

DIRECT ACTION

NO. 8 JULY

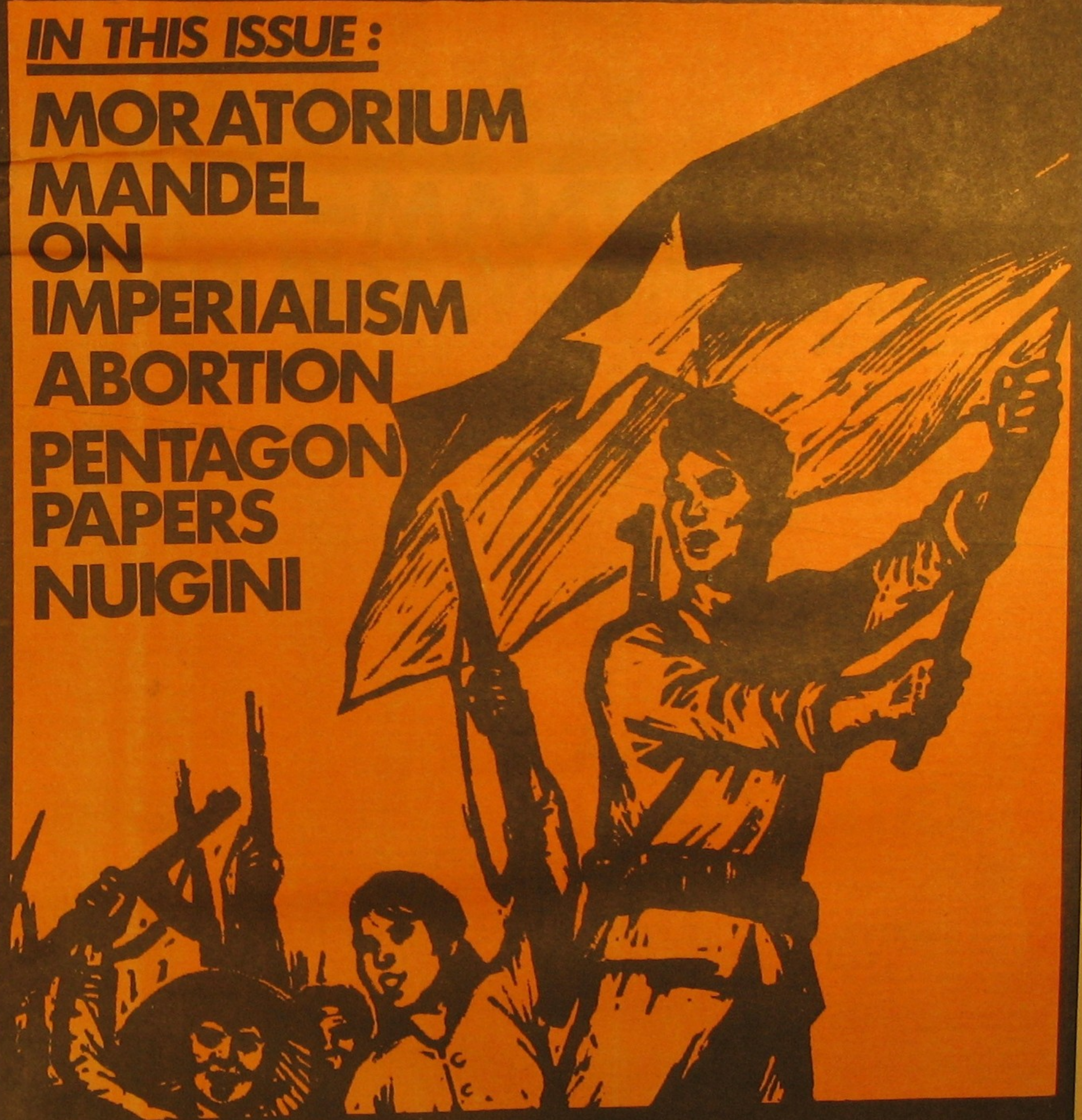
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**DEFEND THE
VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION!**



VIETNAM- WORDS FROM THE PAST

DARRYL HILLGROVE

The recent documented revelations by the New York Times concerning American and Australian involvement in Vietnam, reveals the deception and aggressiveness which governments perpetrate.

More than this it shows in clear and explicit terms what socialist have argued all along--that the war in Vietnam is a blatant attempt to stifle revolution in the Third World.

The 7000 page study (3,000 pages of analysis, 4,000 pages of documents) made up in 1967 and 1968 was ordered by Robert McNamara, defence secretary in the Kennedy and Johnson administration. Examination of the report ('The Pentagon Study') asks the questions: how is it possible to justify the allied presence in Indo-China?

The official documents and analysis centre around the initial decision-making period of 1964 and 1965 when the basic shift in US strategy from 'broad commitment' to 'total commitment' occurred. The causes of the Vietnam war do not lie simply with Johnson. They also lie in the policies of Kennedy and Eisenhower. The study reveals that:

- 1) The Eisenhower administration's decision to 'rescue' the unstable Vietnamese government from Communist electoral victory, and to try and undermine the new communist regime of North Vietnam gave it a direct role in the ultimate breakdown of the Geneva settlement for Indo-China in 1954. Eisenhower's policies in Vietnam were deliberate attempts to keep the Geneva Conference from calling elections throughout all of Vietnam. For the White House knew that the National elections would result in a victory for Ho Chi Minh.
- 2) The Kennedy administration transformed Eisenhower's policy of 'limited risk gamble' to 'broad commitment'. Aspects of 'broad commitment' included things like getting the CIA to overthrow the Diem regime.
- 3) With Kennedy's death, Johnson was left with two alternatives, 1) withdrawal from an already dishonourable program, or 2) total commitment. Johnson chose the latter, with what the press have called

"an extraordinary lack of self-questioning about the moral basis of the American war effort." (Age June 15, 1971)

Johnson's choice, within the context of the Pentagon study, is inexplicable. That the military believed in the 'Domino theory', (in a perverted or simple way we know. What we also know now, is that the CIA, despite (or because of) its heavy involvement in that time, in Laos's secret war did not believe in the Domino theory and said so to Johnson. As McCone (director of the CIA) said; 'in effect we will find ourselves mired down in combat in the jungle in a military effort that we cannot win and from which we will have extreme difficulty extracting ourselves'. The C.I.A. also pointed out that bombing of North Vietnam would not bring it to defeat. As we know, Johnson did not listen.

In the months between the Tonkin Gulf incident (August 1964) and president Johnson's re-election against Goldwater in November the U.S. prepared secret plans for air war against Nth. Vietnam. The actions against Nth. Vietnam were to be carried out in such a way as to 'provoke a Nth. Vietnamese response'. As a top aide to McNamara said: "(This) would provide good grounds for us to escalate if we wished".

The elaborate programme of covert military operation against Nth. Vietnam began on Feb. 1 1964 under the code name Operation Plan 34A. Through 1964 the 34A operation included flights over Nth. Vietnam by U-2 spy planes kidnappings of Nth. Vietnamese for intelligence information. Sabotage and psychological warfare teams were also parachuted into the North. Commando raids were made from the sea to blow up rail and highway bridges, and P.T. boats bombed North Vietnamese coastal installations.

The second major segment of the covert war consisted of air operations in Laos run primarily by the C.I.A.

The third major segment was the Tonkin Gulf incident which was the result of Johnson's decision five months previously to start heavy bombing of Nth. Vietnam. The Tonkin incident is confirmed as a deliberate provocation coming under the heading of, (to quote Assistant Defence Secretary McNaughton) "provocation strategy".

In the election of 1964 Goldwater was defeated in the worst presidential defeat of modern times for advocating what has just occurred in the "covert" war of the previous months.

By early March 1965 General Maxwell Taylor U.S.A. Ambassador in South Vietnam) was communicating to Washington, (in what the study calls) "his sharp annoyance (with the) unnecessarily timid and ambivalent way in which the air war was being conducted". There was no need for Taylor to worry. On March 9 Johnson approved the use of napalm in Nth. Vietnam, and on April Fools Day 1965 Johnson made the secret decision to use American troops for Offensive action in south Vietnam, as the government had discovered that its long planned bombing of Nth. Vietnam was not going to stave off the collapse of the South Vietnamese government.

Although the president's decision was a "pivotal" change, the study declares: "Mr. Johnson was greatly concerned that the step be given as little prominence as possible". The decision was embodied in National Security Memorandum 328, on April 6 1965. The despicable covering up of intention was revealed in paragraph 11:

"The President desires that premature publicity should be avoided by all possible precautions. The actions themselves should be taken as rapidly as practicable but in ways that should minimise any appearance of sudden changes in policy". In this final deceit, amidst eighteen months of deception, upon the American people, Johnson involved the Americans in a war that is now, factually confirmed, for what it has always been...

The Johnson administration had decided as early as Nov. 29, 1964 to prod Australia for military commitment in Indo-China. At this time a document concerning the Vietnam war was circulated amidst top level officials stating that "Australia and New Zealand will be pressed through their ambassadors, not only for support, but for additional contributions". (Australia was to be part of the "third country" policy of the U.S. to add credibility to its Vietnam role). Menzies was quite willing to obey America, but to do so he used the facade of a S.E.A.T.O. obligation to legitimize our troop aid. However, first he needed a formal request from Saigon. The south Vietnamese, being nationalists, were wary, if not hostile, over the possibility of foreigners (including the bribed Thais, Filipinos, and Koreans) swarming over the countryside. This apprehension is confirmed by the dispatches of General Taylor. Hence the stubborn regime needed pressurizing, and so Taylor was instructed on April 8th, 1965, by Johnson to "persuade" Saigon to request Australian military assistance.

While in Saigon (December 29th, 1964) the then minister for Air, Howson, was supposed to have received a request from

prime minister Huang for military aid. However, as Howson said "the interview was in broken French--and my French no good--but it was a very definite request for assistance".

If this is so why was there no formal request (in clear English) directed to the Australian government in the following months? However during this period Menzies made plans for the sending of a battalion to Vietnam. But a press leakage occurred and so an official announcement to parliament was needed soon. Finally on April 29th., out of desperation and with Australia's ambassador's cables stressing the possibility of a formal request from Saigon for military aid, Menzies made this statement to parliament:

"The Australian government is now in receipt of a request from the government of south Vietnam for further military assistance". The planned infantry battalion could now be sent.

After this Johnson cabled his feigned surprise, saying he was "delighted" over our troop involvement at the request of the south Vietnam government.

The Minister who acknowledges he was closest to Menzies during this period was McMahon, our present prime minister, who stated on June 18th, 1970 "South-East Asia has been saved--we remember that".

The Pentagon study confirms what we have already known; that the decisions of Johnson and Menzies were in complete disregard of the Vietnam people, the American and the Australian. Freedom, democracy, and the truth were casualties, that have never recovered. We are still living the fantasies of Johnson and Menzies power.

It is interesting to note that Daniel Ellsberg, former U.S. Defence Dept. member was the source who leaked the report to the press. It was said that he was haunted by the fact that he (like all the other decision makers) might be a war criminal in his own Nuremberg trial.

At the moment the New York Times under Government injunction to stop printing more extracts from the study, As Reston (contributing Editor) points out "For the first time in the history of the republic the Attorney General of the United States has tried to suppress documents that hasn't read, about a war that hasn't been declared. This is one of the ironies of this tragic Vietnam war". Not really. The final irony is the spectacle of the bourgeois press proudly proclaiming their own innocence for the involvement in Vietnam. Did it really take these private documents to convince them that the U.S. was a blatant aggressor in Vietnam. Anyone who remembers their role will know just which part of the Nuremberg courtroom should be assigned to these belated apologists and belated critics!

MELBOURNE MORATORIUM POLITICS

DAVE HOLMES

As this article is being written (June 17) it seems that the June 30 Moratorium could equal, if not surpass in size, the May action of last year. The June 30 action is long overdue--it will be over nine months since the Moratorium of last September. And if June 30 has had a long gestation period its birth was severely imperilled by a plan of action favoured by a certain section of the anti-war movement.

A plan put forward by the VMC executive and endorsed by the VMC committee (a compromise on the initial proposals which were principally endorsed by the CP and CID) called for demonstrators to simultaneously assemble outside the Town Hall-City Square area. Three radial marches were to converge on this area at that time to lessen any danger!

Within the Committee the main opposition to the plan came from SYA, the Maoists and certain area groups. The glaring weakness of this plan was that it demanded an impossible coordination and synchronization. In the (necessary) absence of this, the Moratorium would be laid open to police dispersion before it had even begun. SYA supported a demonstration along the basic lines of last year's Moratorium. This form of action has been tried and is effective. The Treasury Gardens is a safe assembly and rally area and marching into the city provides a tremendous experience of solidarity, and shows the strength of the anti-war movement in a dramatic way.

At a belatedly-called mass meeting of activists, in the Richmond Town Hall on June 7 we opposed the Executive's proposals. SYA successfully moved that the VMC toss out the Executive's proposals and instead rally briefly in the Treasury Gardens, then march into the City Centre.

Rank and file opinion, which we had been told 'demanded' something 'new' and 'dramatic' massively rejected the Executive's plan and adopted the basic format of last year's Moratorium.

For us, the struggle was not merely one over 'details'; such a struggle reflects different political approaches to the anti-war movement. These difficulties have been evident for a long time now.

After the September Moratorium SYA wanted to repeat the action before too



These members of the N.L.F. don't have a defeated or frustrated air.

long. However, it was not until April 30 that anything was done. And then it was the so-called 'decentralised' action which was a miserable failure. The long lapse between September and April 30, and the form of action chosen reflected the tiredness, frustration and cynicism as regards mass action--of some sections of the anti-war movement.

The very date chosen for the 'decentralised' action is a clue to the politics of these people. It derived from a misplaced enthusiasm for the proposals of the American delegation to the Stockholm Peace Conference held just previously. There, one wing of the US anti-war movement, the Peoples' Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) outlined plans for actions on... April 30, May 30 and June 30. However, in the event, the real anti-war demonstrations were organized by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) on April 24 and were massively successful.

The actions of the PCPJ, in contrast, were a complete failure. They, perhaps, made a point about the Washington cops but, as an anti-war protest they were useless, even harmful. The PCPJ used the slogan "If the Government won't stop the war, then the people will stop the Government". On May Day they attempted to stop the normal functioning of Washington.

The politics of the PCPJ display a frustration, hostility and cynicism towards mass action. It is thus not half accidental that some advocates of the VMC Executive's plan should refer to the 'inspiration' of the Washington May Day events i.e., they certainly 'learn' from an international experience but they are predisposed to learn all the wrong lessons--instead of learning from the tremendously successful mass actions of April 24 in Washington and San Francisco, they take their cue from political failures.

Hence this emphasis on occupying the city and stopping its normal functioning. Now, we have no objection to occupying Melbourne as long as it helps us demonstrate against the war! An occupation should not be elevated out of that context. At Richmond Town Hall, the incredible proposition was put (by a supporter of the VMC Executive plan) that if the police dispersed us they would have to block the city and thus they would be achieving our objective(?) anyway! Perhaps it would make a point to some about state

violence, but our anti-war demonstration would be wrecked.

No, there are no short cuts! Only untiring mass action can force the Australian bourgeoisie to get out of Vietnam. Each demonstration is a moment in the building of such a mass movement. It registers the progress made and welds the demonstrators closer together. Each mass demonstration helps to radicalize hitherto passive layers of people against the war. This is what the supporters of the VMC Executive's plan forgot when they told us that 'people' (who?) were bored and needed 'new' forms of action--a mass demonstration not only involves those who participate, but also, as yet unmobilized layers. Hence, repetition, even as to basic form, is not harmful, but essential.

What of the future of the Moratorium after June 30? Regardless of the action of June 30 we should like to make some points. Firstly, the most important, (though not exclusive) form of anti-war action is the mass demonstration, as we have witnessed twice already and hopefully will do on June 30. Another mass demonstration should be projected sometime in the next few months.

At this point we wish to totally reject the idea of a 'peoples' peace' which was raised by the PCPJ in America, and now echoed by SDS and RAM (see the first issue of 'Troll'). To this section of the movement adopting this idea is a prime task. We disagree completely.

The 'peace treaty' plan says that if the Australian government won't make peace with the Vietnamese then the Australian people will. This peace treaty would still have to be implemented and only mass action could do this. Thus we are back where we started. What would be the content of this treaty? It calls for the government to 'set the date' for withdrawal of troops NOW!

ANTI-WAR UNIVERSITIES MELBOURNE

A general meeting of students was held at La Trobe University on Wednesday June 23rd. 850 to 1000 students attended.

A motion calling for a one week strike was passed overwhelmingly. The meeting also decided to use the facilities of the university for anti-war work.

The motion was moved by Ruth Champion of SYA and seconded by Bary York of Worker Student Alliance. Ruth pointed out that the strike was something concrete that the students could do against the war. During the strike various activities are planned. Arguments against the strike by the right and other reactionaries were completely rejected by the meeting. It was in fact pointed out by various people how heavily Australian universities are used for the Vietnam war.

Student strikes affect the government's war policy, as shown by the US general student strike in May 1970.

At Monash University no classes will be held on the afternoon of June 30. Also at Melbourne University a strike motion was defeated at a general meeting. However a motion was passed which left the question of a day strike to each class involved.

drawal of troops and material from Indo-China. This is a reformist, sell-out demand. The government can agree to a date and then break it. This demand recognizes the government's right to be there in the first place and merely gives it greater room for manoeuvre. There is a brutal contradiction in calling the war an atrocity and demanding that it end... some time in the future. Our demand is Withdraw all troops NOW!

SDS/RAM has quite a history of such schemes, all of them characterised by a retreat from mass action. There was a 'decentralised action' 'consumer resistance' 'consumer resistance' and now 'census resistance'. This latter suggests we give our nationality as Vietnamese on the census form. By all means! Only don't let's fool ourselves that this will break the Australian war effort.

The second point we wish to make is that the VMC should be organized far more democratically. This is a practical necessity if the anti-war movement is to tap fully the large, growing anti-war sentiment. At present, most of the decisions are made by the VMC Committee which consists of delegates from each affiliated organization. The mass meetings are episodic and have only a consultative voice. However, practically the Committee is bound to respect the wishes of the mass meetings.

SYA has moved a proposal to reform the VMC to make it more democratic. The mass meetings should be held regularly (every month say) and should be based on individuals affiliating to the VMC for a small fee. This would give the VMC a greater financial stability and would enable it to mail to sponsors, thus giving them a greater sense of involvement. A campaign should then be launched to recruit such individual sponsors. This would be the means to involve some of the thousands of anti-war supporters who have marched so far. In the interim, the mass meetings would still only have a consultative voice i.e., the Committee would continue, but clearly it could not override the decisions of the mass meetings. These proposals will be considered at a mass meeting early in July.

The Australian anti-war movement has already become a political force. It has become a significant factor in limiting the Australian government's commitment to the war in Vietnam. Given the necessary political and organizational direction, we believe it can become powerful enough to end Australia's part in the war.

On the streets, June 30! Withdraw all the troops NOW! Solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution!

ANTI-WAR UNIVERSITIES SYDNEY

On June the 23rd the Student Body of Sydney University at an official meeting chaired by the SRC considered a detailed motion which was in essence: a) That this meeting of the student body calls on all students to boycott lectures and tutorials in favor of anti-war activities on June, 30th.

b) This meeting calls on all staff to either cancel their lectures and tutorials on June 30th or abide by the democratic will of the students decided at earlier lectures and tutorials prior to June 30th as to what should be done on June, 30th.

The meeting which consisted of about 2500 students voted 90% in favor of the motions. This was the students answer to a petition that had earlier been circulated amongst high ranking academics calling on academics not to take part in activities on June 30th. It is now necessary to galvanise the massive student support into a concrete form in order to carry out the motion. For this reason it is necessary to form well organised groups to picket lecture theatres on June, 30th.

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The battle of Rockefeller Center

When Nelson Rockefeller decided to build the concrete and steel monument to his wealth, Rockefeller Centre, he also decided that it would be decorated by the world's greatest artists. Necessarily one of the artists selected was Diego Rivera, the greatest Mexican revolutionary muralist.

Rockefeller got more than he bargained for. Rivera told the truth in his fresco - he showed the oppression and poverty to the working class in the depression. He showed fascism. And he showed the struggle for the socialist future, with Lenin in a central position.

Rockefeller demanded that the fresco be changed. Rivera refused. Ultimately, after months of legal disputes, Rockefeller had the mural torn down. In "Portrait of America", Rivera describes the "Battle of Rockefeller Centre".

by Diego Rivera

I preserve a beautiful memory of this "Battle of Rockefeller Centre." A mysterious warlike atmosphere made itself felt from the very morning of the day that hostilities broke out. The private police patrolling the Centre had already been reinforced during the preceding week, and on that day their number was again doubled. Towards eleven o'clock in the morning, the commander-in-chief of the building and his subordinate generals of personnel issued orders to the uniformed porters and detectives on duty to deploy their men and to begin occupying the important strategic positions on the front line and the flanks and even behind the little working shack erected on the mezzanine floor which was the headquarters of the defending cohorts.

The siege was laid in strict accordance with the best military practice. The lieutenants ordered their forces not to allow their line to be flanked nor to permit entrance to the beleaguered fort to anyone besides the painter and his

assistants (five men and two women) who constituted the total strength of the army to be subdued and driven from its positions. And all this to prevent the imminent collapse of the existing social order! I wish I could have been equally optimistic!

Throughout the day our movements were closely watched. At dinner time, when our forces were reduced to a minimum - only I, my Japanese assistant, Hideo Noda, my Bulgarian assistant, Stephen Dimitroff, and the Swiss-American Lucian Bloch, were on duty - the assault took place.

Before opening fire, and simultaneously with the final maneuvers which occupied the strategic posts and reinforced those already occupied, there presented himself, in all the splendor of his power and glory, and in keeping with the best gentlemanly traditions of His Majesty's Army, the great capitalist plenipotentiary, Field-Marshal of the contractors, Mr. Robertson, of Robertson and Todd, protected by a triple line of men in uniform and civilian clothes, Mr. Robertson invited me down from the scaffold to parley discreetly in the interior of the working shack and to deliver the ultimatum along with the final check. I was ordered to stop work.

In the meantime, a platoon of sappers, who had been hidden in ambush, charged upon the scaffold, replaced it expertly with smaller ones previously prepared and held ready, and then began to raise into position the large frames of stretched canvas with which they covered the wall. The entrance to the building was closed off with a thick heavy curtain (was is also bullet-proof?) while the streets surrounding the Centre were patrolled by mounted policemen and the upper air was filled with the roar of airplanes flying around the skyscraper menaced by the portrait of Lenin.

Before I left the building an hour later the carpenters had already covered the mural, as though they feared that the entire city, with its banks and stock exchanges, its great buildings and millionaire residences, would be destroyed utterly by the mere presence of an image of Vladimir Ilyitch.

The proletariat reacted rapidly. Half an hour after we had evacuated the fort, a demonstration composed of the most belligerent section of the city's workers arrived before the scene of the battle. At once the mounted police made a show of their heroic and incomparable prowess, charging upon the demonstrators and injuring the back of a seven year old girl with a brutal blow of a club. This was won the glorious victory of Capital against the portrait of Lenin

But it was not over yet. If it is true



GENOCIDE IN BANGLA DESH

SOL SALBY

There are currently six million refugees in India. The conditions they live under are most appalling. Vultures circle above camps where both starvation and cholera are rife. At the same time more Bengalis manage to slip past border patrols into India. The only reason these people face the risks is the prospect of genocide in Bangla Desh. According to Anthony Mascarenhas, assistant editor of the Karachi Morning News, the death toll could be as high as 100,000. The West Pakistan Army has not merely been killing Bangla Desh supporters. It has deliberately been massacring others. "Entire villages have been burnt out as a part of the army's scorched earth policy in East Pakistan. Mascarenhas was repeatedly told by senior military and civil officials in Dacca and Comilla that the army was determined to cleanse Pakistan once and for all of the threat of secession even if it means the killing of two million people". (Sunday Times 13.6.71). Apparently the "Final Solution" consists of deportation of Hindus, elimination of all intellectuals and other possible leaders of revolutionary upsurge, systematic sacking of those who are less dangerous and even kidnapping of many young women by West-Pakistani troops (accord-

ing to "Four Corners" reporter Peter Reid). Meantime the Australian Government has shown that it is much more interested in saving Asians from "Communism" than Cholera. It took eight days to get the vaccine to India. The director of the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories, Dr. W.R. Lane, who criticised, the delay was told by the government to "shut up"! The delay was explained to result from the Non-urgency of the situation. The vaccine itself was distributed within ten minutes of arrival. The real cause for the delay was the saving incurred in hiring a Qantas plane over an RAAF freighter. The mere 500,000 dollars given initially and the refusal to make gifts to the refugees tax deductible show a general course of reluctance on the part of the government. The Australian ruling class didn't give much consideration to the fact that Pakistan is a member of the Commonwealth or even its official ally in SEATO. Far more important are such things as trade relations-Pakistan does buy Australian wheat. The Australian government can't afford to offend any potential customers particularly when they are friendly, pro-imperialist dictators. Any thing which could be interpreted as support to Bangla Desh is

against the interest of imperialism in the area. As in Indo-China the Australian government is going to back the most reactionary dictators to put down revolutionary movements.

The ability of the Australian Government and other imperialist powers to stop the killing has never been questioned. The Pakistani economy is in such a mess, that cutting off the aid to Yahya will render his government useless within a few weeks. As things stand now the aid looks like being cut off. According to the London "Guardian" of the 18.6.71 the decision will be formally made known in July. Public opinion at home will not allow Nixon to support another dictator fighting a war in Asia.

While Western governments ponder the consequences of their actions other people had their minds made up. On one hand was the Chinese government whose backing of the Pakistani dictator has been of long standing. (See "Direct Action" May 1971). On the other hand were the private relief organisations like Austcare and Oxfam.

Chairman Mao seems to be Yahya's last friend. While the Bengalis are being

killed off, China is providing military and other aid to Pakistan. The "Austrian" reported on the 16th of June that a new loan of 63 million dollars was given by Peking. Peking review gave its interpretation of the most newsworthy item concerning Pakistan. "May 21, 1971 was the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the peoples Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The Chinese foreign Ministry gave a banquet on the evening of May 21 to celebrate this day of significance in the annals of relations between China and Pakistan.

Probably the most treacherous alliance since the Stalin-Hitler pact it can only be explained by Mao's preference for relationships with the national Bourgeoisie. It is the worst example of Stalinist betrayal in our times. No amount of talk about danger of Indian Imperialism will justify this crime. (Those 'Marxist-Leninists' who use the term are referred to 'Imperialism-The Highest Stage of Capitalism' by Lenin for a good definition of Imperialism.)

The response to the appeal of organisations like Austcare was more than expected by anyone. Marxists have always maintained the view that these organisations and similar ones like Community Aid Abroad or Freedom From Hunger Campaign should have no role to play for two reasons. Firstly aid is the job of the state which can finance it and secondly poor states can't develop economically as long as imperialism keeps them down. Only a socialist revolution in the Third World and the Advanced Capitalist countries can help them. This certainly remains true. The difference between the amount given by the govern-

ment and that raised privately proves it. At the same time, the revolutionary position of the refugees shouldn't be forgotten. They are Bangla Desh's future freedom fighters.

The revolutionary potential of Bangla Desh is the key to understanding not only the Indian government. An independent East Bengal could lead to an upsurge in West Bengal and other parts of India. That's the reason Mrs. Gandhi prefers to sit on the sideline and hope for victory of the Awami League rather than a revolution. Such a victory is not forthcoming. The struggle for Bangla Desh is going to be a long one.



East Bengali refugees who fell victim to West Pakistani flamethrowers while asleep in Dacca.

THE N.S.W. A.L.P. CONGRESS THE SOCIALIST LEFT IS BORN

IAN MACDOUGALL

We live in a period of rapidly growing crisis of imperialism and bourgeois ideology, which has brought with it a similar crisis of reformism and parliamentarism.

It is no surprise that in the period of Vietnam, galloping inflation, deteriorating quality of life and mass radicalisation of youth there should be dramatic changes in the labour movement: the growth of size left in the trade unions, working class militancy on the rise, and the development of a socialist left of a new character in the ALP.

Five years ago Whitlam was proclaiming that if he was elected the troops would stay in Vietnam and that in modern conditions the election of a labour government would mean mainly the appointment of a new set of personalities to run the country - that the difference between the ALP and the Liberal Party was mainly in the administrative competence of their respective leaderships.

Now, he goes along with the Vietnam withdrawal policy, and seizes on every opportunity to capitalize on government embarrassment such as in the current furore over the original reasons for the Vietnam commitment, and its inability to control the deteriorating social conditions and quality of life, its crisis of China policy etc.

Even the Whitlamite journal of the NSW ALP has appeared in new dress under the appealing title of 'The Radical' (thinks that should sell a few to the demonstrators). The old dreary contents are tarted up with a new with-it 'image'. (Of course, scratch the new Whitlam and you'll find the old. Let the crisis end all over the world tomorrow and he'll revert to his 1950's style quicker than you can say "take me to Mao Tse Tung")

None the less, Whitlam is a very skilled politician and a good political barometer. But such are the conditions today that his intervention in Victoria, carried out by the Federal Executive, which he and his fellow right-wingers expected would 'clean up' the nasty vote-losing leftist image of the Victorian branch, resulted in a backfire. The main effect was to cause the left to reorganize into a new, democratic yet well-disciplined machine - the Socialist Left, and the opportunists of the centre to lose their organized weight in a general competitive scramble for the plums of office. The right remained inconsequential, with a mere 18% of the vote at the Victorian conference last May. This put George Crawford back as Victorian Chairman, Bill Hartley in as delegate to Federal Executive, and won the Socialist Left three of the six delegations to Federal Conference. The Socialist Left polled a very healthy 39% of the total conference vote - disastrous for the Whitlamites and opportunist centre under the proportional representation system.

The intervention in NSW did not result in a victory for the 'steering committee' left as its leaders had hoped, but it changed the numbers in the apparatus and at Federal Conference, again due to proportional representation.

This means that the logical next step for Whitlam is Federal intervention in the Queensland Branch in an attempt to increase the numbers at Federal Conference for the right wing.

In NSW the left wing up to now has been dominated by a fossilised self-appointed leadership of trade union officials (the aforesaid 'Steering Committee'). Its aim in life has been to increase its strength on the NSW Executive through deals with the right wing (which was never interested) and by appeals to the predominantly right wing annual conference to elect a balanced executive. Over the years since the 1955 split its strength has steadily waned, with a slight change in its favour coming

in the last two years. Its former supporters have been steadily demoralised by this strategy over the years.

However, in the last three years there has been a steady influx of young, generally left-inclined people into the party - and indeed the electoral support for the ALP among younger people has grown dramatically in the same period. The young leftists have been predominantly critical of the Steering Committee with its plodding, routine numbers game and wheeler-dealing, bureaucratic mentality.

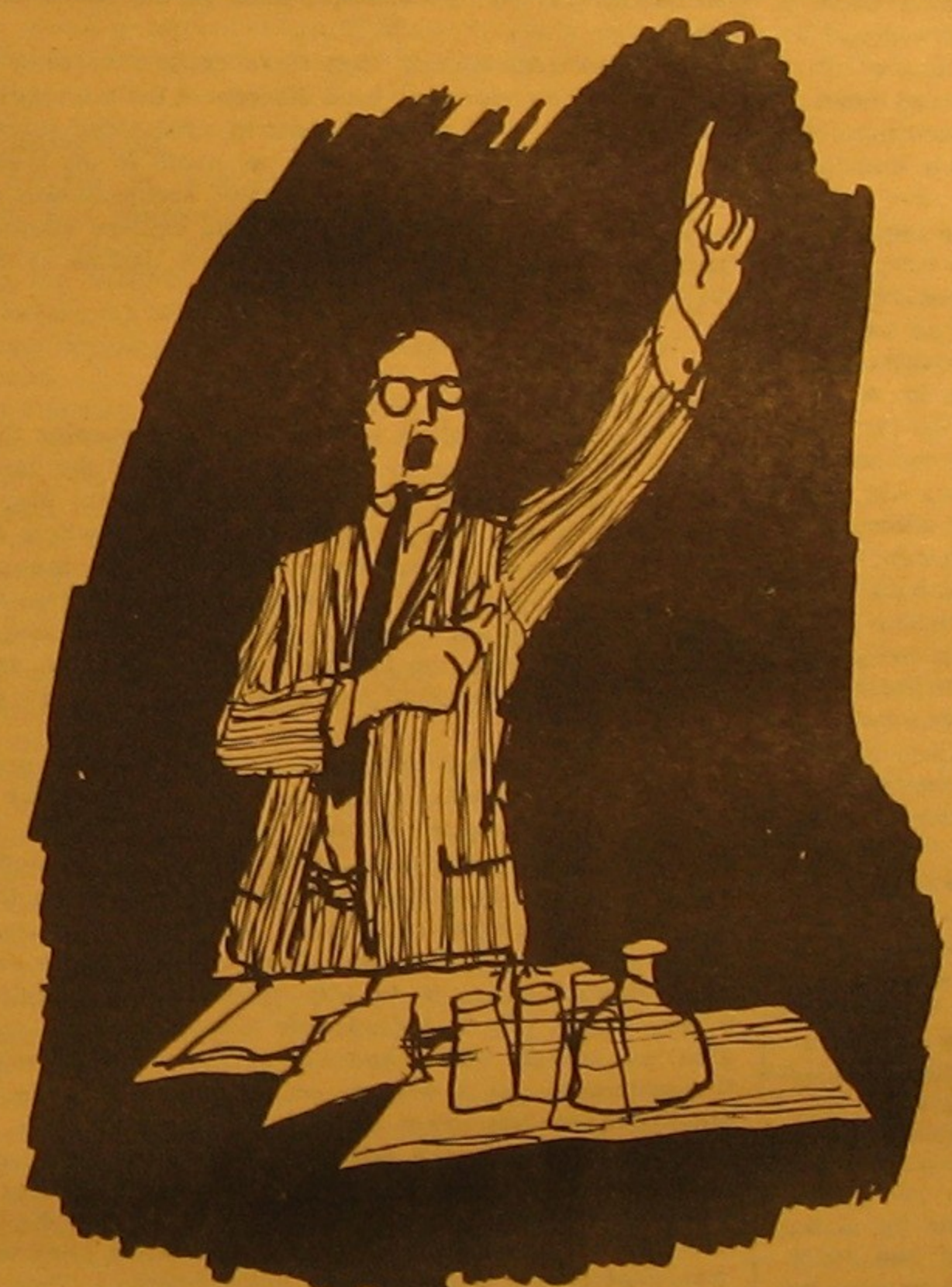
The showdown came on Friday May 28 when a mass meeting of the leftwing in the lower Town Hall split 130-103 in favour

Childs (Steering Committee) 306, Wise (Socialist Left) 123. Thus the SL got about 29% of the maximum left wing vote.

This was sufficient to get two of its members - Bob Gould and George Petersen MLA elected as Federal Conference delegate and Administrative Committee members respectively.

The Socialist Left, during the congress stressed the need for the ALP to meet the growing crisis in Australia with a reaffirmed and strengthened socialist platform.

It was refreshing, also, to hear delegates use the word 'revolution' without implying bloodshed and mass misery. (The ALP



of Steering Committee control of the left wing ticket to be run at the congress. The minority of 103 decided to run its own ticket in any case, and went on to do so under the name Socialist Left - inspired by Victoria.

Analysis of the voting strengths of the Right, Steering Committee and Socialist Left tickets at the congress shows that the SL has a good base to build on (after all, the majority of SL supporters were not delegates and did not get a vote.)

Here are some relevant figures: For General Secretary, Westerway (right) 540, lbet (left) 384 (This 384 can be taken as an approximate measure of the total left vote, assuming Westerway's very high vote to be due to strong centre support.) Vice-Presidents: Heffeman (left) 463, French (right) 462 (This swing away from the right wing candidate indicates the presence of a larger centre than at previous conferences due to increased branch representation, since the unions have moved to the left in the last year, notably the AWU and South Coast Ironworkers. Also some right wingers voted for Heffeman. Assistant General Secretaries Cahill (right) 492

being opposed to revolution officially: that is what the rule book says revolution brings) SL delegates also emphasised the need, as the Victorian SL has done, for the ALP to develop extra-parliamentary action and not rely on labour government - which after all had betrayed the movement treacherously in the last NSW government which persistently refused to repeal the penal clauses of the NSW Arbitration Act.)

We even had the amusing, but confusing situation of Peter Westerway, the quintessential petit bourgeois PR man reminding the delegates (in an aside during a speech against reaffirmation of the socialist objective) that Lenin called the ALP in 1913 a petit bourgeois party. Something's wrong somewhere when reformists try to appear on the left of Lenin, even on just one issue.

What of the future? If only because the ALP is the recognised political leadership of half this country's population, it is an essential task of all socialists to strengthen the socialist left inside it, by supporting SL policies in the ALP branches and affiliated trade unions.

This task is particularly vital in NSW, the home base of Whitlamism, as it is here that the socialist left has the greatest potential effect on the party. It is in NSW also (as compared to Victoria) that its mass base is weakest. Here it has the support of very few unions.

While the S.C. composes most of the left wing union component of the ALP, it now has to justify its policies against those of an existing alternative left faction with much stronger principles. Its policies of compromise and capitulation to the right wing all along the line have little future among the growing army of young radical students and workers, and the perspective the SL in Victoria sees will probably also apply in NSW:

"It would be reasonable to assume that within a few years the SL and the right will remain the two main factions within the party, with the SL - given the current political trends - the dominant section. These groups, poles apart politically, both have a much stronger ideological base than the centre group, which operates on expediency, pragmatism and opportunism." (Action, May 1971)

This outlook is reasonable if labor governments do not bring with them an influx of fortune-hunters into the party. It could well be, however, that the centre will have the highest turnover of membership.

In Victoria the SL has a mass base in the unions and the branches - thanks to the different history of that state and the splitting out of the old right into the DLP. And it has, by pledging ALP support to the Moratorium (which the right in NSW won't do, excusing themselves on the grounds that they can't control the Moratorium) been the outstanding factor in the growth of the largest anti-war movement in the country's history. By encouraging this and other forms of extra-parliamentary politics the socialist left in Victoria is insuring against the day that the parliamentary leadership of the party betrays the labour movement and leaves it with no recognizable leadership. Needless to say, these policies of Hartley, Crawford and Co in Victoria give the bourgeoisie a bit of a loose-bowelled feeling (read the bourgeois press).

The task of the socialist left in NSW must be to influence the young (mainly leftist) people coming into the party thanks to party policy on Vietnam and conscription particularly. But it must, unlike the Steering Committee, orient itself towards those people who are at this moment outside the ALP, and attempt to recruit into its faction of the party from the new generation of young radicals emerging in the anti-war movement. In order to do this it must continue to draw, as openly and publicly as possible, a sharp line of demarcation between itself and the opportunist parliamentary leaders.

The SL also needs to build a mass base in the branches, and to do this by radicalising as many branches as possible, involving them as independent political units in their own right rather than coasting along with them in their present roles as suppliers of hack workers at polling booths. The SL must on no account go to sleep as the Steering Committee did, in the periods between congresses.

That branch members feel increasingly dissatisfied with their lack of real influence in the party was testified to by Federal Secretary Mick Young, who claimed that it was for this reason that the Federal Executive changed the rules in NSW and Victoria. Even the right wing machine in NSW must be concerned at the way the alienated branches are declining in membership.

Every socialist who wants to create the maximum political effect of the left in Australia should:

- support the Socialist Left in the branches of the ALP and in his/her union
- reject all compromises with socialist principles in the labour movement.
- prepare for the inevitable crisis of parliamentary reformism by developing extra-parliamentary ALP action, around the Moratorium etc

Footnote: Subscribe to the Socialist Left papers - openly published as ALP factional organs. Keep Left (NSW) PO Box A484 Sydney South NSW, 2000 Published monthly - \$1.50 per year. Action (Vic.) ISCC Publishers Co, PO Box 189 Carlton South, Vic. 3053. Published fortnightly - \$2.50 per year.

U.S. imperialism's drive for continual expansion

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By Ernest Mandel

American imperialism began to show its face in Latin America early in the nineteenth century and later in the Pacific area (expansion into the Japanese sphere and the conquest of the Philippines). Since the opening of the first world war, American imperialism has spread out to encircle the entire world. In the competition among the imperialist powers, American imperialism emerged as the victor in the two imperialist world conflicts.

In fact, American imperialism was the only victor that was strengthened militarily and economically by these wars. All its most important competitors were weakened by one or both of these conflicts.

There is no need to go into detail on the causes of American imperialism's superiority over its competitors. The primary reasons are well known—enormous natural resources, a better balance between industry and agriculture, and a larger territorial and demographic base, which made it possible to take advantage of industrial mass production, wipe out all semifeudal vestiges, and permit the development of a purer form of capitalism than in the other imperialist states, and so forth.

It must be stressed, however, that American imperialism's rise to the place of leading power on the planet has been a dialectical process involving sharpening contradictions throughout the rest of the world as well as in American society itself. The American imperialist bourgeoisie has been unable to take part in the race for world domination without assuring its leadership of the capitalist world. In this it has been confronted with ever more powerful anticapitalist forces.

As a result, the decisions of American imperialism are often guided by the political necessity to defend the capitalist system on a worldwide scale. This need may conflict with its own particular interests. It is in this light that the Marshall Plan must be seen. Far from being an attempt to bring the European economy under Washington's control, it was, in historical perspective, the first phase in rebuilding West European imperialism as an independent force, more precisely a force with the capacity to compete with the USA. This decision, however, was not an irrational one.

Washington was faced with a choice between two evils after the second world war. It had either to help bring about the collapse of West European capitalism or permit a powerful competitor to recover. American imperialism chose the lesser evil, from its standpoint.

These introductory remarks are essential to avoid falling into economism or making an oversimplified analysis of the economic roots of American imperialism.

Surplus capital

American imperialism is still rooted primarily in the economic phenomenon which Lenin defined and which continues in force for the entire imperialist epoch—the existence of surplus capital in the imperialist countries spreading out over the globe in search of superprofits.

The only modification that need be made in Lenin's definition is that, since the second world war, this surplus capital is no longer solely, or even primarily, flowing toward the colonial or semicolonial "underdeveloped" countries, but also, to an increasing extent, toward other industrially developed imperialist countries.

This important difference with respect to the imperialism of Lenin's day can be explained by the following factors:

1. The important differentials in technology and labor productivity between American imperialism and the other imperialist powers.
2. The difference in military and political power between the USA and the other imperialist states, a difference more pronounced than that in the economic sphere.
3. The increasing insecurity of investments in the colonial and semicolonial countries, where the revolutionary liberation movements have been on the advance.
4. The reduced geographical area in which invested surplus capital can still produce profits, owing to the overthrow of capitalism in large sections of the world.¹

The end result of these uneven tendencies is that the differences between the rate of profit in the USA and what American capital can get in other countries (by exploiting its technological advantages and thereby assuring important surplus profits) is sufficiently large to make ex-

porting capital to other imperialist countries considerably more enticing than investing in underdeveloped countries, where the greater risks detract from the lure of higher rates of profit.

At the same time that American capital is gradually finding new outlets in the world,² the differences in labor productivity and technical development between the USA and the other imperialist countries are evening out. This process is reducing the profit-rate differentials between these countries and once again making the underdeveloped nations the only area that can absorb large surplus profits. A relaxation in the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union may open up possibilities (however modest) for investment of American capital in countries with a socialist economic base, in the same way as FIAT and Renault have already done in the automotive industry.

But all the possibilities for investment cannot alter the basic fact that, for the past twenty-five years, the major part of American capital exports has been invested in other imperialist countries rather than in the rest of the world.

It must be remembered that these exports of capital correspond to an economic need inherent in the monopoly capitalist system. They are a response to a two-sided threat of a decline in the average rate of profit in the main fortresses of imperialism and a massive accumulation of capital that cannot be invested in these centers without threatening to bring about a grave new decline in the average rate of profit.

Arms investment

The accumulation of an increasing capital surplus that can no longer be invested profitably in any of the usual economic sectors promotes not only exports but also a rush for new areas of investment in sectors where the average rate of profit is comparable to that in monopolized sectors but where investment does not threaten the profit rate throughout the entire system. Arms production (and its carry-over into the space sector) offers an area for "substitute investment," to use Rosa Luxemburg's expression.

The advantages that flow from investments in the arms industry are obvious. They do not reduce the volume of capital already invested in other sectors of industry. To the contrary, they stimulate heavy industrial production and the supply of certain raw materials. Nor do they compete with existing commodity production but create products whose only buyer is the state and whose only "consumption" value is to strengthen U.S. imperialism internationally. Such investments also offer other marginal advantages which cannot be overlooked. They make it possible to put a damper on cyclical fluctuations by stabilizing an important part of investment volume. In this way, the American economy is protected against a crisis like that of 1929 (although the development of periodic recessions cannot be prevented, which in the last analysis are no less serious than the crises capitalism has experienced throughout its entire history). These investments guarantee automatic profits for the monopolies in an increasing number of sectors, all linked to defense.

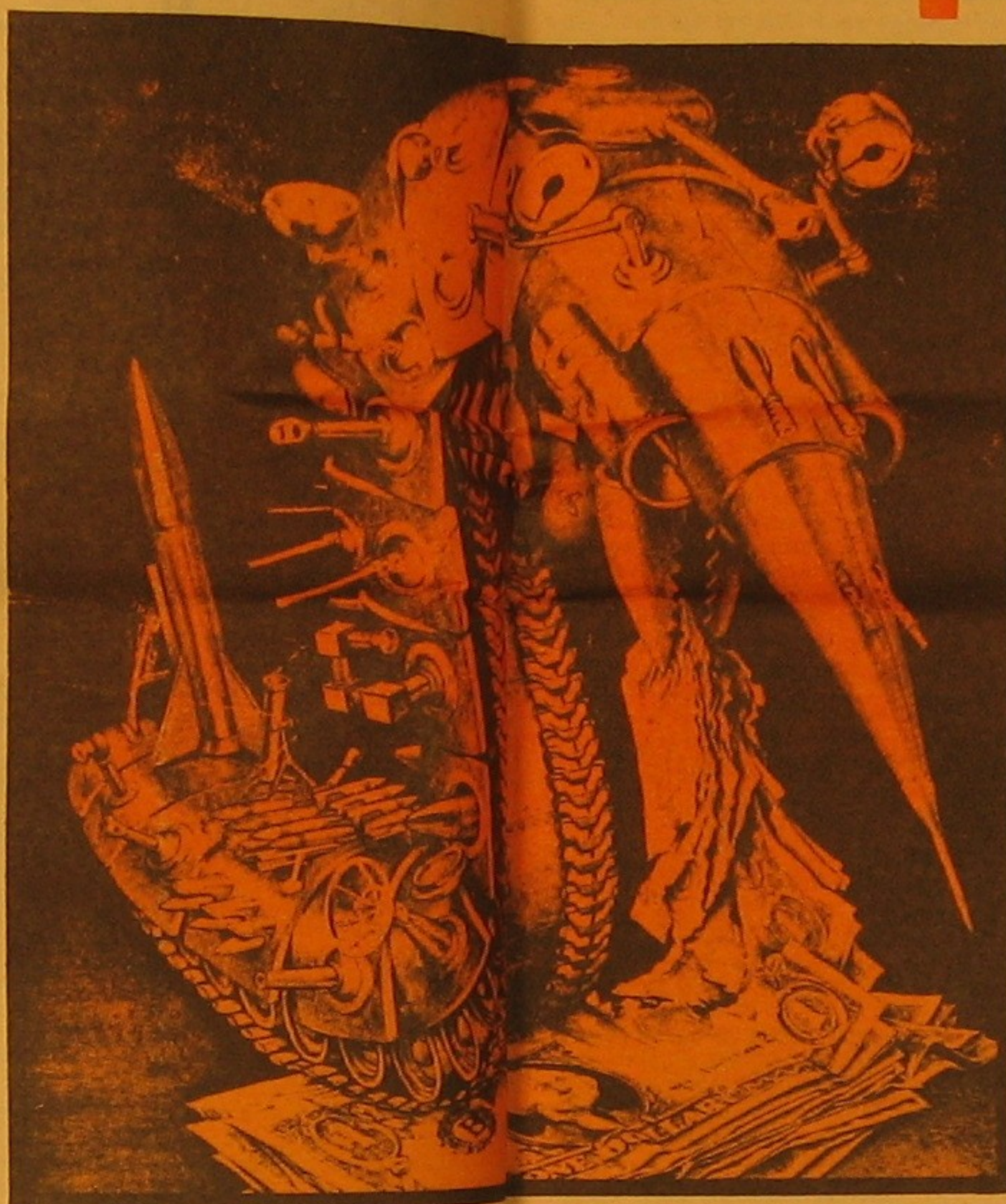
The increasing importance of the war industry in the American economy can be seen first of all in its growing influence in sectors like the electronic, airplane, and chemical industries. This results in a twofold interrelationship that stimulates the expansion of American imperialist capital.

1. The linking up of certain monopolies with war material production makes military industry and its extension into other fields a vital matter.

2. The link between certain high posts in the armed forces and the government apparatus creates a vital interest in maintaining the defense budget at an astronomical level and raising it still higher.

This twofold symbiosis is all the more dangerous in that it has a tendency to reproduce itself in foreign countries as a result of the construction of American bases abroad and the sending of military "aid" and advisers to "friendly" governments threatened by "subversion from within" or "Communist aggression from without."

Even former President Eisenhower, conservative as he was, expressed concern at the end of his term over the enormous growth of the industrial, military, and political establishment. This establishment lives and flourishes essentially from increasing defense expenditures, and needs international conflicts to justify this growth to the American taxpayers.



U.S. soldiers guarding Dominican soldiers during 1965 U.S. invasion of Santo Domingo.



Ernest Mandel is one of today's main exponents of the political economy of socialism. A Belgian, Mandel was barred from entering Australia last year. He has also been barred from entering the United States. Recently a U.S. Federal Court declared invalid the act under which he was barred.

It would be no less stupid to see the important role that the arms industry plays in the American economy as the sole result of maneuvers by this Mafia within the American bourgeoisie. The entire capitalist class is compelled to carry on a permanent arms policy, since it is confronted by the permanent revolution on a world scale and by the industrial and military development of countries that have already abolished capitalism. The aim of the arms reduction conference is not disarmament but an attempt to rationalize the arms race so that it can be supported by the U.S. and Soviet defense budgets, which, despite everything, are not unlimited.

In a world divided into two hostile camps, real disarmament is completely utopian. Still more utopian is the idea that monopoly capitalism can reallocate the sixteen to seventeen billion dollars it spends annually on arms to the public sectors of education, health, and aid to the underdeveloped countries. Such a reallocation would require that the bourgeoisie change from a class driven by the profit motive to a class working for the good of humanity. Any great spread of capital outside the arms sector would quickly threaten "civilian" capital investments and thus the rate of profit. No such thing will ever happen.

Raw materials

In contrast to most of its competitors, American imperialism was characterized by the fact that it had access within its borders to the basic raw materials that are necessary for modern industry. Even in the years immediately following the first world war, raw material imports were of secondary importance and could easily be replaced with synthetics.

The enormous expansion of American industrial production at the end of the second world war changed this situation, however. Today the USA must import ever increasing quantities of raw materials, including such basic items as oil, iron ore, bauxite, copper, magnesium, and nickel. What is more, the available sources of such materials in the U.S.'s own borders are rapidly decreasing. With regard to oil, reserves will be exhausted at the end of the century. The USA depends entirely on imports for chromium, cobalt, and columbium, which are essential to steel production.

In other words, now, seventy-five years later than its most important competitors, the USA must go out into the world to look for new sources of raw materials—oil in Latin America, the Near East, and West Africa; other minerals in Canada, Australia, Africa, and elsewhere. In this search it is colliding not only with the liberation movements in various colonial and semicolonial countries, but must also compete with other imperialist nations such as England, Japan, France, West Germany, and in fact even Spain.

To seize and control these resources has often involved political conflicts, with resulting coups d'état and local wars (especially in West Africa over the last five years). This can lead to sending military advisers and to *de facto* development of American bases. The need for new sources of raw materials explains the vigor with which American imperialism clings to countries like Venezuela and Brazil. They have been indispensable suppliers of raw materials for the big American financial interests.³

Despite the fact that American capital exports to the underdeveloped countries have been less extensive than its exports to other imperialist countries, they have not been insignificant. In the cases of important countries like Indonesia and Brazil or other countries with great, almost untouched resources like the Congo, American capital exports have resulted in increasing interference by American imperialism in the affairs of these semicolonial countries. Conflicts have arisen with other imperialist powers, especially the old colonial powers that American imperialism is gradually displacing.

The most typical examples of the way American capital has taken over in the past twenty years from earlier colonial capital are to be seen in Indonesia (where it took the place of Dutch capital), Morocco (French capital), and Iran (English capital).

In the Congo we can clearly see the beginning of a similar change, in this case involving Belgian capital, even if for the moment this is better reflected in the re-orientation of foreign trade than in capital investments.

This whole imperialist changing of the guard has not been achieved simply by behind-the-scenes maneuvers but has led to acute national and international conflicts, most often accompanied by bloodbaths. From the overthrow of often accompanied by bloodbaths. From the overthrow of Mossadegh up to the murder of Ben Barka and the imposition of Mobutu by a coup d'état, the roadway has

been lined with murders, conspiracies, and repression costing hundreds of thousands of lives.

'American century'

To climax everything, American imperialism has not achieved world domination. The dream of an "American century" lasted only five years—from 1945 to 1950. It was shattered not only by the increasing strength of the anticapitalist forces on the international scale, but also by the law of uneven development which the capitalist world center has inexorably had to bow to, since that permits no new position to be held forever. In comparison with the period 1945-50, the positions of American imperialism's most important competitors (with the exception of England) have grown stronger, not weaker, vis-à-vis the USA.

The competition among the imperialist countries is more acute than previously. We have not seen any superimperialism develop, but rather a continuing struggle among the imperialist countries, each trying to shift the balance of power in its favor. This competition among the imperialist powers is taking place, however, within the framework of the new worldwide relationship of forces. Capital has lost a third of the world, and the continual expansion of new revolutionary movements threatens to release new countries from its grip.

Under these conditions, interimperialist competition has come to be replaced by interimperialist solidarity in confronting the mortal threat that hangs over the entire system. Stalin's hope for a new interimperialist war has come to naught, if you disregard local conflicts between imperialist puppets in Africa, Cyprus, and elsewhere.

One of the economic bases of American imperialism is defense of the conditions for the reproduction of invested U.S. capital when these seem to deteriorate or be threatened. This precisely was the meaning of the coup d'état in Guatemala, which defended United Fruit's investments. It was Creole Petroleum's investments that were protected by military men sent to Venezuela; and the CIA was involved in the military coup in Brazil to safeguard the United States Steel Corporation's investments. The same sort of intervention in Greece enabled America's Litton Industries to make big capital investments under extremely favorable conditions.

It is wrong, however, to look at the imperialist interventions in too narrow a focus, that is, only as defending invested capital.

It is also a question of safeguarding future possibilities and averting the danger of a chain reaction, with an "unstable situation" in one country spreading to the surrounding states. Thus, for example, direct American capital investment in South Vietnam is very modest. The investments in Thailand are, however, more significant; and those in Malaysia, Indonesia, and India are considerably greater.

By intervening with a counterrevolutionary aggression in the civil war in Vietnam, American imperialism is protecting the capitalist strongholds in the neighboring countries and trying to safeguard its future possibilities in Southeast Asia. Today the American strategy must inevitably be a global one. The fight in defense of capital is not necessarily waged where this capital is invested. The battle may be fought in other countries where the loss of imperialism's advanced positions could represent a dangerous threat to the areas further back.

An analysis of the economic forces that have determined the development of American imperialism can lead only to a conclusion that, in order to be effective, the anticapitalist forces must meet the international counterrevolutionary strategy of big capital with a corresponding worldwide strategy.

1. A study by a Chicago consultants' firm in 1960 revealed that the thirty-five biggest American trusts had a net profit of 9.2 percent in the USA and 14.2 percent abroad (corporate profits after taxes). The January 1, 1962, issue of the *U.S. News and World Report* and the March 8, 1965, issue of *Newsweek* came to similar conclusions.

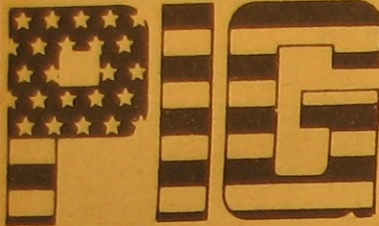
2. Direct American corporate investments rose from \$7.2 billion in 1946 to \$40.6 billion in 1963 and \$54.4 billion in 1966.

3. According to Harry Magdoff, American imports of certain raw materials have been increasing to the following extent, calculated as a percentage of U.S. production.

| | % in 1937 | % in 1966 |
|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Iron Ore | 3 | 43 |
| Copper | -13 | 18 |
| Lead | 0 | 131 |
| Zinc | 7 | 140 |
| Bauxite | 113 | 638 |
| Oil | 4 | - |

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Saturday July 10: South Africa vs. NSW: 12.30 p.m. — rally at Moore Park. 2 p.m. protest inside Sydney Sports Ground.

Saturday July 17: First Test: 12.30 p.m. — rally at Moore Park. 2 p.m. protest inside Cricket Ground.

In Melbourne, On Saturday July 3, the South Africans are scheduled to play a Victorian team at Olympic Park. Initial plans of HART are for a rally in the Treasury Gardens at 11 a.m., followed by a march to Olympic Park. After another rally, individual groups will express their opposition to the tour as they see appropriate.

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