incorporated or assimilated into the normal functioning of bourgeois society should not be conducted solely by propagandistic means. Revolutionary struggle should be taken to impel the working class into motion around such demands. They should be introduced into the ongoing daily struggle of the class by all avenues. Unless the workers acquire experience by fighting for these demands in partial struggles they will be unable to generalise their outlook at the height of revolutionary intensity. Otherwise these demands will appear to them as something that falls from the sky, that is imposed from without or advocated only by small minority groups.

I would like to ask Monty Johnstone how he squares the following quotation from Lenin regarding the obligations of a vanguard party with the course followed by the French Communist Party in May 1968. Lenin said:

"Will this situation last long; how much more acute will it become? Will it lead to revolution? This is something we do not know, and nobody can know. The answer can be provided only by the experience gained during the development of revolutionary sentiment and the transition to revolutionary action by the advanced class, the proletariat. There can be no talk in this connection about 'illusions' or their repudiation, since no socialist has ever guaranteed that this war (and not the next one), that today's revolutionary situation (and not tomorrow's) will produce a revolution. What we are discussing is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists - that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, explaining its scope and depth, arousing the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over to revolutionary action, and forming, for that purpose, organisations suited to the revolutionary situation."

Just compare that quotation, which breathes the spirit of genuine Bolshevism, with the conduct of the Communist parties of France, Italy, Greece, Belgium and other capitalist countries over the past 25 years (not to go still further back to the pre-war period), especially with the conduct of the French CP in May 1968 and you will understand both the fundamentally reformist character of these parties and why thousands of young rebels are adhering to Trotskyism in these countries.

The third reason for the growth of Trotskyism today has to do with the crucial question of workers' democracy. The main historical goal to be attained in those countries that have already abolished capitalism is the institution of democratically centralised workers' self-management in opposition to the material privileges and the monopoly of political and economic power wielded by the bureaucracy. The bureaucratic rulers are the object of hatred by thousands of youth, critically minded intellectuals, and advanced workers in these post-capitalist states. That was graphically evidenced during those few months in the Czechoslovakia of 1968 when these elements of the population had the chance to speak out, at least in part, their real thoughts and feelings.

The bureaucratic regimes in these countries are one of the main reasons for the discrediting of the cause of socialism in the industrialised West which deters much larger numbers of students, intellectuals, and workers from coming out wholeheartedly in favour of a socialist revolution and communism.



What I am referring to is not a full-fledged socialist society, that is to say, a society without any social differentiation where commodity production and money relations have withered away. Such conditions cannot exist in any of the East European countries today and that is not what is involved in our discussion of their political situation and problems.

What is both possible and urgently called for in the existing situation is what I call a political revolution, a set of changes in the superstructure of the system which would initiate or fulfill the elementary demands of the Marxist and Leninist programme on the nature of a dictatorship of the proletariat, leading to the building of a socialist society. In none of the works by Marx or Engels will you find a single sentence, for example, which asserts that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the monopoly of power by a single party. Nor will you find the slightest support for the abominable notion that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the application of a repressive censorship, not against nonexistent representatives of capitalism and landlordism, but against the working class. These practices have been introduced and implemented by Stalinism.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Kremlin bureaucracy not only violated the sovereignty and independence of a small nation and a fraternal and allied workers' state. It was equally criminal in other respects. It identified the suppression of democratic rights such as freedom of expression for workers, students and intellectuals, with the name of communism by taking away from the Czechoslovakian workers the rights they had regained between January and August 1968 to vote independently on resolutions, to have them published in their trade union journals, to criticise the government if they disagreed with its policies and to criticise the managers of their factories.

These were not very extensive rights and they were a far cry from the full-fledged socialist democracy they were entitled to and striving for. Lenin in "State and Revolution" says that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the workers should have a thousand-fold more freedom of self-expression and self-organisation than they enjoyed under bourgeois democracy.

Nevertheless, even this elementary right was taken away and hundreds of thousands of soldiers were sent into the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for that purpose. That was a shameful disgrace. That is why we Trotskyists first have to re-establish what Marxism and Leninism really stand for, because the crimes of Stalinism have so distorted their true content in the minds of many workers.

Socialist democracy involves far more than the self-evident right of the workers to free expression without state censorship or penalties. Socialist democracy means the self-management of the working class on a democratically centralised basis. It means that the workers should run the factories not only as individual and separate units, but the economy as a whole. This requires the subordination of the national planning authorities to the congress of workers' councils. It means that the mass of the working class actually exercises the power and determines through its discussions and decisions how the annual national income shall be divided between the consumption and the accumulation and funds, that is, between what is used and enjoyed for immediate needs and what is set aside and re-invested for future growth.

Without the possession and exercise of such rights the working class does not really rule, whatever compliments the official propagandists may offer to console it for its lack or loss of power. It is because the Trotskyist programme most consistently advocates such democratic rule of the workers that it is

bound to win more forces in the Soviet Union and East Europe, where the underlying trends of development are more and more directed toward a political revolution by the masses against the arbitrariness of the bureaucratic autocracy.

Finally, Trotskyism is most noteworthy today for its uncompromising internationalism. After August 1914 and still more after October 1917, Lenin and the Bolsheviks set about to revive the principles and the instrument of internationalism which had been trampled upon by the pro-war and pro-imperialist social democratic leaders. One of the most bitter fruits of the anti-Marxist theory of socialism in one country, which Stalin originated and imposed upon world Communism from 1924 on, was the violation and the betrayal of the international solidarity of the working class struggle. This flouting of internationalism culminated in the scuttling of the Communist International by Stalin in 1943 as a favour to Churchill and Roosevelt.



Now the leaders and followers of international Stalinism are beginning to taste some more of these bitter fruits, which result from subordinating the welfare of the workers' movement to the narrow and selfish dictates of the Kremlin bureaucracy. They see the appalling spectacle of the two largest workers' states in the world at each other's throats, and even hinting at the possibilities of hostilities between each other. This situation has come about not because either the Soviet or the Chinese masses willed it, but because it is a logical consequence of the despicable petty bourgeois nationalist tendencies and outlooks that guide the bureaucratic strata at the head of these countries today.

The Soviet leaders have even gone so far as to encourage and allow so-called communist journalists to talk about the "yellow peril" and to depict the Chinese people as misled by "new Genghis Khans" and as a "menace to civilisation". The fact that such utterly reactionary and racist utterances can come from a government and a party that still call themselves communist shows the degree of degeneration to which these organisations have succumbed.

At the height of its power, Stalinism boasted of the monolithic character of the world Communist movement which was bound together by ideological terror and enforced conformity. Now all that is passed. The last Moscow conference of the "World Communist Parties" demonstrated how far disintegration has proceeded. There are hardly two Communist parties which have any measure of autonomy today that think alike and pursue the same line.

They contend against one another and harbour all sorts of divergent tendencies and factions. One can count up to 15 different "Communist" tendencies on a world scale. The Stalinists used to deride the Trotskyist movement in the past for being ridden by incessant factionalism and splits. They are silent on this score nowadays - and for good

reason. None of the splits among the Trotskyists has been comparable to the gigantic fissures that have opened up in the international Communist movement and keep widening from year to year.

Confronted with the tremendous centralised power of the imperialist counter-revolution in the world arena, the youth and the revolutionaries on all continents keenly feel the need for an equivalent centralisation of their own forces. They cannot believe that the polycentrism and decentralisation that characterise world Stalinism - where the revolutionary movement and the working class in each country is left to its own devices and no one is concerned with the international interests and aims of the struggle for socialism - is ideal. They cannot believe this because it runs counter to the most urgent needs of the struggle of the working masses and to the traditions of Marxism and Leninism.

They were moved to respond so powerfully to Che Guevara's famous appeal for "two, three, many Vietnams" because it corresponded to their innermost urge for an international co-ordination of their anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist efforts. Che's final message was essentially a call for some central leadership for the world revolution.

This explains why the idea of the Fourth International as a new revolutionary working class organisation carrying on the best traditions of Marxism, which so many dismissed as unreal and utopian, is capturing the minds and stirring the imagination of thousands of young people all over the globe. The socialist revolution cannot advance and certainly cannot triumph on a world scale without the resurgence of the need for a new revolutionary internationalism impressing itself on the consciousness of serious fighters for a new world. The international will be wanted to build and are building will be centralised, but it will not be bureaucratically centralised. It was the bureaucratic centralism of the Stalinist type, that fake centralism which had nothing in common with Lenin's conceptions of organising the working class vanguard, which spawned the disintegrating and reactionary tendencies at work in the world Communist movement today. History will prove that democratic centralism with its freedom of discussion, is not an obstacle but the indispensable vehicle for elaborating a programme and implementing united action against the class enemy.

These, then, are the four pillars of Trotskyism today: the theory and practice of the permanent revolution, the revolutionary road to socialism through working class mass action in the advanced capitalist countries, political revolution for socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc and China, and proletarian internationalism. The Fourth International is a growing force on all of the continents because its fundamental ideas express the objective requirements of the world revolutionary process and carry on the ideas of Leninism, of socialism and communism in our epoch.



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REPRESSIVE LAWS—

What they are and how to fight them

DAVID HOLMES

In October, Bolte's "anti-demonstration" law was put before State Parliament. Bolte's new law shows what the ruling class means by "democracy". It is not only a viciously anti-democratic piece of legislation, it is anti-strike, anti-union.

1. Under the new law, either owner, occupier or even employee can order you off premises. If you don't go you could get a \$500 fine or six months jail. This law could be used against:

* demonstrators who refuse to leave a building.

* sit-down strikes by workers.
* protests by workers on bosses' premises.
* workers who refuse to be locked out. This law is an attack on the elementary right of workers to strike, to defend themselves—not a direct attack, but an attack all the same.

2. To "streamline" this repression, the law allows the owner or tenant to prove who they are merely by testifying on oath. An employee need only swear that he was authorised to order people off—it is up to the defendant to disprove this. Some chance!

3. Bolte's new law says that anyone who occupies a public or private place without "authorisation" and who "obstructs" anyone commits an offence. The penalty is \$250 or three months jail. The penalty for hindering a cop is raised to \$500 or six months jail. The cops can arrest anyone breaking this law.
* any demonstrator could be arrested and sentenced under this law.

* workers' self-defence actions, such as picketing could come under this law. Bolte's law is a threat to the basic rights of workers to self defence. It is an assault on our basic democratic rights.

Bolte's law is not an isolated case. "Law and Order"-type repressive laws are being set up, not only in Victoria, but in N.S.W., Canberra and the Papua-New Guinea neocolony. Some sections of the left (Maoists) see this as "fascism"—one of their pamphlets is headed "Defeat Bolte's New Fascist Law". The law is "the noise of Hitlerite fascism, pure and simple. The left here faces a situation similar to that faced by the German left as the fascists consolidated their power." We disagree!

Classical fascism, as in Germany, followed on a period of extreme economic stagnation, of extreme class antagonism. As Trotsky pointed out 'fascism is the "plebeian method" of the bourgeoisie—under the Jacobins it was used against a declining feudal order, on behalf of a rising bourgeois class, likewise fascism is the "plebeian method" in the era of bourgeois decay. Fascism uses a shock corps based on the petit-bourgeoisie, to smash the left; there is extreme hostility to parliamentary democracy; all independent working class organisations are smashed."

Clearly, fascism is not at hand in Australia. The cry of "Fascism" is false-consciousness. It mystifies the real struggle to destroy capitalism. It obscures the fact that neo-capitalism, based on a long-term growth cycle and an ability to "deliver the goods" relies on ideological, cultural methods to rule. Fascism is only a possibility if these have failed. No, in Australia the swindle of bourgeois parliamentary democracy works too well for the bosses to think of fascism.

What, then, is behind all the "law and order" legislation and propaganda? What is behind laws like Bolte's vicious, new law?

* These laws are designed to help smash the anti-war movement. In their chosen roles as servile followers of U.S. imperialism, Gorton and Co. are preparing for a long war in Indo-China: a high priority is the destruction and neutralisation of the growing and developing anti-war movement.

The ruling class wants a tame A.L.P., a completely safe opposition. Hence the need to isolate and destroy the A.L.P. left, and to drive the party rightwards. (The recent events in the Victorian A.L.P. and the press/T.V. response prove this) "Law and order" aids the campaign to isolate the progressive forces in the A.L.P. S.Y.A. makes severe criticism of the A.L.P. but it supports the struggle against the bourgeois policies, both within and without the party.

* Bourgeois democracy depends on passivity—on subservience, on people "keeping quiet". Increasingly large numbers of people—workers, students, pensioners,

people in the Papua-New Guinea colony realise that the "affluent society" does not solve their problems, but that, in fact, it is the cause of them. They are everywhere, however hesitatingly, beginning to challenge the system.

"Law and order" is part of a concerted effort on the part of the Government to stifle this opposition before it grows into a really effective, mass revolutionary challenge to capitalism. It is an admission that parliamentary democracy is in difficulty. It is an admission of weakness. The hysterical reaction of the ruling class to people independently acting in their real interests is shown in press, T.V. and Government reaction to the workers' anti-budget actions, and in the venom of their

anti-Moratorium propaganda. In Papua-New Guinea laws to deal with the anti-colonial opposition, to pave the way for increased exploitation of the country and its people by monopolies like Con Zinc Rio Tinto and Kennecott Copper Co., are pending.

* Fundamentally, all this legislation strengthens the hand of the bourgeoisie class against the workers. The working class is the class that can destroy their power, and is the class whose exploitation provides their wealth. These laws are not

merely "for show"—the bosses will use these laws if their real interests demand it and against anyone who is a threat to them. For example, in Mt Isa in 1965 "martial law" and police scabs were used to break the strike, on behalf of U.S. monopolies and their Australian friends.

Bolte's laws, and all other laws of their type, will fail only if they are confronted with the united, militant opposition of all sections of the left. This particularly means that all sections of the organised working class must unite to smash this law, which threatens the right of workers to defend their interests. The result of this struggle has yet to be decided.

The S.Y.A. urges full support of the initiative taken by left-wing unions in Victoria against this law. A "Committee for the right to Assemble" has been set up, and a demonstration up Bourke Street has been planned. Already 100,000 leaflets have been produced, as well as banners, placards etc. A delegates meeting at Unity Hall on December 9 will finalise plans for a large demonstration.

1. "Fascism" is a false-consciousness. Trotsky. (Merit)



FREE SPEECH
Reality or Rhetoric

ODDS & SODS

Free World

Persons in Taiwan wishing to hold a house party are required to obtain a police permit first.

20 Percent of Cubans in School

Cuba, with a population of about eight million, has more than 1,650,000 students in all types of education.



"... And did you voluntarily accept a free, hot meal from known Black Panthers at nine a.m., September nine, nineteen hundred and sixty-nine?"

Dave Davies in the "official" CPA publication "Tribune" found some little thing to praise about Melbourne's SYA leaflet on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. He was glad that the CPA was only called "Stalinist-reformist" and no mention made of Kautsky, Bernstein, Martov, Preobrazhevsky et al. Could it be the theoretical errors of our own native epigones haven't reached the level of those prominent figures.

End of the 'Welfare State'?

A woman in Sittingbourne, England, was charged bus fare for a goldfish she was carrying, the *New York Times* reported November 4.

Nice to see that our very own rep. at the UN got a non-partisan clap for his speech in the debate on the admission of China. It wasn't so much what he said but the little time he took in saying it. That's not surprising: what can you say about the non-existence of 750,000,000 people?

Almost 40,000 persons were sentenced to whipping in South Africa in 1969, according to government figures.

Among the welter of modern miracles of cybernetics, computerisation and mechanisation, it's nice to come across a good old-fashioned 24 carat one. I thought that we'd seen one in Indonesia. A woman there carried a child for 14 months. Not only that but the *foetus* could quote verbatim from the Koran. The fine, god-fearing leaders of Indonesia were quite prepared to swallow this. As the Foreign Minister, Adam Malik said, "I believe in God, so I believe in miracles". They believed it to the extent of being prepared to stake the mother and foetus to a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Indonesian Medical Association, equally god-fearing Moslems but a little more sceptical than the leadership, insisted that the woman take a test, and y'know, she wasn't even a little bit pregnant. And these were the men that saved Indonesia for the free world?

By respecting Cambodia's sovereignty and making it a "show-case" or "demonstration" of its respect for the principles of peaceful co-existence, China undoubtedly has more to gain in relation to the world and, in particular, the Third World.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk

—SUNDAY REVIEW

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High School Union Starts

The suspension of five students for alleged "disruptive influence and inattention in class" at Adelaide's St. Peter's College, resulted in students from that school calling for the formation of a students' union to promote political freedom at schools and to prevent victimisation of politically radical students.

The movement to reinstate the suspended first appeared in the form of a leaflet, "Repression In Our Schools" which was distributed at the college. Written by students from St. Peter's and produced and distributed with the aid of SYA comrades, the leaflet pointed out that the suspension of five radical students was a denial of their normal political rights and was a blatant attempt to stifle dissent at the school. The leaflet also announced that a meeting would be held at Adelaide University on November 1 to discuss how best to combat the encroachment of freedom of expression and conduct which had occurred.

The Sunday meeting was attended by about 250 high school students representing about 32 schools in Adelaide. It decided on the formation of a union for secondary schools with a set of aims and interim committee of 30. The aims consisted of five points:

- (1) freedom of political activity
- (2) right of freedom of speech and press
- (3) right to exercise all rights enunciated in the UN Charter of Human Rights
- (4) right of due judiciary process
- (5) non-affiliation with any political party or group.

The committee, which had been empowered by the meeting to plan ongoing action, met the following day at the SYA premises. About 50 students attended and elected five office bearers. A president, Justin Milne; treasurer, Graeme Tubbenhauer; secretary, Sue

Beal; press secretary, John Hepper; and vice-president, John Richardson. Besides immediately presenting the aims or demands of the union to the SA Education Minister, the committee has decided on a number of activities over the coming period, these being designed mainly to attract membership and to maintain interest over the holiday period.

A pop concert and summer camp have been projected for the future, as has been a weekly folk night. The immediate problem of finance to pay for the publication of a newspaper and broadsheets is hoped to be solved mainly through donations and fund raising parties, folk nights, as well as subscriptions to the newspaper (\$1 a year).

Although the union faces all the problems usually associated with student groups such as high turnover and organisational problems, optimism is high that if the union is able to plan and follow a round of positive strategy around its demands, then it will be able to grow and function efficiently.

The broad nature of the movement further enhances its chances of success, as does the favourable and voluminous publicity given it by the Adelaide press, TV and radio. The reporting by both the TV and radio was neutral and gave the students a chance to explain the position and nature of the union to a very wide audience. The TV publicity included a TDT report on the attitude of students to the union, showing it to be favourable, and a news item on the production of the leaflet which announced the formation of the union. Perhaps the best reporting occurred on a radio talk-in programme conducted by Father Bob, who allowed Julian Milne and Peter Vanderwal an hour to explain the position of the students in a very convincing manner.

GRAEME TUBBENHAUER
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B.L.F. RESOLUTIONS

During the last week of November, the Australian Builders' Labourers Federation held its Federal Council meeting in Hobart. This militant union lately has been involved in occupying work sites during strikes, as well as other forms of direct action. Two resolutions passed at the meeting were:

Anti-war Resolution:
"This meeting of Federal Council supports the principle of 'stop work to stop the war'. Federal Council further calls upon the branches to discuss with their members at meetings and through other forms of propaganda and calls for their participation in direct action in the coming Moratorium. The Federation will support any forms of activity designed to stop the war and for the withdrawal of US and puppet troops from Vietnam. We therefore recommend to the branches and the members that they participate in all forms of stopwork action on the day of the Moratorium."

Vietnam Resolution:
"Federal Council deplors the continuation of the US raping of Vietnam. We strongly condemn the recommencement of the bombing of the DRV. We demand the bombing cease. As a tangible contribution in helping to bring about the end of the war and the withdrawal of US and satellite troops from Vietnam, we determine to withdraw our members from any project where a contractor or client

has any financial and immoral interest in the conduct of the war against the Vietnamese people."

It is envisaged that action on the motions will commence early in 1971. Various companies, including Honeywell and Dow Chemicals, could be affected, along with some construction firms. The ABIF branch in Melbourne recently also has declared the Westgate Bridge black, in protest against the repressive new "law and order" legislation.



"I had this terrible dream. It was all over. We'd beaten the Viet Cong. The South had their first election. They voted in a Commie government."

PAKISTAN

The Worst Catastrophe—and Worst Callousness—of the Century

The *New York Times* called it the "worst catastrophe of the century." Upwards of 500,000 people are dead. One million are homeless. But the catastrophe is not over. For hundreds of thousands of persons in the flooded delta region of East Pakistan, the disaster will continue until help arrives or they die.

Yet in face of the measureless suffering, nothing is being done. The hurricane that swept in from the Bay of Bengal November 12 could not be prevented. But the thousands who have died needlessly and the unknown thousands who still face death are the victims of human inaction, indifference, and callousness.

Sydney H. Schanberg described what he saw on Bhola Island in the Ganges River delta, in a dispatch in the November 22 *New York Times*:

"If relief supplies are not air-dropped soon to the coastal areas of East Pakistan cut off by last week's cyclone and tidal wave, many of the survivors probably will die of starvation, disease and exposure.

"In a two-day tour of accessible parts of this large island, where officials say at least 200,000 persons died, this correspondent found that survivors even in some areas that are not isolated are frenzied for food and other supplies.

"We need helicopter airdrops every half hour of dry food and blankets and clothes and medicine," said Lieut. Col. S. A. Hi of the Army Medical Corps, who is in charge of medical relief on Bhola Island, at the mouth of the Ganges River. "If we don't get them, people will simply die and die."

Yet ten days after the hurricane, there was only one helicopter in operation in all of East Pakistan. Because of the flooding, vast areas have become a great swamp, inaccessible even by boat. Airdrops by fixed-wing planes are not accurate enough to reach the groups of people clustered on islands of dry ground above the water.

Only the advanced industrial countries can provide the machines necessary to get aid to the desperate refugees in time. The United States should shoulder the greatest responsibility in this because of its wealth and its giant air force.

Nixon likes to boast about the military power of the United States—how many men can be airlifted to any spot in the world in a matter of hours if America's "security" is threatened.

It took Nixon nine days to get six helicopters to East Pakistan! According to Schanberg, these were not in operation a day after they arrived. In face of the plight of a million human beings in danger of imminent death, Nixon did not care to use the thousands of helicopters and immense supplies stockpiled only a few hours away in Vietnam and Thailand.

The greatest catastrophe of the century moved Nixon only enough to order six helicopters from the great U.S. arsenal. Of these, four were sent all the way from the distant United States, not from nearby Vietnam and Thailand.

In comparison to the resources Washington allocates for killing and the speed with which the packages of death are sent to their human recipients, what can the world think of Nixon's decision to send six helicopters to Pakistan?

And what must the world think of the fact that precisely the same day these helicopters arrived in Dacca, hundreds of American planes reaped the bombing of North Vietnam!

The Pakistani government is not blameless in this crime, although it does not have the resources needed to meet a catastrophe of this magnitude. The Yahya Khan regime—for some unfathomable reasons of "face"—was reluctant to appeal to the world for help.

Yahya refused to even ask India for permission to refuel Pakistani helicopters on Indian territory—permission which the Indian government has belatedly granted without being asked. The small Pakistani air force stayed away from East Pakistan.

Little effort was made to distribute even the pitiful supplies on hand.

Such monstrous indifference is an indication of the ruling class's real attitude toward ordinary human beings. In Rawalpindi and in Washington, the rulers think alike. "The greatest catastrophe of the century? So what. Let them die. Saves bombing the goods."

This article has been reprinted from *Intercontinental Press*, subs. \$20 a year or part thereof. See below.

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Direct Action Interviews: INSIDE LABOR

The following interview was conducted between two SYA members and an inspirer of the "Inside Labor" group. As with all "Inside Labor" comrades, the interviewee played a leading role in pre-interventionist Victorian ALP affairs. For the SYA as for all serious socialist-revolutionary tendencies the events in Victorian Labor Party affairs are of tremendous significance. We do not see the present division as just another struggle between rival bureaucrats

The exciting fact is that at two large mass meetings, hundreds of ALP rank-and-file members endorsed the political stance of the old Victorian executive, condemned Federal Executive intervention and - most significantly - called for profound structural changes in the party. The structural changes envisaged, involve retention of the trade union base, much more rank-and-file say in leadership and the development of general extra-parliamentary political activity.

Now, as never before, revolutionaries must carry the struggle against reformist illusions into the ALP itself.

The SYA calls for critical support for the "Inside Labor" group and their interstate allies.

The identity of the interviewed comrade must remain unpublished for obvious reasons - while "Inside Labor" calls for the right of factions to exist in the ALP, Whitlam and his advisory council cronies have less regard for workers' democracy.

Q. Why do you believe there was Federal intervention?

A. Firstly, there has been a tremendous drive to move the ALP to the centre ground of Australian politics. The Victorian branch was the only State branch with left-wing or progressive policies and consequently has been the main impediment to this drive. The arguments for intervention were based on the small ALP vote in Victoria, but in actual fact, the last Federal election figures were the second highest since before Federation. So this argument is certainly fallacious.

Secondly, there was the fact that, as with most Social Democrat parties, the parliamentary wing was attempting to take over the movement. The Victorian branch was the only branch that thought the parliamentary party should be subversive to the movement.

There is also the factor of personal ambitions, of course.

Q. There have been criticisms of the State executive from left-wing and rank-and-file ALP'ers here - that the executive hasn't behaved as democratically as possible, for example that they've neglected to develop the branches, that the branches have a limited say. What do you say to that?

A. On a comparative basis this is not accurate - Victoria has the most involved membership in Australia. In any group, in any society, in any community, it is up to the people to rectify their own problems.

The setting up of the 19-man committee was a genuine effort to rectify this. In fact, some members of the executive had drawn up structural changes. Bob Hogg produced a report along those lines as early as July.

Also, the executive was not as monolithic as it appeared. The main drawback was the Ticketing Committee, which always resulted in compromise. If the right of factions to exist was recognised, if socialists could draw up a ticket and get

what support they could at the conference they could go out and argue their position in the movement, whereas they have always had to argue for an executive they didn't believe in. We want this broken because we still want a union-based party (with all its deficiencies) and we also want meaningful rank-and-file participation.

Q. How do you feel about the rank-and-file meeting called by the Left at Melbourne Town Hall? Weren't there implied criticisms of the State executive as also by the Left at St. Kilda Town Hall?

A. The November 1 meeting was called under lots of pressure for people not to go. It was a very constructive meeting - there was no looking back and while people didn't support the necessity for intervention, they accepted that it had occurred, that they had to get out of it somehow and therefore there was a necessity to rebuild. They confirmed that the constitution had to be drawn up and approved by the membership, not the Federal Executive. Of course, the

second meeting on November 22 would certainly not have occurred if the first hadn't.

Q. What do you predict for the Victorian ALP now?

A. Out of the January 30 meeting, we will probably retain our union base, and hope to get a structure that will go towards branch participation. There is still a danger of going back to the ticketing system - the Innes group don't even want to change the constitution!

Q. How can members of the Labor movement assist in the rejection of the Federal intervention?

A. The final end we are working for is the development of left-wing policies within the ALP, and the creation of a structure that will allow that. The structure is the key - it should be possible to create a structure that will block a conservative ALP. The parliamentary party shouldn't be allowed to dominate the scene - it should be just one area we work in.



Bill Hartley, the secretary of the dissolved Victorian Branch of the ALP, sitting down in Bourke Street at the Moratorium.

REVOLUTION?

Jill Jolliffe

The November/December edition of "Revolution", the trendy Left's money-making brain-child, features an editorial explaining that they didn't give a national coverage to the September Moratorium because it was such a flop, and because they have realised the futility of Moratorium-type movements as a form of protest.

An article on p.14 entitled "Cop-in on



Cop-out" attributes the Moratorium movement to a temporary (deluded) feeling of optimism on the part of the anti-war Left. It is illustrated with a Cairns/Bolte double-headed monster moving demonstrator/cop pawns over a chess board, and contains this incredible piece of political analysis:

"This optimism ... (referring to May 8) ... provoked more optimism among the parliamentary democrats - the people were finally getting out in the streets - it was a victory for the united frontists".

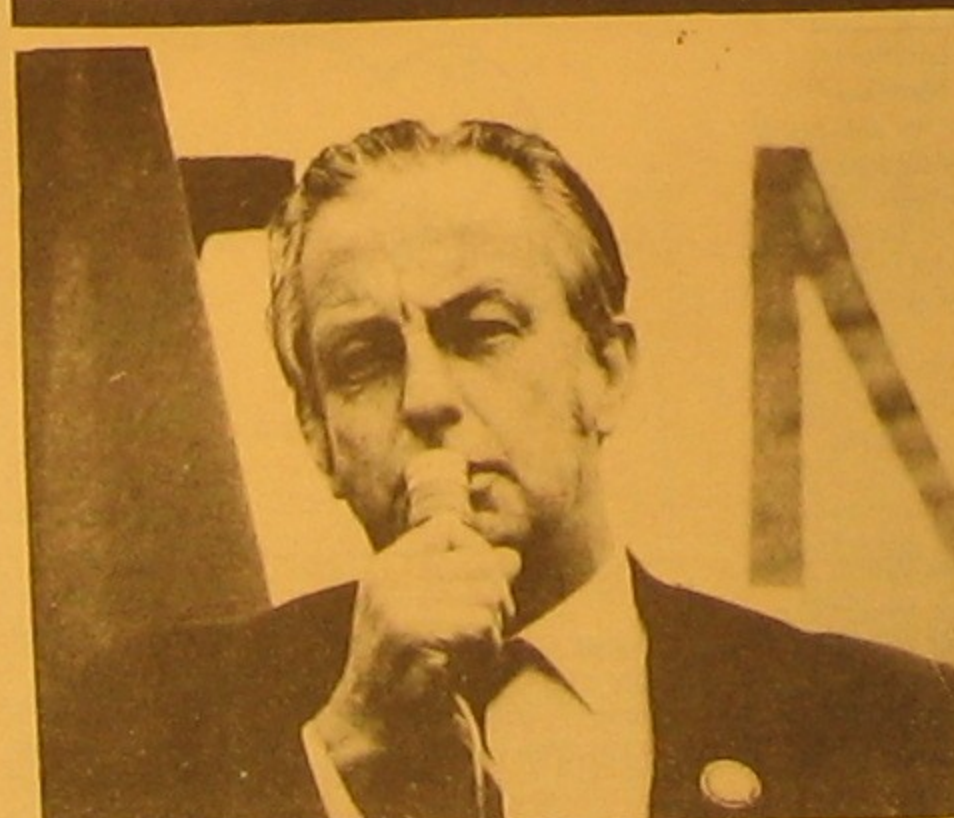
Regardless of what the hell "victory for the united frontists" is supposed to mean, since when have parliamentary democrats agitated for people to get out into the streets? The Moratorium movement is the antithesis of parliamentarianism - hundreds of thousands of Australians have seen fit to take to the streets to protest against the Vietnam war. Why? If they believe in the efficacy of parliament, why go out into the streets? Attempts by Cairns and other Social Democrats to co-opt the movement for electoral purposes can veil but not change, its essentially extra-parliamentary nature.

And what motivated Moratorium marchers? To attribute the success of moratoriums to the organisational capacities of Moratorium committees is to present a pseudo-analysis; Moratorium committees even so, organise only approximately one tenth of those who actually march. Surely the obvious first task of revolutionaries is to attempt to understand why ordinary Australians with no strong tradition of street demonstrations have taken to the streets. Is it because of a temporary upturn in anti-war "optimism"? Since when have revolutionaries substituted idealist causal notions like "optimism" for the dialectic of social change?

Those who fail to attempt to understand the roots of the Moratorium movement must fail also to see its revolutionary implications.

Prior to the May Moratorium, one of the more notorious "anti-imperialists" of the now-defunct VCC scoffed at the suggestion that the Moratorium movement could precipitate anti-Vietnam demonstrations of tens of thousands of Australians. The CP (M-L) boycotted the first Moratorium. Both lived to regret their stand.

Equally, those who dismiss the Moratorium movement as a "washout" (and they are in company with Bolte - do they also warrant a Janus monster?) may well seem an historical joke in a year's time.



George Petersen speaking at a Carlton, Melbourne, Moratorium rally. George is MLA for Kembla, NSW, and takes issue with sentiments expressed by Evelyn Reed in "Direct Action" No. 2, contesting the origins of women's oppression. Evelyn Reed is a prominent Marxist in the US and a member of the Socialist Workers' Party.

FEEDBACK

Editors,
Direct Action.

Comrades,

Surely it is time that the Left stopped re-hashing Engels' "Origins of the Family" in order to explain the inferior status of women in society.

Engels' adoption of the theories of the bourgeois pioneer anthropologist Morgan were understandable in his day when the science of anthropology was in its infancy, and factual material was scant. But there is no necessity for us to accept these theories now. Evelyn Reed's contribution to your last issue is just one more example of Marxists endeavouring to fit the facts to the theories of Engels' and Morgan's theories.

Because of their isolation from one another, and because of the variety of conditions under which they live, it is possible to find evidence amongst some primitive peoples of Engels' contention that primitive peoples live in matriarchal societies.

But this is certainly untrue of the great bulk of primitive peoples. The most cursory reading of elementary anthropological works dealing with the Australian aborigines leaves one in no doubt that most, if not all, Australian aboriginal tribes were male dominated. The Council of old men administered the law of the tribe. Female initiation ceremonies were very perfunctory affairs compared with male initiation ceremonies. The legends and history of the tribe were handed down by the men to the boys in ceremonies from which women were strictly excluded. "The hunter must be fed to hunt" was the principle that determined food distribution.

Nor could it be otherwise, except in unusual circumstances, amongst primitive peoples. In these societies men have two major physical advantages over women; they are physically stronger and they are not handicapped by the necessity to bear and suckle children.

The misunderstanding of Evelyn Reed and others would be a matter of mere academic discussion had it not led to serious errors in politics. The myth of the golden age of matriarchy, to which we will return under communism, led to a complete neglect of the reasons why men have been able to oppress women under all forms of society.

True, socialists and communists have battled for such reforms as equal pay. But we have not fought for the right of women to enter "male" occupations. We have done very little about such issues as abortion law reform and legislation of vasectomy and contraception advertising. When we have done so we have usually tailed behind liberal reformers - and are still doing so.

Even women's organisations which are under the influence of communists show themselves to be primarily concerned with such issues as price control and child care facilities, i.e., issues which relate to the inferior place of women as consumers and as managers of men's children and property.

It would be too easy to blame this on the fact that our society is permeated with male chauvinism. Our society is also deeply infected with racial chauvinism. Whatever other criticism one might have of Australian communists it cannot be denied that they were the first to fight racial chauvinism, the first in Australia to recognise Aborigines and Asians as human beings - at a time when it was far less popular than it is today to attack the White Australia policy.

On the Left today the Maoists are the most vocal exponent of the theory that nothing can be done to abolish sexual discrimination until we achieve the new classless society - which means doing nothing now. Change the word "sexual" to "racial" and the futility of this line can be seen.

Evelyn Reed does not subscribe to the Maoist line. But there is certainly a difference between the intolerance for racial chauvinism displayed by Marxists in the twenties and thirties, and her suggestion that men will, of themselves,

drop their male chauvinism in the course of the anti-capitalist struggle - a proposition which is blatantly untrue. Despite her call for struggle now on women's demands, her denial that biological make-up pre-destined female oppression in the past leads her to put primary emphasis on the struggle for restoration of the golden age in the future. In effect, the struggle for women's liberation for her is a very secondary struggle. Her position is not so very different from that of the rest of the Left for the past fifty years - which explains why nothing was done until the new consumer society raised its own demands for sexual freedom mostly because the big advertisers were using sex to sell their products.

It is only in recent years that man has gained the technical knowledge that makes manual labour and economic scarcity unnecessary. It is only now that society can afford to make the care of all children the responsibility of the whole of society - both men and women. In the past there was no alternative to domestic servitude for the mass of women - whatever alternatives might have been available for gifted or favoured individuals. It is now, like class society, an historical anachronism.

Today there is an alternative. The fight against domestic servitude is part of the struggle for socialist society. Included in that fight is not only the economic demands for equality for which socialists and communists have struggled in the past - but also the fight for women's liberation. This struggle will not be helped if we believe that a golden age of sexual equality existed in the past. It can only be built in the future.

GEORGE PETERSEN.

D.A. REPLIES

Comrade Petersen's criticism is a serious one, and must be treated as such.

(1) His grounds for dismissing Engels' view of primitive communism appear, however, rather flimsy; to treat such a complex concept (and one which Marxists have always held to be a basic tenet of Marxism) in such an off-hand way seems irresponsible. His criticism of the theory remains assertion through lack of documentation of any kind. The one instance he cites to disprove the existence of matriarchal communist societies as the prevailing form of early social organisation is of the Australian Aborigines. Apart from his ahistorical static view of the Aborigines, a cursory reading of Engels would reveal that he in fact described forms of social organisation amongst Mt. Gambier and Darling River Aborigines which bore out his thesis.

But more, in attacking Engels' theory of primitive communism, of a pre-exploitative society, he is in fact attacking a whole theory that is fundamental to at least the Marxist/Leninist concept of the State (as developed, for e.g., by Lenin in "The State and Revolution") and to Marxist economics. It appears to me to be a key stone of Marxist philosophy and to question this is to seriously question the validity of Marxism itself.

(2) The above criticism is the most important one Comrade Petersen makes. Unfortunately he also depends on a slander of Evelyn Reed's views. She quite emphatically rebuts the claim that she is harking back to a golden age:

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

Nor does her position imply the desirability of matriarchy, but presumably of a new society, where economic, social, cultural and sexual relationships will be entirely different from anything that went before.

(3) When Comrade Petersen speaks of the "serious errors in politics" Evelyn Reed and others have been allegedly guilty of, he then goes on ("True, socialists and communists have ...") to apparently attribute the neglect of the struggle for women's rights to these delusions they have fostered. This is blatantly dishonest in that very little strong awareness of women's oppression has existed in Australia up until now, let alone at the level of discourse Evelyn Reed offers, i.e., to say that people have not struggled around women's rights because people like Evelyn Reed have offered only false ideology is obviously phoney when "Our Women" has represented the acme of socialist thought on the matter for the past decade or so, apart from the odd article in "Arena".

(4) I find the claim that "It is only now that society can afford to make the care of all children the responsibility of the whole of society - both men and women" rather amazing. It is argued that technical knowledge has rendered domestic drudgery near-obsolete and thereby made alternatives to female servitude possible. But there has always been an alternative - what about the redistribution of the means of production, distribution and exchange? It was as possible in 1917 as it is now to abolish domestic servitude, to bring women out of private, domestic (unpaid) production into public, socialised production, to socialise child-rearing, and to socialise domestic labour. It is a question of social redistribution and reorganisation, not of modern gadgetry, which can develop indefinitely under capitalism with no prospect of the emancipation of women.

(5) The key to Comrade Petersen's article lies in the sentence "Despite her call for struggle now on women's demands, her denial that biological make-up predestined female oppression in the past leads her to put primary emphasis on the struggle for restoration of the golden age in the future". In other words, he sees the origin of female oppression, not in the historical growth of class society and its concomitant, the nuclear family, but in initial biological female disadvantages. It is this position which in fact now restricts the women's liberation movement to reformist pragmatic perspectives. Far from postponing the struggle for women's rights to the socialist millennium, Evelyn Reed provides the programme, strategies and theoretical perspectives which the biological sex-differences position has failed to provide. The Australian women's liberation movement has until now failed utterly to raise the question of the family, of monogamy, of the private ownership and rearing of children. This is the real point at issue; those who have purported to present a class analysis of women's oppression (1, see footnotes) have in fact presented only an economist analysis and those who argue

unequivocal on the matter, and it was given high priority in the "Communist Manifesto":

"The bourgeois claptrap about the family, and education, and the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.

"But you Communists would introduce a community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

"The bourgeoisie sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

"He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production".

These in fact are the classical Marxist demands Evelyn Reed raises. Only these provide a perspective for the transitional demands of abortion reform, universal contraception, etc. Only these can take the women's movement beyond a pragmatic reformist one to a revolutionary one. Only such an analysis sees the oppression of women as part of a class system beyond "economic" oppression and ties the women's liberation movement irrevocably to socialism.

(1) "Women In The Workforce" by Coonie Sandford
"On The Question of Women's Liberation" by Worker-Student Alliance for Women's Liberation

(2) "Is Anatomy Destiny" by Camille Guy
"Building a Movement" by Barbara Levy
"Women and Liberation" produced by the CPA.

All of these except the latter are papers which were presented at the national women's liberation conference in Melbourne in May. There was only one exception to the economist/biological dichotomy - Liz Elliot's paper on "Families" in which the question of family as a class institution was raised.

JILL JOLLIFFE

Illustration from poster produced for Jane Arden's play, "Vagina Rex and the Gas Oven".



from the "biological" position (2, see footnotes) fail to link it with the struggle for socialism except in a pragmatic sense. Demands for equal pay, control of one's own body, abortion reform, homosexual freedom, freedom from domestic servitude and the "stockyard" evaluation of women are currently presented as little more than ends in themselves, apart from some vague idealist notion of "women's liberation" as the desired long-term end accompanied by the faint inkling that the achievement of these demands will coincide with the advent of socialism. They should not coincide with socialism, but be part of it - when we raise socialism as a demand as Marxists we are demanding the abolition of marriage, monogamy, the nuclear family, the private "ownership" of children and of domestic industry as private enterprise. Marx was quite

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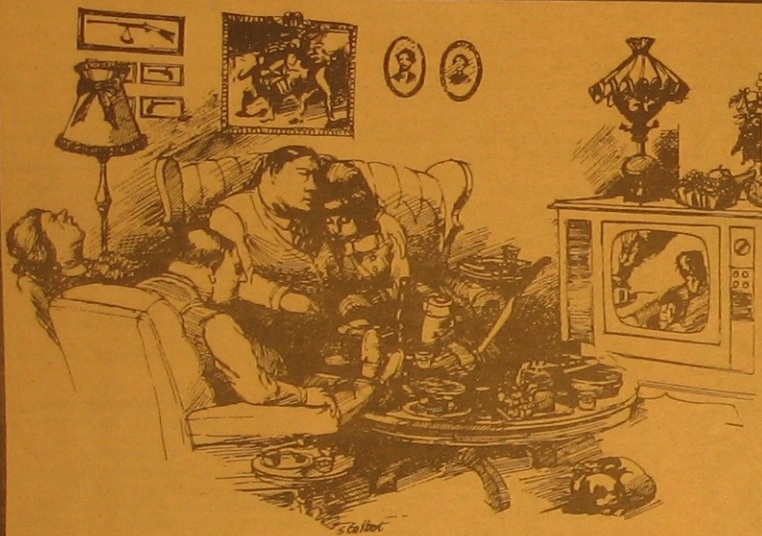
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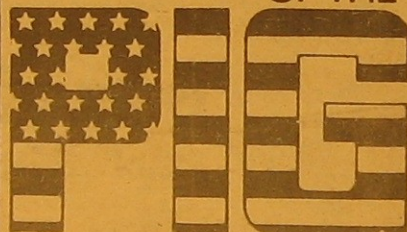
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