

# **DIRECT ACTION**

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## **Unemployment and the ALP**

**WHICH WAY FOR YUGOSLAVIA?  
SECONDARY STUDENTS' STRIKE**

# DIRECT ACTION

No. 27, September 28, 1972.

Editor: Jim Percy  
Editorial Board: Nita Keig, Steve Painter, Jim Percy, John Percy, Sol Salby, Allen Westwood.

All correspondence to:  
139 St John's Rd, Glebe, 2037.  
Ph. (02)6606672.

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## Contact socialists in your area

NATIONAL OFFICE:  
SYA, PO Box 160  
Glebe 2037.  
SWL, PO Box 151  
Glebe 2037.

SYDNEY:  
S.W.L., S.Y.A., 139 St. John's Rd. Glebe, 2037 Ph. 6606672.  
MELBOURNE:  
S.W.L., 136 Queensberry St., Carlton, 3053. Ph. 3473507.  
S.Y.A., 140 Queensberry St., Carlton, 3053. Ph. 3473507.  
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## EDITORIAL

# UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE ALP

The number of registered unemployed in Australia on a seasonally adjusted basis was 120,053 at the end of August. In absolute terms this is more than the August 1971 figure of 117,824. However, the work force has increased by a fifth since then. The "Financial Review" (19/9/72) further reported:

"Over the last six months the level of registered unemployment has risen from 1.80 per cent to 2.14 per cent. "It will probably go to 2.2 per cent during September."

The unemployment situation and the scourge of rising prices are reflections of the crisis of the capitalist world economy. As the recently published Treasury White Paper on the Australian economy remarked, 1971 was a year in which "most advanced nations of the Western world continued to be plagued by growing inflation and high unemployment... the world situation has also been reflected in Australia."

The world capitalist economy has entered into a long term downturn. What this means is stepped up competition between the leading capitalist countries and attempts to boost sagging profit rates at the expense of the living standards of the working class. A concomitant of this latter project is the deliberate creation of unemployment to drive down working class militancy and halt wage rises.

Growing unemployment and constantly rising prices are common to nearly every advanced capitalist country. In the 7 leading imperialist countries over 10 million workers are unemployed -- the highest figure since the end of the war.

In a recent radio broadcast, the ALP leader Mr. Whitlam scored the Liberal government's responsibility for this

situation and pledged the ALP to a full employment policy:

"Full employment, genuine full employment in the sense accepted by all parties for the last quarter century, must again become a top national priority for Australia."

"A Labor government will accept that obligation." (AWU "Worker" 13/9/72)

All Labor supporters can agree that Labor must end the present situation once and for all. However, the Whitlam ALP leadership believes that the rising unemployment is a result of the McMahon government's "gross economic mismanagement." ("Financial Review" 19/9/72)

The conservative opportunist ALP leadership thinks that it can better manage the capitalist economy and eliminate "mistakes" like unemployment and the upward price spiral. This attempt to humanise the economy and big business is completely hopeless, especially today. One need only look at the experience of the Wilson Labour government in Britain. Unemployment under this government rose to almost one million.

What is needed, and what the ALP leadership shies away from, is a program of struggle. The ALP and organised labour must campaign to fight the twin afflictions of the declining free enterprise system -- unemployment and inflation.

The basic demand must be for a sliding scale of hours. All the available work would be divided among all the existing workers with no loss of pay. Thus, as the capacity of the economy to employ workers falls, the working week becomes shorter. Wages remain the same. This is the only demand which binds together the whole working class, employed and unemployed, and preserves it from decay

## FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES & A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS

FROM "THE DEATH AGONY OF CAPITALISM AND THE TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL" BY LEON TROTSKY (1938)

Under the conditions of disintegrating capitalism, the masses continue to live the miserably life of the oppressed, threatened now more than at any other time with the danger of being cast into the pit of pauperism. They must defend their mouthful of bread, if they cannot increase or better it. There is neither the need nor the opportunity to enumerate here those separate, partial demands which time and again arise on the basis of concrete circumstances - national, local, trade union. But two basic economic afflictions, in which is summarized the increasing absurdity of the capitalist system, that is, unemployment and high prices, demand generalized slogans and methods of struggle.

The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the politics of the capitalists which, to a considerable degree, like the politics of their agents, the reformists, aims to place the whole burden of militarism, the crisis, the disorganization of the monetary system and all other scourges stemming from capitalism's death agony upon the backs of the toilers. The Fourth International demands employment and decent living conditions for all.

Neither monetary inflation for stabilization can serve as slogans for the proletariat because these are but two ends of the same stick. Against a bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in price of consumer goods.

Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of

and disintegration.

The fight for a sliding scale of hours must be linked to a struggle for a sliding scale of wages. Otherwise, the workers will bear the burden of the crisis of big business through lowered wages and rising prices. All wages above a minimum must be pegged to the cost of living. "Escalator" clauses must be written into all union awards. Non-unionized enterprises should be legally bound to pay similar cost of living increases to their workers. It is also important that the cost of living index be determined by the ACTU not the government.

The Labor party should also include in its program of action against unemployment the demand for a massive system of public works. These would train and employ unemployed workers in projects to improve the welfare of society -- large scale, cheap, high quality housing projects, massive urban renewal, etc.

What such a campaign logically leads to is a drive to throw out the Liberal-Country party government, the tool of big business, and return the Labor party, the only party which is based on the unions and the working people of this country -- Labor to power!

Socialists within the ALP must fight, now and after the elections, to win the party to this class struggle program. Whitlam and the present ALP leadership are incapable of leading a real fight against unemployment. A new militant leadership, based on an aroused rank and file and committed to a program of struggle, must be built.

Labor to power!  
Fight for a socialist program!  
For a sliding scale of hours!  
For a sliding scale of wages!  
For a massive program of public works!

the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slops of a crumbling society. The right to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being snatched from him at every step. Against unemployment, "structural" as well as "conjunctural," the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of a sliding scale of working hours. Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility. On this basis all the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers in accordance with how the extent of the working week is defined. The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week. Wages, under a strictly guaranteed minimum, would follow the movement of prices. It is impossible to accept any other program for the present catastrophic period.

Property owners and their lawyers will prove the "unrealizability" of these demands. Smaller, especially ruined capitalism, in addition will refer to their account ledgers. The workers categorically denounce such conclusions and references. The question is not one of a "normal" collision between opposing material interests. The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. "Realizability" is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery.



## FUND DRIVE

At the halfway mark, the Direct Action Fund Drive for \$2000 by December is going well, but is still slightly behind. We have received \$860 from our friends and supporters and we should be up to \$1000 at this stage.

Already, the Fund Drive has helped us keep going. It has kept the bill collector at bay and has enabled us to keep putting out the socialist press.

All those who have helped us to date we thank. Please don't stop sending the money in.

Send us your money and we'll use it to build the bigger, better socialist press that the radicalisation needs.

(See clip-off at left)

# NATIONAL ANTIWAR CONFERENCE SET FOR OCTOBER

In response to Nixon's continued escalation of the war in Vietnam, the Australian Union of Students (AUS) has taken the initiative in calling for a national gathering of antiwar activists on October 14-15 in Melbourne. The call which is being circulated nationally has been endorsed by Ken Newcombe and Stewart Morris of AUS and a number of well known activists and opponents of the war: Harry van Moort, George Crawford and Jim McIlroy of Melbourne, and Rod Webb, Ken McLeod, Ron Arnold and Ian Davis of Sydney.

The conference will discuss the current stage of the war and immediate perspectives for the antiwar movement nationally. It is vital that all sections of the antiwar movement are represented at this gathering.

The Australian movement against the Vietnam war must be rebuilt and now is the time to begin. Be there - October 14 - 15, George Paton Room, Melbourne University.

Antiwar forces in Sydney have already begun to mobilise for action against the war. At a meeting at AICD, attended by over 60 people on September 19 an ad hoc coalition set several perspectives. It was decided to work for national actions around November 18 as part of the world wide actions planned in solidarity with the US actions on that date. The meeting agreed that the central demands of the mobilization should be for withdrawal of all U.S. forces and materiel from Indochina, an end to Australia's complicity in the war and the repeal of the

National Service Act. Finally, the meeting endorsed the call for the national conference as a valuable opportunity to begin rebuilding the antiwar movement nationally. A committee of 13 was elected and a further general meeting planned for a fortnight's time.

In our opinion, the decisions of the Sydney coalition should be taken up by all those forces interested in effectively building mass actions against the Vietnam war and Australia's complicity in it. If these perspectives are endorsed by the national gathering a real beginning will have been made.  
NATIONAL ANTIWAR CONFERENCE  
OCTOBER 14 - 15  
GEORGE PATON ROOM  
MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY



Refugees flee the B-52 devastation

# NIXON: NO LIMIT ON AIR WAR

BY DICK ROBERTS

From the Mekong Delta in South Vietnam to the Chinese border of North Vietnam, 1,000 miles away, the U.S. is pounding the Vietnamese countryside. The war is also raging in Cambodia and Laos, Thailand is being converted into a nation of gigantic U.S. airbases. There are more U.S. troops in Thailand now than in South Vietnam.

A "New York Times" reporter interviewed top military officials in Saigon, August 30. "Almost all South Vietnamese and American military planners agree... that the end of the war is nowhere in sight," Malcolm W. Browne wrote. "It has been five months since the North Vietnamese offensive began, and the fighting is now looking increasingly like a draw." Browne noted that already "more than 100,000 people have been killed in South Vietnam since the offensive began."

Despite this apparent military stand-off, a negotiated settlement of the war on terms favorable to Washington cannot be ruled out. President Nixon is exerting immense pressure on Hanoi. This includes not only the heaviest bombing in the history of warfare and the naval blockade of North Vietnam but also pressure on Hanoi achieved in the summit agreements with Moscow and Peking.

Nevertheless, a settlement acceptable to Washington has not yet been achieved. The central objective of the Pentagon remains to bludgeon Hanoi into a compromise. "Unless there is progress on the negotiating front which is substantial," Nixon stated at the San Clemente news conference August 29, "there will be no reduction of the bombing of North Vietnam and there will be no lifting of the mining. . . . I am not going to put any limitation on when the U.S. activities in the air would stop."

In a report on the U.S. bombing of North Vietnamese dikes reprinted by the "New York Times" September 6, Yves Lacoste, professor of geography at the University of Paris, states, "From April 16 to July 31 (and the bombing continued into August), more than 150 attacks were made on the whole of North Viet-

nam's canal system, causing heavy damage in 96 places. The International Commission on War Crimes made a special study, among others, of the effects of the bombing in the Red River delta. The bulk of the population is in fact here; and it is also this region which suffered the greatest number of hits (58 out of 96)."

As deadly as this bombing of North Vietnam is, however, it is only part of the story.

## BOMBING THE MEKONG DELTA

"Time" magazine reporter Tom Fox visited the hospital at Dinh Tuong because extensive U.S. bombing began in the Mekong Delta. "Though most attention in recent weeks has focused on the air war over North Vietnam," "Time" stated, "there has also been a dramatic step-up in the bombing of the South. In the single month of July, American B-52 bombers flew 900 missions over South Vietnam - 111 missions more than were flown in all of 1971. For the first time the big B-52s flying out of Thailand's Utapao Air Base are striking the heavily populated Mekong Delta. With ARVN forces deployed elsewhere to counter the North Vietnamese offensive and unable to cope with the growing enemy threat in the Delta, the U.S. has apparently decided on a policy of massive and calculatedly destructive airpower as a substitute for manpower."

The most heavily hit region of the current campaign has been Dinh Tuong province, where 600,000 Vietnamese, mostly small farmers, are crammed into a tiny area one-third the size of Rhode Island."

Fox disputed the U.S. military's contention that there were only a few civilian casualties from such bombing. After describing the victims in the hospital, he wrote, ". . . bombs are dropping night and day on the friendly Vietnamese of Dinh Tuong, who can only do their best to stay out of harm's way."

"Time" magazine reporter Tom Fox no longer believes the official U.S. lie that the tons and tons of bombs raining down on Vietnam daily claim no civilian casualties. His account of the death

and destruction in one Mekong Delta province is carried in the September 11 issue of "Time". It is only a glimpse of the horror.

What Fox found out in his visit to the Mekong Delta has long been known to students of the war. The massive bombing of the United States Air Force is aimed at terrorizing the populace. It is a total myth that these attacks are largely "military," directed only against "selected targets."

"The Air Force is under pressure from ground units to use area weapons, such as napalm and cluster-bomb units, even against snipers. Area weapons, by definition, are indiscriminate." "New York Times" editorial board member Robert Keimman wrote in an August 13 review of "The Air War in Indochina." This is the book version of the Cornell University Air War Study Group report on the U.S. bombing of Southeast Asia.

"One of the extraordinary discoveries of the Cornell researchers," states Keimman, "was that in the end less than 10 per cent of the United States fixedwing air activity in South Vietnam went into close air support of troops in combat. More than 90 per cent was used for "interdiction", a term that has been stretched far beyond attacks on supply routes to encompass harassment, reprisal, area saturation in Communist staging zones and, in regions where the Vietcong has been predominant, attacks "to influence the population: to cause them to move into areas under government control, or to make them stop supporting the insurgency."

This bombing had already had staggering effects before the present escalation. In South Vietnam, states Kleiman, "Senator Edward Kennedy's Subcommittee on Refugees, relying on official reports, has estimated noncombatant casualties through April, 1971, from military action by the United States and the Saigon Government at a minimum of half a million persons, about one-third of them killed, a percentage of population that is more than double that suffered by German civilians under Allied bombing in World War II."

Today, according to Kleiman, the total number of B-52s in use against Vietnam

is some 200, about half the Strategic Air Command (SAC) force, "a fivefold increase since February and twice the peak number engaged pre-1972."

"Time" magazine stated on September 11 that "The South Vietnamese are no strangers to bombing. Since 1966, an estimated 65% of all American bombs have been dropped on the South, making the mighty B-52 an object of dread and fear."

". . . the unstated conclusion that shrieks out of Cornell's deadpan study," Kleiman wrote, "is that the American air war in South Vietnam has included a long list of both officially - sanctioned and officially-ignored aerial Mylairs."

## BATTLEFIELD STANDOFF

Anloc, Quangtri province, and Bindinh province have been converted into "free-fire" zones for U.S. naval artillery and aerial warfare in the last five months. Fleeing refugees are unable to describe the agony they have suffered. But this has not turned back the revolutionary offensive launched in March.

"(The Saigon forces) have not yet mounted a successful counter offensive or recaptured Quang Tri city or any other significant part of the northern province that fell in April and May," "Time" magazine reported on September 11.

"They have not reopened Highway 13 between Saigon and An Loc, and the task was finally abandoned altogether last week as the two divisions assigned to it were regrouped in an effort to head off Communist units that are believed to be moving toward Saigon. The North Vietnamese are still staging ambushes on the road between Kontum and Pleiku in the Central Highlands, and there is sharp fighting in Binh Dinh province on the central coast. Worse still, the South Vietnamese suffered a major defeat three weeks ago south of Danang in Que Son Valley, losing between 1,000 and 2,000 men."

"Time's" Saigon Bureau Chief Stanley Cloud remarked, ". . . the North Vietnamese military position in the South is vastly better than it was a year ago

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## NIXON: 'NO LIMIT TO AIR WAR' CONTINUED

and is virtually unchallenged in Laos and Cambodia."

Their inability to crush the revolutionary offensive in five months of ferocious warfare is making the U.S. military brass talk about indefinite extension of the war. In Saigon, "New York Times" correspondent Craig R. Whitney reported August 31 that "high-ranking American officials... are talking privately not of a break-through in the peace talks, but, rather, of the possibility of unending war."

A "senior U.S. official" told "U.S. News and World Report" for its August 21 issue, "The fact is we could not have kept Saigon from going down the drain and continued to withdraw our forces from Vietnam without the assistance of Thailand. There was just no place else to go."

### BUILDUP IN THAILAND

The machinery for maintaining an "unending war" of aerial genocide is being built up in Thailand. "As of August 11," states "U.S. News," "official records showed 44,600 U.S. troops in South Vietnam, 45,000 in Thailand..."

"It is from seven bases in this country that the bulk of U.S. aerial fire-power is being directed at the Communists in

Indo-China... Total U.S. aircraft in Thailand are estimated at between 600 and 700..."

"The Air Force, carrying out the bulk of the bombing, has about 400 combat planes in the country, including 50 to 100 B-52 bombers and four wings of F-4 Phantoms and F-105 Thunderchiefs."

"U.S. News" believes this occupation of Thailand is semipermanent... Saigon's air forces are years away from being able to handle a massive invasion from the North on its own. That means the U.S. will have to keep a presence somewhere."

What about the people of Thailand? "U.S. News" dismisses the problem as insignificant. "There are critics of the American presence here, but they number only a few. Intellectuals and some newspapers voice opposition, as do some foreign-ministry officials at the middle and lower levels. But there is no criticism from the top - and in Thailand, that's where it counts." It is the kind of government Washington likes to do business with.

### CAMBODIA

The prospect for an early end of the fighting in Cambodia and Laos is even dimmer than in South Vietnam, measured in military terms. "Newsweek" magazine estimated the situation in Cambodia, August 14... with most of Hanoi's forces tied up in the big offensive next door in South Vietnam, the Cambodian Communists, known as the Khmer Rouge, have clearly been holding their own in battles with the government troops. Indeed, despite the Cambodian Army's

solid edge in both numbers and firepower, the Khmer Rouge units appear to be getting ever stronger.

"What makes that strength remarkable is the fact that only two years ago, the Khmer Rouge hardly existed at all... Today, the expanding rebel force numbered an estimated 30,000 troops, and was backed up by North Vietnamese fire-power, the local Communists now control roughly 50 per cent of Cambodia's population and no less than 85% of its territory."

Is it so remarkable? Before Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in 1970 that country was relatively free from the area-destroying weapons of the U.S. military arsenal.

### LAOS

Veteran war correspondent for the "Los Angeles Times", Jack Foisie, summed up the situation in Laos August 7: "American involvement in South Vietnam may be winding down, but in Laos it continues to grow."

"The significance is not yet in increased numbers, but in more far-ranging roles. The newest one is remoulding of the royal, Laos army in the U.S. format..."

"As noted, the numbers of official Americans reported in Laos is up only slightly - from 1041 in 1970 to 1190 last year. Now it totals 1250. But that does not count daily commuters from Udon, Thailand, a 30-minute flight away. There the Central Intelligence Agency, the U.S. Army and Air Force, and the chartered U.S. airlines Air America and Continental have their

Laos-operation headquarters, their logistical base and many of their aircraft."

In certain ways the war in Laos epitomizes the terror of the whole United States aggression in Southeast Asia. Laos has been secretly bombed by the U.S. since 1962, for an even longer time than Vietnam, and a whole civilization, the peoples of the Plain of Jars, have been decimated.

Fred Branfman wrote in "Voices from the Plain of Jars: Life under an Air War," "Every day for five and a half years, the reconnaissance and electronic aircraft would film and track the people below; the jet and prop bombers would bomb them with white phosphorus, fragmentation, ball-bearing and flechette, anti-personnel bombs, immediate and delayed-action high explosives, the gunships and spotter planes would strafe them with machine-gun fire."

Branfman quoted a villager whose home had been extinguished. "Four planes of the jet type dropped their bombs together to destroy my village and returned to shoot twice the same day. They dropped eight napalm bombs, the fire from which destroyed all my things... as well as maiming our animals. Some people who didn't reach the jungle in time were struck and fell, dying most pitifully..."

"We were all heavy-hearted and morose almost to the point of losing our minds. From a state of complete happiness we had passed into misery and poverty."

The unutterable terror of the U.S. bombs is today at its most intense level in the history of the war.

## GAYS GET ACTIVE AT NSW UNI.

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

Gay Liberation has really come out at the University of NSW. This militant group has displaced the previous group, Campus Camp, which was far more reserved in its approach to the rest of the university.

The first indication that Gay Liberation had come out from the anonymity of discreet forums and obscure meeting rooms was a demonstration with street theatre on August 8 to oppose the presence of Professor McConaghy and his aversion therapy unit. Aversion therapy (physical torture) seeks to indicate to homosexuals that they are "sick" and that this treatment might "cure" them. The demonstration had a stunning effect on students, judging by their expressions of incredulity and embarrassment.

Prior to this demonstration, the Gay Liberation group had organised two public forums, one with Dennis Altman (from Sydney University) and Jim Anderson (from London Oz), and the other one with women in Gay Liberation.

The group had also handed out leaflets for campus screenings of films involving homosexuality. The three films involved were "Fortune and Men's Eyes", "The Music Lovers" and "Death in Venice".

Weekly meetings are held, where between thirty and fifty people attend. Part of each meeting is devoted to planning the group's future activities. The meetings then break up into smaller discussion groups where personal experiences are discussed and ideas are exchanged.

The latest and most ambitious public activity occurred during the week from September 19 to 22. This took the form of a "Gay Liberation Embassy" on the campus. The embassy had a two-fold purpose. Firstly, it acted as a publicity and information centre - "everything you ever wanted to know about homosexuality, but were afraid to ask", as their poster put it. Secondly, it was a chance for students to get to know personally some of gays on campus.

The embassy attracted a lot of interest from students in general. About 1,000 sticks of fairy floss were also sold by embassy staff.

The UNSW group is part of "Sydney Gay Liberation", which publishes a monthly newsletter. The Sydney University Gays and Camp Link make up the remainder of SGL. Currently projected is the setting up of a permanent Gay Liberation centre. This is an attempt to rationalise the work load of the three groups.



Gay actions University of New South Wales



## GAY LIBERATION FRONT AT MELB. U.

BY PETER CONRICK

A recent "Sexual Liberation" day staged at Melbourne University evoked considerable interest from students in the issues of abortion and contraception and related factors in the oppression of women. Equal attention was paid to the problems of homosexuals under capitalism and the need for an organisation that would meet those problems and strive for their solution in a revolutionary direction.

Already there exists at Melbourne University an active and aggressive "Gay Liberation Front" which has begun to play an extremely progressive and conscious role in the creation of an independent mass gay liberation movement. It was in fact, the Gays at Melbourne who initiated and largely organised the Sexual Liberation day and who were primarily responsible for its success. Gay Liberation has had only a history of a few months at Melbourne, but in that period has been able to project itself as a major political force on campus. To the surprise (and dismay) of some well-intended student bureaucrats the GLF decided to field several candidates in the last Union Council elections. The function of the Union Council has been primarily in organising social activities which to date have unconsciously been directed towards isolating homosexuals. Initially the Gay response was to organise countervailing functions and activities of this nature. The politicisation of the group was first manifested in the Union Council elections. With the success of these elections now behind them, the GLF has been able to broaden its base politically and help initiate such ventures

as the Sexual Liberation Day. A special edition of "Farrago" was devoted to Gay Liberation and the sexual revolution. It is evident from the articles that appeared in "Farrago" that the GLF at Melbourne rejects out of hand any piecemeal liberal solution to the oppression of homosexuals, but sees Gay liberation as a part of a revolutionary process.

As well as this the GLF have begun ascertaining student prejudices against Gay people. To this end they have written letters to all clubs and societies, all faculties and departments asking for their views and treatment of homosexuals. They hope to obtain from the replies some sort of feedback which will indicate the effectiveness of their work at a limited propaganda level.

One aspect of the GLF at Melbourne has been a recognition of the international character of the Gay movement. Material is being distributed and made available to students from similar organisations in the United States and Great Britain. The action and manifesto of the international growing Gay movement have aided the beginnings of a theoretical and organisational recognition in class society. The advent of Gay liberation at Melbourne has not only provided a focus for the independent mobilisation of Gay people, but has also advanced from purely sexual questions to a new political consciousness of the need for radical change in a society which pervasively proscribes and penalises homosexuality as a disease and crime.

## Women in Revolt



WOMEN SPEAK OUT FOR ABORTION

A 'Speak Out' on abortion has been organised in Sydney for October 21. This event has been organised by the Women's Abortion Action Coalition. The 'Speak Out' in Sydney will be in conjunction with an International Tribunal on abortion to be held in New York on the same date.

It is visualized that the 'Speak Out' will be a day of fairly informal discussion with speakers on the international abortion situation, women's personal suffering under the present vindictive laws in Australia, abortion as being a fundamental right of women, the present role of the church and the state and a variety of other aspects on abortion.

It is hoped that as many women as possible will participate in the 'Speak Out' so that they and others will become more aware of the role that women are forced to play in society, and how women are denied even control over their own bodies. Discussion will begin at 10 a.m. and will go to 6 p.m.

Details about the venue have yet to be confirmed. For more information write to Women's Abortion Action Campaign, Box 249, Leichhardt or ring Jackie or Nita 5606346.

### CHILD CARE

The Free Kindergarten Union of Australia will have to close down in Victoria unless the State Government helps it, one of its directors stated recently. The Australian Pre-School Association and the Kindergarten Teachers College also attacked the government for its lack of financial support.

These organizations supervise day nurseries and child-minding centres but are running at a great loss. The State Government refuse to supply the funds to give all children access to proper child care facilities - and refuse to even help the voluntary organizations that are doing its job.

In Sydney, the Child Care Action Group will be holding a public meeting on October 4 at 7.30 p.m. at the Law School in Phillip Street.

### WOMEN TO PROTEST REACTIONARY RESOLUTION

On Tuesday, October 3, Mr. Cameron, Liberal MLA of NSW State Parliament will be moving a resolution in the House stating:

"that this House disassociate itself from the actions of those seeking to legitimise abortions on demand and affirms its belief that such actions are unnecessary and repugnant to human dignity (sic), the existing law in New South Wales being sufficiently flexible to deal with exceptional cases while defending the human rights of the foetus."

Supporters of the right of women to abortion, in Sydney, will be organizing a demonstration and picket outside Parliament House in Macquarie Street at 5.30 p.m. on October 3. It is hoped that this will be an effective expression of the indignation and anger of so many women that pompous men like Mr. Cameron can seek to override one of the most basic human rights of women - the right to control over our bodies.

### WOMEN MARCH IN NEW YORK, AUGUST 25

Women took to the streets in New York City on August 25 to commemorate the fifty second anniversary of the winning of women's suffrage in the United States. Estimates of the size of the march ranged from 2,000 - 5,000. Actions around August 26 were held in Atlanta, Washington DC, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Denver, Los Angeles and other cities. A feminist teach-in was held in San Francisco and drew 500 women. Although

the New York City Coalition included Staten Island National Organization for Women (NOW), New York Radical Feminists, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), New York NOW, Radicalesbians, Manhattan Women's Political Caucus, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League, the size and character of this years August 26 actions were uneven. The relatively small size of most of the actions did not reflect the potential that exists for large-scale demonstrations of the growing sentiment for women's liberation. The August 26 1970 demonstration in New York, for example, drew 35,000 women around demands for abortion, child-care and equal job and educational opportunities.

### IRISH BAN ON IMPORT OF CONTRACEPTIVES CHALLENGED

An Irish law banning the importation and sale of contraceptives may be declared unconstitutional because of a test case brought against the Eire government by a Dublin housewife. Mrs. Mary McGee, a 27 year old mother of four, has claimed that the seizure by customs officials of contraceptive jelly sent to her by post from London was unauthorized and illegal.

In an action heard by the president of the Irish Republic's high court in June, Mrs. McGee, a Catholic, sought to have a section of the Criminal Amendment Act, 1935, set aside because it was inconsistent with her guaranteed rights as an individual under the Irish constitution.

Doctors have testified that Mrs. McGee's life may be in danger if she becomes pregnant again. She has a history of cerebral thrombosis and other complications in labour. In seeking damages from the state Mrs. McGee has argued that she owes a duty to her family not to become pregnant again. At the same time she considers she should not be forced to deny her husband his matrimonial rights.

### PRAYING FOR THE FOETUS

The Roman Catholic Bishops at their Episcopal conference said at the weekend that abortion was an unspeakable crime with incredible arguments such as "sometimes the hand slips and the whimper of the child attached dies in the clinical air of the operating theatre." The Catholic Church once again stated its determined aim to force women to bear children.

Nothing is said, of course, about the unwanted children that are born and the worn-out mother who has to cope with child after child without enough money.

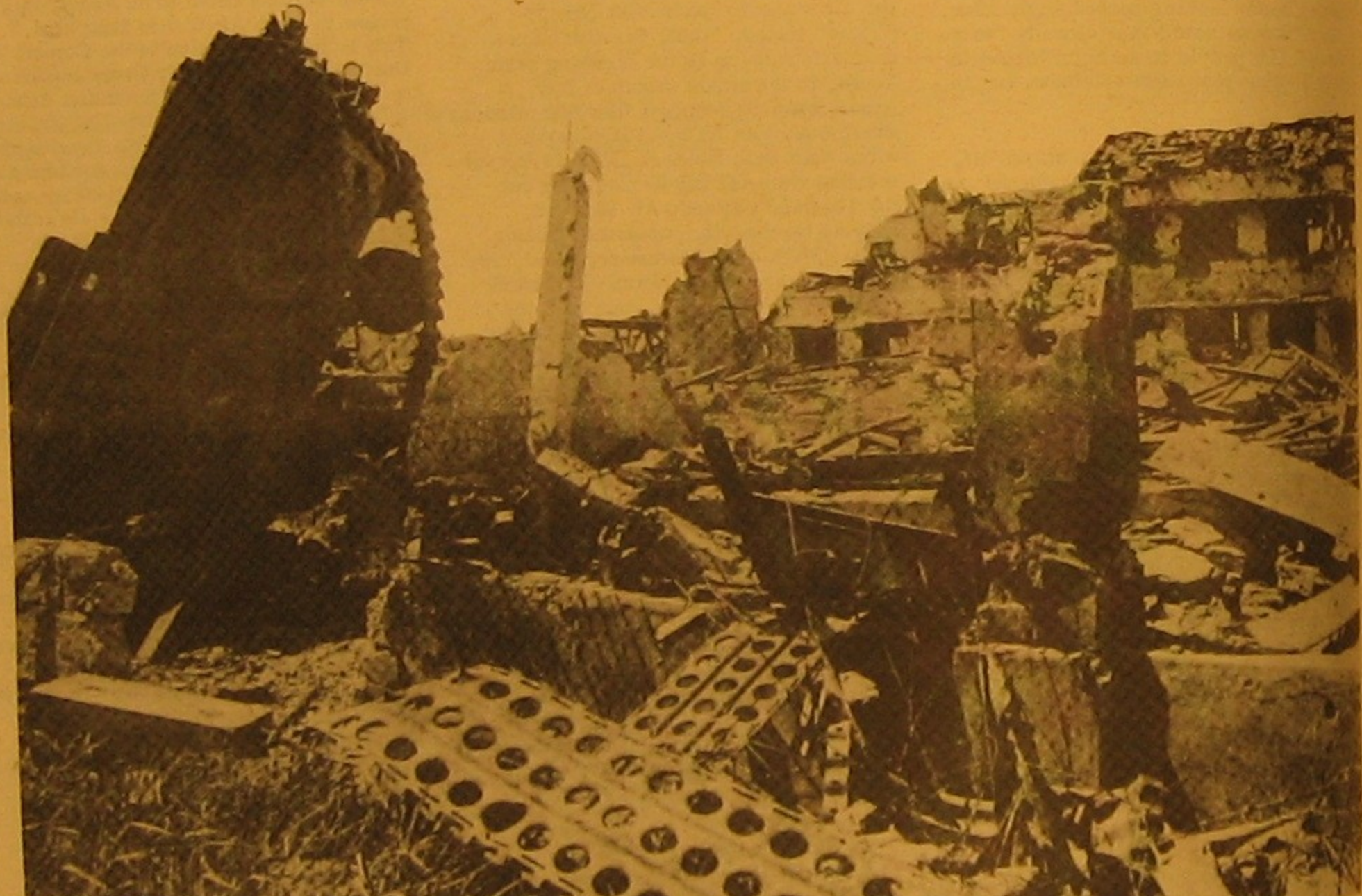
The conference also made a decision to introduce a Sunday prayer for the rights of the unborn into all Roman Catholic churches from September 10.

## DIRECT ACTION FORUM

ABORTION AND THE ALP

Friday October 6, 8 p.m.

Greek Community Centre  
287 Russell St (near Lonsdale St)  
Speakers include Joan Coxedge of ALP's Socialist Left.



## METALWORKERS ANGRY OVER \$3 A WEEK PAY RISE

BY ANDREW JAMIESON

Recently the Arbitration Commission's Justice Williams handed down a wage rise to the 350,000 men employed in the metal industry. The miserly \$3 a week rise now, followed by another \$3 extra in nine months time is considered by the capitalist circles as a "minimal wage case" as wage flow-ons are expected to either directly or indirectly affect all manual workers, with an echo being heard in sectors of the white collar work force.

Other concessions granted to metal workers were a 17% pay loading or bonus on annual leave, an extra day's holiday in Victoria and NSW to bring equal annual leave time in all other states, plus accumulative sick leave for 10 years instead of the present 5 years.

In 1971 Commissioner Hood handed down a decision which granted a \$4.50 to \$6 rise when the metal trades award was reviewed. Despite the howls of the metal employers, who claimed this contributed to inflationary tendencies, these gains were quickly eroded with a

rise in the cost of living introduced with a greater ferocity by the Australian bourgeoisie as the monetary crises beset capital internationally. Inflation is not caused by wage increases as many claim but price fixing, enormous military budgets etc.

The Arbitration Commission proclaimed on bringing the decision down that the award will bring greater 'peace' on the industrial scene. As the faithful servant of capital, the "independent" Commission fervently hoped that workers would be satisfied with the rise so that a 'wage freeze' could be imposed on the metal trades industries. In other words the propertied class handed out small grants in the desire to reap higher profits by lowering living standards in the next eighteen month period until the new award is considered.

The reliable echo of Arbitration in sounding out the tactics of the ruling class has some critics within the ranks of employers itself. Metal industry officials in South Australia and Tasmania were initially opposed to this tactic,

doubting its effectiveness, but are now reconsidering their position. This division of opinion is indicative of the serious predicament of the bourgeoisie as it approaches this year's election. Some force in industrial policies, others tend to favour the Liberal/Country Party's brute approach to lowering the living standard of the working class. It's either beating them down with a baton or luring them with a carrot and stick. Widening differences of opinion in capitalist circles are likely to appear as the \$3 rise flows into other major working class sectors.

Justice Williams' decision also fell on the receptive ears of the top union brass who urged their members to accept the meagre rise unconditionally. The bureaucrats from the 5 unions representing the 350,000 workers acted in reality as transmission belts of capitalist policy towards their membership and the working class as a whole.

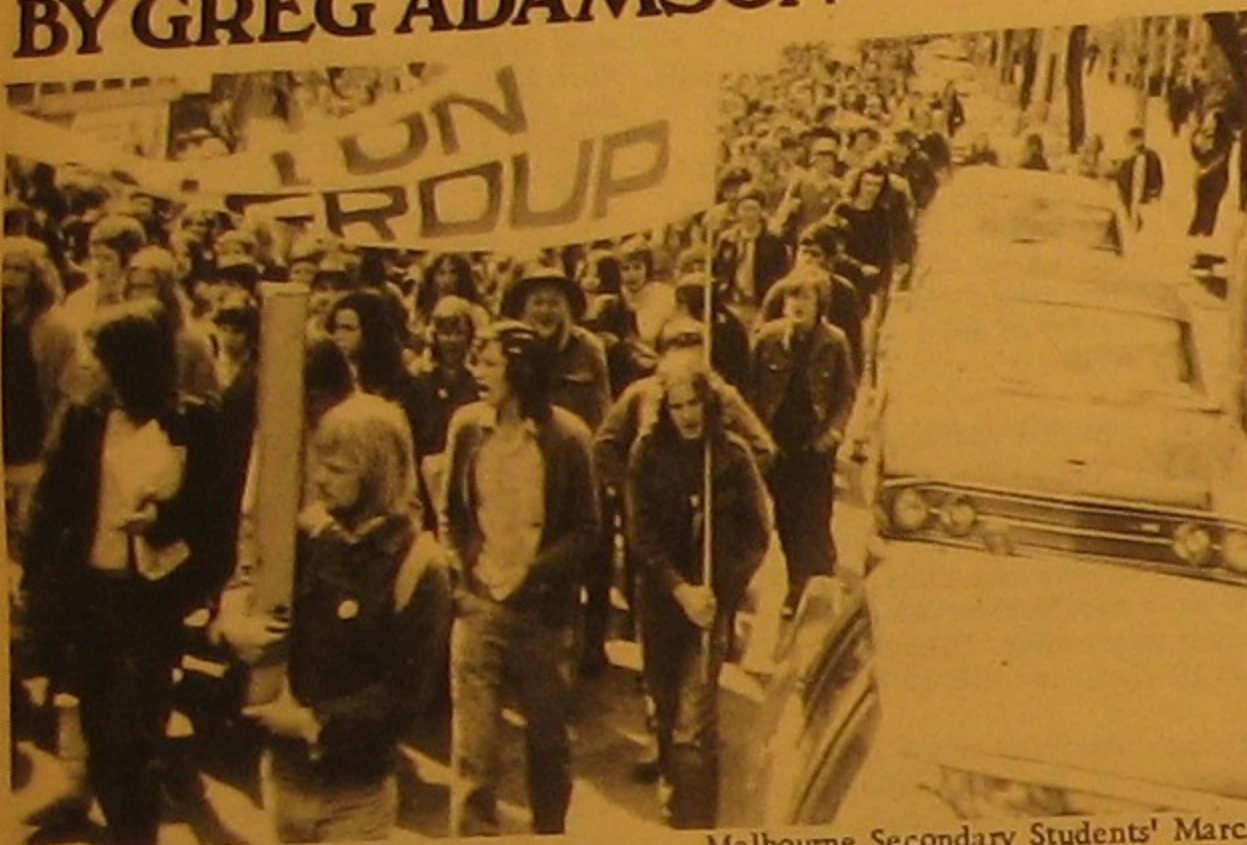
However, the rank and file wasn't responsive to these sellout actions. Although mass meetings throughout Australia

accepted the rise, they weren't going to let further chances of wage increases slip through their fingers. For instance, in Victoria, Melbourne's 50,000 metal workers in 13 separate mass meetings agreed to an amendment that they would not accept the rise on the condition that no further wage demands be presented. In Dandenong 1,100 workers rejected the rise altogether, sensing what the boss had in store for them. This action was a slap in the face for the Federal Executive of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union who apparently wanted unconditional agreement for the award.

The response of the metal workers to the proposals of the employers is indicative of a defense by the working class against attacks on living conditions by predatory capital. An important point in this defense is the demand for a \$5 an hour week, however wage demands reflect a growing desire to combat rising prices. The inherent contradiction in capitalism of widening gaps between real wages and prices pose a never-ending struggle for the worker to maintain living standards.

# STUDENT STRIKE A HUGE SUCCESS

BY GREG ADAMSON



Melbourne Secondary Students' March

On September 20 several thousand secondary students throughout Australia protested against education conditions and in support of civil rights for students. It was the culmination of the first stage of a national student campaign, and marked a qualitative gain for Australian school radicalism. The campaign was originally organised by groups in the capital cities, but on the day students in a number of country areas also went on strike for the day. For many students this was the first organised radical activity they had taken part in. For most it was the first time they had engaged in a struggle directly advancing their own interests.

In the days leading up to September 20, a concerted red-baiting campaign was carried out by the mass media. In Sydney the Minister for Education Mr. Willis claimed (Sun Sept. 18) that, "the Sydney student strike is a move by only a handful of lads manipulated by communist organisers." "I doubt whether more than a sprinkling will co-operate, and parents and children will regard it for what it is - a communist disruptive stunt."

Mr Willis, far removed as he is from the thinking of students, might be interested to know that the majority of participants in the Sydney action were, in fact, women. As this is being written, reports of actions are still coming in. (See elsewhere on this page.) So far nationally the "sprinkling" is more than 5,000, and the true number may exceed 10,000. While about 3,000 students took part in central rallies in major cities, thousands more having heard of the campaign related the civil rights demands to their own school situation and took their own action.

Although the smear campaign against the student actions completely failed, intimidation of students by schools and parents was more successful. This was shown most clearly in Sydney where 800 demonstrating students came from a total of over one hundred schools. Threats of suspension or expulsion against striking students prevented all but a couple of strongly committed supporters at most schools from joining the protest.

In all centres the tone of the demonstrations was very militant, a popular chant being, "What do we want? Student Rights! When do we want them? NOW!" These students who despise many aspects of the education system realise that there are many things wrong with it, and that the lack of civil rights for school students is just one facet. But the students realise that, contrary to the claims of the Socialist Labour League and some other groups, when they fight for their rights they are defending their interests, not diverting the struggle from the "real enemy". They are hitting at the base of the hierarchical secondary school system, one of the more oppressive social institutions.

only class which can change society, to make a revolution. This reasoning shows a complete ignorance of the role of the school in society. The school system tries to do many things to students. It fosters conformity, competition, racism, sexism and apathetic ignorance of reality. It suppresses radicalism and discriminates against lower income families, women and national minorities, amongst others. The student rights campaign queries its right to do these things, and introduces reality into the classroom. If schools are to be successful in their present role, then this is intolerable. Here lies the student's bargaining power. The second type of opposition to the campaign sounds much more revolutionary than the "official" more radical proposal, but what they both come down to is the proposal that school students give up fighting for their rights.

In Sydney one chauvinist tendency which the strike particularly offended was belief in superiority with age. Some senior students refused to take part on the day because they did not like being led by a 13 year old student (Dennis Garnsey, Education Action Group Co-ordinator). Yet the predominance of second form students at the action showed that the school-fostered "respect for older students" has little meaning for a newly radicalised layer of students.

One extra problem for the education system has risen. These second form students will find no relief from the present conditions in third form. And so, while fifth and sixth formers may be "bought off" with minor privileges, younger students will continue to demand unhindered civil rights. It is the responsibility of all radical secondary students to make sure that September 20 was just the beginning of the campaign for improved conditions of education and civil rights in schools.

## area reports vic. n.s.w.

The only group which has given consistent unconditional support to the campaign of students fighting for their rights has been the Socialist Youth Alliance. Yet contrary to many claims there has been nothing secret or manipulative about this support. Rather, SYA members have openly participated in organisations formed to build the campaign, and have taken an active role in campaign activities.

The defense and advancement of school students' rights has greatly benefitted from the success of the September 20 actions. It was only through these that students could express their feelings on the matter. But they were hardly helped by the attitudes of some tendencies in the student movement. While a number of groups and individuals on the far right were attacking the campaign for being "Communist inspired", many members of the Communist Party of Australia and the Young Communist Movement were condemning it as a "Socialist Youth Alliance front", sagely "predicting" its failure. Officially the CPA took an entirely passive position, giving hardly token support, and publicising it in "Tribune" only marginally and at a late stage.

Yet despite right wing red-baiting, left wing death-wishing and some senior student scepticism, thousands of students recognised the campaign as their own and took direct action, while tens of thousands more looked on in watchful support. (Of course it is hoped that in future actions all radical tendencies in the student movement will see fit to participate.)

One teacher reported that at a country school near Sydney, although students took no strike action, in one class everybody's mind was on the strike, and normal school work was impossible. This is an example of student interest in the campaign.

Now that the groundwork has been established, school students should be prepared to build the second stage of the campaign. The effectiveness of the September 20 campaigns was dampened somewhat by the media coverage which in many cases gave the ridiculous national estimates of a few hundred. While this may disappoint many student observers, it will not affect those thousands who demonstrated, representing hundreds of schools.

Some sections of the secondary student movement will now undoubtedly follow the lead of the Queensland Secondary Student Union, and claim the need for "official" channels such as delegations and petitions. This should be fought vigorously, counterposing independent mass actions. The Education Departments are not bound by their official channels, unlike the direct action of the students. Others say that since students do not produce anything, that a student strike is meaningless. They urge students to spend their time trying to exhort the working class, the

On Sunday September 24, thirty-five people attended an Education Action Group meeting held to plan future Sydney activity. All students saw the need to continue independent mass action, though it was realised that very little could be done in the remainder of this year. A committee of fourteen was elected, and plans for the near future include a meeting in mid-December which country students would be urged to attend, and participation in a suggested national conference of student activists in January 1973. A hopeful sign of the future was the presence of one primary student who would be in high school next year.

At Penhurst Girls High in Sydney 400 students staged a protest at the school. Several demands were put forward including concrete proposals for liberalising school uniform regulations. One thought common to many of these was "No privileges for senior students - equal rights for all".

In Nowra (south coast) students at both high schools took part in the national actions. In one school about 500 protesters on school grounds, though after administration threats most went to class. 30 students protested throughout the day at the other school.

In Tumut students of Tumut High School struck in solidarity with other centres.

## a.c.t.

About 200 Canberra students attended a rally on Parliament House lawn, beginning at 11.00 am with a wide representation from Canberra high schools. Moss Cass and Gordon Bryant (Labor MHR) addressed the rally along with Pat Eacock, of the Black Liberation Front. An especially large contingent came from Telopea Park High School.

## vic.

Melbourne students once again showed their disgust at poor education conditions and lack of student rights with a city demonstration involving nearly 1,000 students.

The demonstration began at 10.30 am with a rally in the Treasury Gardens where an estimated 400 students heard speakers talking on the inequalities in education, the lack of student rights, and the need for a student movement capable of gaining these rights. Those who spoke included members of the Victorian Education Action Group, which organised the demonstration, and Dave Kerin, a student-teacher who emphasised the need for unity between teachers and students on matters which concerned the welfare of both. Several students from different schools spoke on their school conditions and experiences.

Students now numbering about 900 moved to the City Square where a further rally was held to present the students' grievances to the onlooking public. After this the students enthusiastically marched through the city, chanting, "What do we want? Student Rights! When do we want them NOW!"

The demonstration later ended at the City Square. Some "ultra" radicals then led a small group of students to MacRobertson High School.

An Education Action Group meeting will be held on September 30 at Melbourne University at 11 am in Union House to discuss future Melbourne activity.

Obviously in such a campaign as this, more students who help build it, the more effective it will be. For this reason, the decision of the Victorian Secondary Students Union to withdraw its support from the actions is disgraceful. This group placed some petty considerations above the interests of the student struggle.

Although the city protest was smaller than a similar demonstration last May, the national character of the campaign added extra breadth to the activities in Victoria.

At MacRobertson Girls High in Melbourne a meeting of students on the following day decided that henceforth no uniforms would be worn. As a result of this, many students, including the head prefect, were suspended.

200 students at Broadmeadow West Technical School in Melbourne staged a protest outside their school on the day of the strike.

In Wodonga (near the NSW border) a

# LABOR PARTY ELECTION WIN IN CANADA

BY TONY THOMAS

(The following article is reprinted from the American revolutionary socialist weekly "The Militant" (September 15, 1972). The victory of the NDP in British Columbia should be of interest to all activists in the labour movement in Australia. Although the NDP has only been in existence for little more than a decade, there are many parallels between it and the ALP, especially in its centrality in working class politics.)

On Aug. 30, the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party, won the provincial elections in British Columbia, ousting the Social Credit Party, which had controlled the province for more than 20 years.

The NDP won 38 seats in the provincial legislative assembly. The Social Credit Party won 10 seats, while the two other capitalist parties, the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party, won five and two seats respectively.

This was the third provincial victory for the NDP and its first victory in a major industrial area with a powerful labor movement.

At a cross-Canada gathering of revolutionary socialists from the League for Socialist Action - Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere held here this weekend, trade-union, campus, feminist, and other

supporters of the NDP analyzed the elections as a victory for the Canadian working class. They indicated that it shows the ability of the Canadian workers party to pose itself as a viable alternative to the Canadian capitalist parties.

The NDP rode to power on the crest of massive dissatisfaction over growing unemployment; cutbacks in education, health, and social services; and government attacks on the labor movement.

The British Columbia NDP had adopted a number of progressive social demands at its conventions and other gatherings: an end to anti-strike and compulsory arbitration laws, a \$2.50 minimum wage, equal pay for equal work for women, repeal of all anti-abortion laws, the establishment of community child-care centers, a fight to improve conditions of Canadian Indians, immediate US withdrawal from Indochina, and Canadian withdrawal from NORAD (a US-Canada military pact).

However, the provincial NDP leadership down-played these demands. It tried to base the campaign simply on dissatisfaction with Social Credit Premier W.A.C. Bennett, using the central campaign slogan "Enough is Enough."

Despite these weaknesses in the provincial leadership, local candidates and supporters of the NDP advanced a more militant approach, linking the NDP campaign

# US TEACHERS CONVENTION VOTES AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

BY JEFF MACKLER

The fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) met at St Paul in Minnesota Aug. 21-25. It discussed the important political issues, including the war in Southeast Asia, facing teachers in this election year.

On the final day of the convention, the AFT ended its seven-year debate on the war with the passage of the Minnesota Resolution on Southeast Asia calling for the immediate and total withdrawal of all US troops and military material from Vietnam and Indochina.

The resolution condemned the wage controls of the Nixon administration and stated that the war, not wages, is the major cause of inflation.

It noted that so-called price controls were "virtually unenforceable" while no limits were placed on profits and interest rates.

While the final resolution did not endorse

large sections of the students at the local school struck, and ten representatives travelled to the Melbourne strike (about 200 miles)

## qld.

About 300 Brisbane secondary students attended a rally for student rights organised by the Queensland Secondary Students Union (QSSU) in Brisbane on Sept. 20.

The rally was preceded by a march of about 200 students which started from the Botanical Gardens, proceeded through the city, and assembled at the Roma St Gardens for the rally. Throughout the march many students joined in and the actual numbers had swollen by the time it had reached Roma St.



Dennis Garnsey, Sydney EAG Coordinator, speaking at the Town Hall

with the demands of workers and of other oppressed layers.

A member of a Vancouver local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) described to me how after a three-month strike, the local's strike committee reconstituted itself as an "elect NDP" committee. It contacted all the local's members trying to get them to financially support the NDP and help staff campaign offices.

This response, he said, contrasted with the 1969 provincial elections when there was no organized support to the NDP in the local. He said the unionists saw the NDP victory as a defense against the type of attacks the Bennett administration had launched.

Twelve of the new NDP members of the legislative assembly (MLAs) are current or former labor officials. Many trade unionists campaigned for them and other NDP candidates as workers candidates. The British Columbia Federation of Labor contributed more than \$150,000 and put more than 100 full-time organizers on the NDP campaign staff.

Also elected on the NDP slate were British Columbia's first two Black MLAs, Emery Barnes and Rosemary Brown. Brown is Canada's first Black woman legislator. In her campaign she identified herself not only with the Afro-Canadian struggle but with demands of women, Indians, and gays.

Some five months before the convention when the Minnesota Resolution on Southeast Asia was introduced at the Minnesota State Federation of Teachers convention. After it passed this convention, the resolution was eventually endorsed by the state federations in California and Michigan, as well as several locals of the AFT.

More than 250 delegates formally joined the Vietnam Caucus at the St Paul convention. Several of these helped in securing the written endorsements of some 820 convention delegates for the Minnesota Resolution.

The fact that a clear majority of the delegates attending the convention endorsed the resolution before it came to the floor was largely responsible for its passage. It was nearly impossible for the prowar officials of many of the large delegations to again impose unit-rule votes on their delegates.

The Vietnam Caucus published its own

rights of students, are contrary to the students' interests. In a round-the-table discussion, the education administration holds all the cards, and the students are powerless. The weapon of the students is unity in independent action, and if the student union shies away from that weapon, they will find themselves in the trash-can of history.

## tas.

In Hobart a rally was held after school, organised by the Tasmanian Education Action Group (TEAG).

The rally began at 4.30 pm in Franklin Square, and there were about 300 students present. Speakers included; Duncan Kerr, secretary of the Tasmanian University Union; Tim Thorn, teacher and draft resister; Ian Roberts, Elizabeth Matriculation College student, who replied to the many red-baiting attacks which had been made on the TEAG.

At this point some other students got up and spoke of "the need to negotiate and go through the right channels". A militant response from the TEAG Organiser Rana Roy was enthusiastically applauded by the students. The rally then closed.

At the demonstration were students from the north of Tasmania who had specially come to Hobart for the rally, and these students expressed interest in organising the campaign in their own area for future actions.

All three Launceston schools took part in the September 20 actions. 200 students marched from Kingsmeadow High School, protesting the lack of a school gymnasium. When they arrived at Prospect High School, although some had drifted off by this time, a further hundred joined them,

Joan Campana, Vancouver organizer of the Young Socialists, a revolutionary-socialist youth organization, described how the NDP offices were "packed with youth under 25, every night." She stated that unlike previous elections when the campuses had not been overly active, this year many campus leaders became involved in organizing for the NDP.

The League for Socialist Action launched its own campaign to fight for an NDP victory. In addition to circulating NDP campaign material, British Columbian socialists circulated more than 10,000 copies of a special supplement on the British Columbia elections from "Labor Challenge", a Canadian socialist bi-weekly.

The supplement pointed out how an NDP victory would be in the interests of workers, women, Canadian Indians, and students.

It also described the Bennett government's policies that have led to rising unemployment, attacks on strikes, and the deterioration of the British Columbian environment.

While the supplement stressed support to the NDP as a party based on the labor movement rather than being tied to big business, it also criticized the failure of the NDP leadership to project the party as a fighting class-struggle alternative.

newspaper for the convention. It contained a series of articles linking the war to the problems facing teachers in public education. The Vietnam Caucus distributed the newspaper and many leaflets explaining the link between the war and wage controls and calling for the AFT to support the anti-war actions called by NPAC for the fall.

This important proposal was unfortunately deleted from the Minnesota Resolution by a one-vote margin in the international relations committee. Because the antiwar resolution was kept from the floor until the last hour of the convention, supporters of the Vietnam Caucus were not able to amend the proposal to include support for the fall demonstrations. The prowar officials purposely delayed the motion until they were assured of the most favorable outcome for their position.

Nevertheless, opposition to the war was so great that the conservative forces were unable to weaken the resolution further.

concerned about the school conditions. Together these students marched to Brooks High School and were joined by 400 more students there. Eventually 500 students marched on the Launceston Town Hall, demanding better education conditions.

## s.a.

In Adelaide about 300 students assembled at Elder Park at 11 am in response to a call by the Sept 20 Students Action Group for Adelaide high school students to join in the nation wide actions. The students then marched through the main streets of Adelaide. As they passed the Education Department building a list of demands were read out and presented to the ALP Minister for Education. At this stage, a group of Maoists attempted to convince the participants of the necessity of "storming the building". However the students ignored this attempt at provocation and moved on to Victoria Square where they were addressed by high school student Penny Jackson on the repression in high schools. Other students who spoke at the rally included Julian Mudge, Adelaide co-ordinator for the action, and Bruce Hannaford. Some students then went to Parliament House to wait for a reply by the Minister for Education, who needless to say didn't appear.

## wa.

In Perth, over 200 students walked out of government and private schools during school hours to attend a peaceful protest rally at the Supreme Court gardens.

Reports of Sept. 20 actions are still coming in. We'll carry more reports and pictures next issue.

# WHICH WAY FOR YUGOSLAVIA?

by C. VERLA

[The following article appeared in the July 15, 1972, issue of *Quatrième Internationale*, published by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

What kind of socialism do we want? The discussion that is going on in the French working-class movement between the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor] and the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor] is often carried on with reference to "models." Because of its experiment in self-management, Yugoslavia enters into this discussion in an important way. The Stalinists have an easy time arguing the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat and centralized planning as opposed to the "so-called decentralized democracy" of self-management. At the other extreme, the social-democratic reformists would extend the experiment in "participation" to include running factories within the framework of the capitalist system; they too have an easy time hiding their anticommunism and their fundamental opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat by defending decentralized "self-management" and its "democracy" against the repellent Stalinist centralization.

For us, the problem (and the debate on the Yugoslav question) is not a matter of "models" but of program: the permanent extension of the proletarian revolution and its deepening in the construction of a socialism that is not a caricature of revolutionary Marxists to wage a struggle at one and the same time for the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian democracy on the broadest scale: these are two sides of the same problem. Theoretical analysis and experience confirm that this is the quickest, the most effective, and indeed the only road that leads to socialism without unnecessary historic "detours." This "rule" and this revolutionary Marxist program are not the product of utopian dreaming or moral dogmas. They command our attention in view of the tasks that confront us once the first step—the taking of power and the destruction of the bourgeois state—has been taken. These tasks of transforming society and mankind are too great to be carried out by a bureaucratic state. But these are also tasks that have to be carried out in a context that at the outset is so vulnerable as to necessitate the maintenance of a dictatorship of the proletariat for a whole historic period. This two-sided necessity—dictatorship of the proletariat together with a broad proletarian democracy—has such deep roots that it can easily be shown, on the basis of existing historical examples, that if either component is present, but not the other, it is necessarily very fragile and accompanied by defects and wastage that delay accordingly the day when new social relations of socialist production can be achieved.

Our analysis of Yugoslavia at one and the same time confirms and is based upon this revolutionary Marxist program. Thus it places no stock in the Stalinists' criticism of a regime that is slipping away from them, nor of the criticism of all those who do not at the outset clearly reject class collaboration within the framework of the capitalist system and who do not accept the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat after the taking of power.

## Sad Aftermath of Decentralization

The Yugoslav regime began to decentralize on the economic plane following the break with Stalin at the beginning of the fifties. This decentralization went hand in hand with the introduction of self-management. But it remained closely controlled by the federal authorities—especially in the key area of investments—until the 1965 reform. To be sure, the central means for intervening in the economy were more indirect and less and less effective as a result of the already disastrous effects of partial decentralization; but for a long time they retained enough importance for the regime's "liberal" ideologues to be able to attribute every failure to the retention of these central powers. Thus it was in the name of self-management, of deepening it, and of freeing it from bureaucratic shackles that the 1965 reform was introduced: If self-management is to be effective, it was said, decision-making would have to be the prerogative of "work units." These units would have to enjoy greater "freedom" and no longer be subject to the central restrictions and heavy taxes that always limited the choices they could make. From this point on, the reform was based on all the classical "liberal" formulas: Objective economic laws must be allowed to take effect because they lead to the best equilibrium within the economy and to a profitability that is indispensable for a healthy economy. In other words, it must be left up



President Tito entertaining President Nixon

to self-management (in reality, the market) to set prices and determine investments; the road to competition between Yugoslav concerns must be opened up; and in the face of competition from the capitalist companies the government must therefore stop

intervening to favor this or that region or factory through a price or subsidy policy that "distorts the facts," just as it must stop protecting the Yugoslav economy, since doing so keeps "nonprofitable" activities going.

Once this reform began to be carried out, its effects were disastrous: a considerable increase in the cost of living, which compelled the government once again, in 1971, to "freeze" all prices (in spite of its intentions to liberalize) and to devalue the dinar several times (in spite of the plans for convertibility); a heightening of the inequalities in wages between factories and from region to region; an increase in unemployment (more than 300,000 unemployed, not to mention the more than 1,000,000 working abroad). But perhaps the most striking political and social problem that the reform has aggravated is the increase in social cleavages and differentiation brought on by decentralization. In this connection, the reform has had the effect of painfully revealing all the problems that the ruling Yugoslav bureaucracy has not been able to solve.

## Clash of Nationalities

At the very outset, and quite apart from the defects of the bureaucracy, the problem of the various national minorities is a very complex one to solve in a mosaic-like country like Yugoslavia. Unlike the Stalinist parties of Eastern Europe, the League of Communists had an effective approach toward the national question at the time of the struggle for liberation from the fascist invader and Great Serbian oppression. The first years of the regime were, moreover, marked by an effort of considerable scope to develop the poorest regions by applying the program of the League of Communists to the effect that equality exists in form only unless it is accompanied by real economic equality.

Nevertheless, decentralization, accompanied by the maintenance of a bureaucratic political regime, was to

bring about the failure of this policy and a resurgence of the problem of the nationalities during the sixties; indeed, decentralization was to weaken the very means for centrally intervening in the economy that made it possible to reduce inequalities between republics, which often include national minorities. At the same time, the bureaucratic nature of the governmental powers and of the decision-making process could only serve to reinforce the kind of egotistical behavior on the part of regions, factories, and individuals that was being encouraged by the "liberal," decentralizing tendencies. Finally, the clash between the nationalities was marked by the fact that the central bureaucratic powers were by and large dominated by the Great-Serbian nationality (it has, moreover, been dominant on the political level in the ranks of the party since the struggle for liberation), both in the army and in the government service. As a result of this, as well as of the pressure of conflicting traditions among the various nations, antibureaucratic aspirations could also seek to express themselves through the form of nationalist demands and movements. But these considerations are not sufficient to describe the recent hostility between Croats and Serbs: For if confused, antibureaucratic (and to that extent progressive) aspirations were present, this conflict has by and large been dominated on the Croatian side by reactionary tendencies objectively favorable to a restoration of capitalism (even though they were not necessarily the direct agents of such a restoration).

With roots in the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois layers of Croatia (craftsmen, peasants, hotel bourgeoisie along the Dalmatian coast, students in the schools of business administration, who are supported by the church), the Croatian nationalists attempted to pit the workers against each other along national lines. This is the first and most revealing aspect of the reactionary character of this current. Wage differentiations along the lines of national origin have, in fact, begun to be introduced in the big industrial centers. The main demands that were raised were the following: complete autonomy with regard to the federation (identified with the Great-Serbian oppressor); that is, pushing economic and political decentralization all the way; and also the elimination of any centralized intervention, which was regarded as "usurping" the rightful fruit of Croatian labor in order to distribute it elsewhere; in other words, de facto opposition to any planned redistribution of income on behalf of the less developed regions; and finally, a glorification of bourgeois criteria for organizing the economy. When one realizes that Croatia, along with Slovakia, is one of the most developed republics and the one that benefits the most from foreign trade and the expansion of tourism, one can understand why the demands crystallized around the problem of currency. With most of the currency going to the federation, the Croatians wanted to increase their slice of the pie. The "Croats"? No, indeed—rather the technocrats and the Croatian petty bourgeois who are making money out of their dealing in currency while strikes by workers against wage in-

equalities and employment spread throughout Croatia. For on the other side of the conflict between "nationalities"—and within the conflict itself—a deeper, more complex, social antagonism is developing that calls into question a more general sense, the relations of production and property installed by the revolution.

## Whither Self-Management?

It is still difficult to say whether Yugoslavia is to be self-managed. Yet no one in Yugoslavia believes that it has been fully achieved. No one, moreover, could claim that it has been, in spite of the considerable increase since 1965 (more than 2,000 since 1965) which, in one form or another, has most often been pressed for a "practical application of self-management" to the point that the last self-management congress (May 1971) is (even) at length publicly denouncing various forces holding back management. This means that decentralization often continues, in a way, to be counterproductive: management, currents will be—in particular within the unionist that will see in decentralization most dangerous source for the coming up of any possible self-management. Indeed, decentralization favor development of the main social axis of this policy. Competition "profitability" in terms of the market require, if they should unreservedly, that they be taken charge of by the social layers of bourgeoisie, but also managers and technocrats. The workers are being and plaintiff. Can they agree with workers, and to hold down wages in order "to be more competitive" way a factory manager does not see, differentiations are going among the workers based on laws of competition. The more "rises" in the system of delay power, and the more the workers directly connected with the production and are not from production, the more they will accept the rules of the market. In this connection, continue between the workers' committee and the administrative council, which is more directly subject to the influence of the manager and various technocrats.

But most self-management itself that the workers in the factory try to question for it hinders the introduction of capital relations into the factory, and the spirit of initiative required for a competitive struggle for profit is most explicit in the investments and capital (partly Yugoslav) attempting to le-

galize the "mixed" committees (we all know what this bourgeois-worker "mixture" is worth), to which the self-management committee would then delegate most of its powers. Elsewhere, the manager tries to get himself hired "on the basis of a long-term program" and in this very way to limit the control of the workers over his policy (in Yugoslavia, managers are elected and can be recalled by the workers' councils). An even more common method is to attempt to stress a certain "division of labor" that reinforces the hierarchy inside the factory to the advantage of the technocrats who are considered "competent" to make the most important economic and budgetary decisions. Thus the self-management committee is reduced to dealing with problems relating to wages and working conditions.

As an instrument of workers' democracy, self-management cannot have any substance if the workers are subject to centralized, bureaucratic constraints. Nor, however, can it avoid the constraints of the market either. By atomizing the factories and pitting them against each other, the market also atomizes and opposes the workers to each other; strengthens the petty-bourgeois social layers that are making money from trade; solidifies the position of the bureaucrats in the factory; and undermines the weight of the working class and the relations of self-management—however limited they may be in the Yugoslav regime. It also simultaneously heightens antagonisms and social differentiation.



Assembly line in Serbia

## Widening Social Differences

1. Differentiations within the bureaucracy. The "red bourgeoisie."

The conflict between nationalities makes it possible to outline certain key axes of this differentiation:

a. On the most superficial level, this differentiation extends to the various nationalities. The greater autonomy granted to the republics and the economic decentralization are in part the product of pressures (that they also help to encourage) from leading elements who seek to increase their own

2. Cf. the article by C. Samary in *Critiques de l'Economie Politique*, No. 7-8, and the article by F. Charlier on "A Program for a Transition to Capitalism" in this issue.

influence by defending the interests of their various republics when it comes to the apportionment of power (a corollary of decentralization being an increase in the influence of the richest republics).

b. In a more profound way, the policy of economic "liberalization" and the introduction of self-management (which has been in effect for a long time) have favored the development of technocratic layers who head up the "labor organizations." But here, too, certain distinctions must be made:

● On the one hand, between these layers in the developed republics (and, within these republics, the layers in the most dynamic factories, mainly those oriented toward foreign trade) and the same layers in the less developed regions and factories. It is not in the interests of the latter to press for an expansion of the laws of the market, which for them would involve a "colonization" even more real than what the Croatian technocrats are complaining about.

As for the technocrats in factories that are undergoing expansion, their interests link up with those of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois layers in that they call for allowing free course to the laws of the market on all levels at the same time as they demonstrate hostility to self-management (which offers too much resistance to the free-play and to the "sacrifices" of competition). What these bourgeois aspirants want is to also be able to make their "idle" wealth bear fruit and to protect it with a right to own property.

The technocrats in the poor factories are more in a situation of being a workers' aristocracy that attempts to take advantage of its role in the division of labor in order to increase its privileges but without for all that having any interest in calling either the system or planning into question.

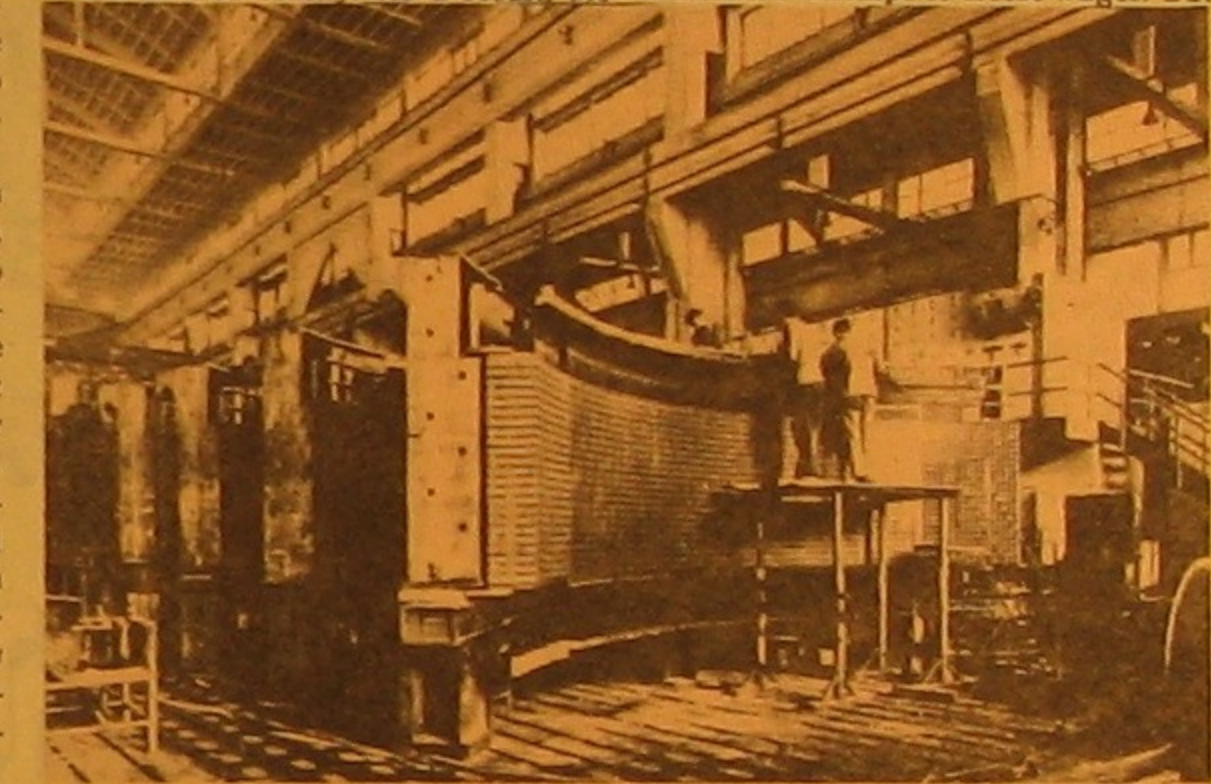
● But on the other hand, the recent Serbo-Croatian conflict revealed another possible differentiation within the most reactionary technocratic layers themselves: that of the technocrats with links to financial and trade organizations in opposition to the technocrats in the factories.

Given the present serious economic and financial situation, but given too the more direct importance of the working class in the factories, it is quite likely that the most dangerous forces from the point of view of socialism are the ones that are developing with the aid of the decentralized

out the economic situation, the bureaucracy nevertheless does not intend either to turn power over to them or to lose its privileges and the system from which it derives them. And in the present situation, the only forces that make it possible for it to struggle against the growing weight of the technocratic layers are the following: on the one hand, state power, on which it retains a firm grip (during the recent conflict, Tito alluded to the possibility of civil war and moved the army into the foreground; the concept of the state as a "body of armed men" is apt to take on a striking immediacy during a period of sharpening conflict); and, on the other hand, its appearance as the defender of the working class, of the gains of the revolution, and of self-management. Demagoguery? Of course! But for demagoguery to work, the masses have to be taken in by it. Whatever the socialist consciousness of the leaders amounts to, therefore, they are prisoners of the social system that enthroned them.

What is characteristic of them is a centrist policy, one that is both anti-capitalist and opposed to workers' democracy at the same time. Because we are not dealing with social classes with a firm base in the relations of production, the existing differentiations cannot be defined in terms of neat categories. It is more a matter of describing a process than a well-defined reality. As a result, the

Factory in Croatia is to deal a blow to a sacrosanct self-management, which, to the extent that it exists, takes shape around this very question of wages—especially since the reform, when greater freedom was granted for decision-making at the factory level. It is also, quite simply, to attack the standard of living of the working class. To "solve" problems in this manner in a country that calls itself socialist is once more to demonstrate the contradiction between actions and sugar-coated words. But at a time when social struggles are intensifying and when the Marshal's uniform is no longer worshipped as it used to be, things may not blow over so easily.



Factory in Croatia

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## 2. The Rise of Workers' Struggles

The year 1968 marked an important stage in the reaction of the working class and the students (especially in Belgrade) against the effects of the reform,<sup>3</sup> and against the government's policy in general. During the mobilizations at that time, the tendencies in the economy toward private ownership, the ineffectiveness of self-management, and the bureaucratic system were criticized on a broad scale—to the point where Tito had to try to look and sound as he did in the old days. Measures were taken to protect self-management somewhat from its bourgeois detractors and to limit the spread of private property. (Essentially, it exists in the agricultural and handicraft sectors of the economy, and, since the reform, in the tourist sector.) But the most insidious forms of capitalist relations of production were denounced in the new types of factories called "G. G. P." "Self-management from the bottom up!" This was the slogan of the Belgrade students, who were expressing the idea that the only genuine workers' democracy, antibureaucratic power, and struggle against the capitalist restorationist tendencies in Yugoslavia lies

There is no doubt that the bureaucracy is trying to extricate itself from all this for the time being by stepping up repression. It embarked on this path by censoring *Student* (the newspaper of the students at the school of philosophy in Belgrade) and *Praxis* (the discussion organ of the Yugoslav left-wing intellectuals). It also began to imprison those whom it designates as "Trotskyists," without succeeding in investing this term with the highly insulting content that the Stalinists gave it in the "good old days."<sup>4</sup> But the Yugoslav bureaucracy, which is caught in the contradictions of its "original" system, will not let this stop it from suppressing all those who today attempt to propose an antibureaucratic solution to the present crisis. It is these people who, out of the failure of the regime, will draw the lessons that will lead to a victory for socialism in Yugoslavia.

3. Cf. the article from *Critiques de l'Economie Politique*.

4. Grupnogradjansko preduzeće (factories of groups of citizens). The 1965 reform law gave private individuals the right to band together to form such factories, which are nevertheless not considered to be privately owned.—IP

not in a decentralization of a self-management limited to the factories and consequently subject to all the centrifugal forces, but on the contrary, in the working class playing a central, and therefore stronger role by directly participating in the exercise of power.

The year 1972 will mark new stages. Following the self-management congress, following the recognition of the right to strike, and in view of the worsening of the economic and social situation, the aggressiveness of the working class can only continue to mount. The working class will be encouraged to move in this direction by a new factor that could be of decisive importance on the Yugoslav political and social scene: the unions as an opposition force to the regime. Indeed, with the weakening of the central powers and of the cohesiveness of the League of Communists, and in the context of an important social crisis, the Yugoslav trade unions appear to be shedding their role as a mere cog in the state apparatus. For the first time, at the beginning of 1972, open opposition to the government's policy reached such a point that Tito alluded in a recent speech to those "who say that the unions are enemies of the government who put forward their own program." The main stumbling block will at first be the government's attempt to freeze wages. But

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5. Some writings by Trotsky have been officially published in Yugoslavia. He is considered part of the workers' movement. The latest issue of *Praxis* was devoted to him.

The following, seventh installment of our translation of Pierre Frank's *The Fourth International: A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement* completes the first section of Chapter 6: "From the Second World Congress to the Split in the International Trotskyist Movement."

## Chapter 6: From 1948 to 1968 (Cont'd)

The Third World Congress (1951)

As already mentioned, the break between the Kremlin and the Yugoslav leadership occurred right after our Second World Congress. In vain were Moscow's efforts to isolate the Yugoslav leadership, to find a substantial opposition to Tito, even to attempt a coup against that leadership. In his famous report to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in 1956, Khrushchev describes Stalin's state of mind when he decided publicly to announce Tito's excommunication. Said Khrushchev:

"I remember when the conflict between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia first began to be artificially blown up. One day, upon arriving in Moscow from Kiev, I was invited to see Stalin. Showing me a copy of a letter recently sent to Tito, Stalin asked, 'Have you read this?' Without waiting for a reply, he added: 'All I have to do is lift one little finger and there'll be no more Tito. He will go down.'"

But this was the first time since he had gotten rid of all the political currents within the Communist parties that Stalin, now at the very height of his authority, underwent defeat and witnessed a Communist party and a workers state rising against him.

As soon as this split became public knowledge, the leadership of the Fourth International understood that the international crisis of Stalinism would for the most part therefore be out in the open; that the Kremlin's incompatibility with a living revolution was clearly evident; that it was necessary to help the Yugoslavs resist the Stalinist attacks; and that the Yugoslav conflict would sooner or later have big repercussions—which should be utilized to build new revolutionary leaderships—inside the Communist parties and the workers states.

The Trotskyist organizations very quickly mobilized to help the Yugoslav revolution answer the torrent of slander emanating from Moscow and the Communist parties. Campaigns were launched in numerous countries. Leaflets, pamphlets, meetings were used in the fight against Stalinism. In several countries it was the Fourth International's organizations that initiated the youth brigades that went to Yugoslavia—brigades of inquiry, support, and work in the service of the Yugoslav revolution. These brigades were relatively successful, with an enrollment of several thousand young people. For Stalinism, the Yugoslav affair was a wound that never healed.

For a short period, the sections of the Fourth International, profiting from the Yugoslav crisis, became stronger. But this process was interrupted during 1950 when, at the beginning of the Korean war, the Yugoslav leadership—which until then had made progress in many areas of domestic policy (self-management, etc.) and in its criticism of part of the Stalinist past—took a disgraceful position on the international scene. In the United Nations General Assembly, Yugoslavia voted for UN military intervention against North Korea. This position succeeded in alienating many of Yugoslavia's sympathizers. The hopes of recruiting a larger revolutionary vanguard because of the Soviet-Yugoslav dispute were thus destroyed, until such time as the crisis of Stalinism would erupt elsewhere.

While the crisis between Yugoslavia and the Kremlin was taking this turn, the victory of the Chinese revolution was becoming an international factor requiring a reassessment of the situation. It could be stated, and correctly so, that this victory would inevitably entail a much bigger crisis of Stalinism than did the Yugoslav affair, for somewhat similar reasons. But there was no reason to believe that the crisis would erupt in the immediate future.

China had just gotten rid of the Chiang Kai-shek government on the mainland; it found itself threatened on its Korean frontier, while American imperialism was turning Taiwan into a fortress against the new republic. The new Chinese government could not get along without Soviet aid, for a time at least. The "cold war," the Korean war, Yugoslavia's international policy, the Sino-Soviet cooperation—all evidenced that the perspectives of the Second World Congress were no longer satisfactory. A reevaluation of the situation was called for. Moreover, the sections, no longer making the progress they had made during the postwar period, were meeting with mounting difficulties. This also necessitated a reexamination of the orientation of our activity.

A plenum of the International Executive Committee held in November 1950 decided to convoke the Third World Congress. This plenum adopted theses on the international perspectives of the Fourth International to be submitted for discussion prior to the Congress, which was held in August 1951. These theses were adopted without any serious opposition, except for that of the majority of the French section.

Seventy-four delegates from twenty-five different countries attended the Third Congress. The main document the congress adopted, by a vote of 39 to 3 with one abstention, consisted of "Theses on the International Perspectives and the Orientation of the Fourth International."

These theses were devoted to an examination of the

# THE 4TH INTER- NATIONAL

## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT BY PIERRE FRANK

## PART 7

international situation where, with the victory of the Chinese revolution, the global relationship of forces had developed to the disadvantage of world capitalism and in favor of the socialist cause. They began by stressing the increasing preparations of various kinds being made at that time for a new world war: the creation and delineation of alliances, the "cold war," the armaments race, etc. The theses did not dismiss the possibility of temporary compromises between the United States and the Soviet Union, above all because of the Kremlin's conservative policy, but they projected such a new world war in the relatively near future. They added that, by its nature, this war would be a "war-revolution," in which an imperialist victory would be problematical. Linked to this perspective on the war was the point of view that the arms race economy would have catastrophic consequences on the economic situation: inflation, lowering of the workers' standard of living, etc.

In addition, these theses underlined the economic progress beginning to be made in the Soviet Union and in the so-called people's democracies once postwar reconstruction had been achieved. The theses did not foresee any expansion of Stalinism, despite the economic progress, and ruled out any historical future for Stalinism, i.e., the Soviet bureaucracy. From what had happened in Yugoslavia and China, these theses concluded that the Communist parties, even when they had a reformist policy, were not exactly classical reformist parties; that they were not as yet mere instruments of the Kremlin under any and all circumstances; that, under certain conditions of exceptional mass movement, they could even be drawn into going beyond orientations corresponding to the policies of the Kremlin and beyond their strictly reformist objectives. These theses insistently stressed the concrete, contradictory relationships in operation between the masses, the Communist parties, and the Soviet bureaucracy; and they stated that the Trotskyists had to take advantage of these contradictions, and, in order to do so, had to become part of the real mass movement, especially where Communist parties were mass organizations.

In addition to these theses and to a political resolution applying them to the immediate situation, the Third Congress adopted three other important resolutions. The first dealt with the "people's democracies." Restating a document adopted by a session of the International Executive Committee held in April 1949, the resolution characterized the East European states as "bureaucratically deformed workers states." Unlike the Soviet Union, a workers state born of a proletarian revolution but which had bureaucratically degenerated, these states were essentially a result of the Kremlin's military-bureaucratic intervention, supported at best by a limited and bureaucratic mobilization of the masses. These "people's democracies" had never

experienced a true revolution and were born with bureaucratic deformations.

For the particular case of Yugoslavia, which had gone through a genuine revolution, a special resolution was adopted that traced the various stages of the revolution from the time of the partisan struggle. This resolution noted the contradiction between Yugoslavia's progressive development in numerous respects and its rightist international policy. It exposed the dangers this policy might hold for the country domestically, including the opportunities it afforded the forces of capitalist restoration. But the resolution went on to indicate that the restoration of capitalism could never be accomplished in a "wild" way. This 1951 resolution shows that the Fourth International's response to recent Chinese and Cuban changes that capitalism has been "restored" in Yugoslavia, in Czechoslovakia, etc., was not improvised for the occasion.

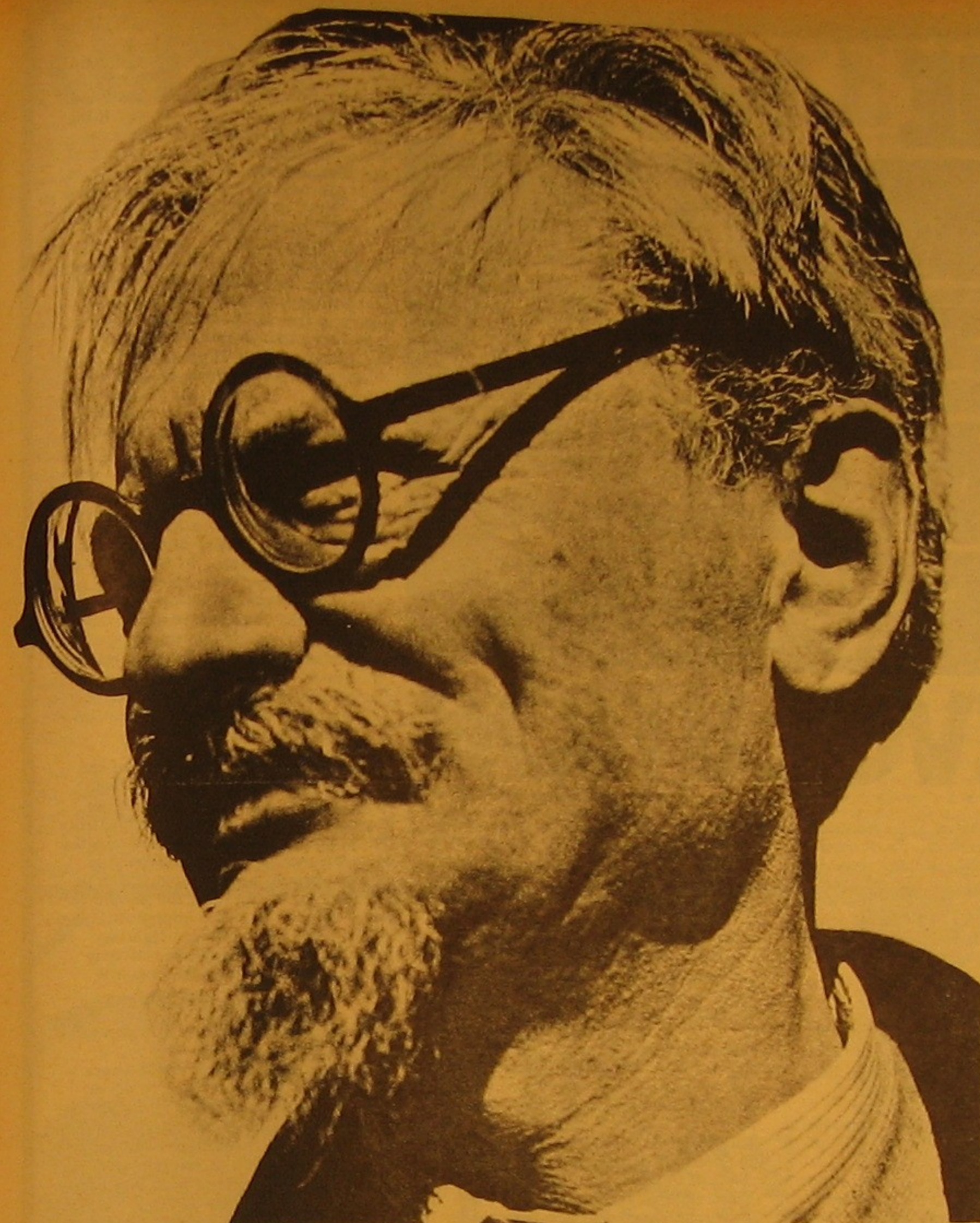
The last resolution, on Latin America, had as its main feature the first Marxist explanation of the nature of Peronist-type governments. Thanks to the second world war, these governments of the "nationalist bourgeoisie" had developed—at the particular expense of foreign imperialism and the oligarchy (landholders and compradore bourgeoisie)—by involving large sectors of the working class (to different degrees in different countries, and in exchange for minimal concessions) in the anti-imperialist struggle under the leadership of this nationalist bourgeoisie.

### A Tactical Turn in Building Revolutionary Parties

Complementing the analysis and the perspective projected by the Third World Congress, at a subsequent plenum (February 1952) the International Executive Committee adopted a resolution on tactics for building Marxist revolutionary parties, for the first time generalizing and enlarging on the concept of "entrism" in a certain number of mass Communist or Socialist parties.

This new entrism tactic took its inspiration from examples or tactics previously advocated by Lenin and Trotsky, as well as from the line followed by Marx in 1848 in the German revolution and later during the formation of the First International.

In *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, Lenin expressed no definite opinion because he lacked sufficient data, but he warned against a single answer to the question, "Should we join the Labour Party?"—a question that would follow from principles such as "The Communist Party must keep its doctrine pure and its independence inviolate." He indicated that in this area it was necessary to "know, study, seek, divine" each country's peculiarities in order to apply the general fundamental principles of communism in each case.



As explained in an earlier chapter, in 1934 Trotsky had made clear that for an organization whose limited numbers made it essentially a propaganda group, constructing a revolutionary party capable of independent action and capable of mobilizing the working class in action could necessitate temporarily entering a reformist or centrist group—in order to win, through adequate work, forces among the currents moving to the left by helping them in their political experiences. The entrisism of the prewar period resembled a raid.

After the war, the International had come out in favor of the British Trotskyists entering the Labour party. This was not the same kind of "entrism" that was practiced before the war in the SFIO, or the Belgian Workers party (Parti Ouvrier Belge), or the Socialist party in the United States. The tactic for Great Britain rested on the structure of the labor movement of the country, above all on the close link between the political party and the trade unions, which means that for the British workers, the Labour party is their party and the Conservative party is their bosses' party. The workers are faithful to their party even when they do not agree with its leaders or the policies of its leaders.

The new entrism tactic rested both on long-term and conjunctural perspectives.

At the time the Third World Congress was being held, Bevan's left opposition had appeared in the Labour party, after Labour had been in power a few years. The international and national situation was then favorable to the formation and development in England of a mass centrist tendency moving toward the left. Considerations of a conjunctural type flowed from the general theses of the Third World Congress. The prospect of a new world war and the growing economic difficulties in store for capitalism would, we thought, favor the growth of Bevanist-type tendencies within the Social Democracy on an international scale—and also give rise to mass left-wing tendencies within the Communist parties.

Thus we had to help such tendencies in an experience that would lead them, through phases unforeseeable at that time, to the formation of revolutionary Marxist parties.

The long-range considerations were based on a premise relating to the European workers' movement, namely the persistence of the old, reformist workers' parties and the lack of growth of the Communist parties after the first world war—with some exceptions. It could be deduced from this premise that the bond between the working class and these parties was not due primarily to their program or policy, but to the length of time these parties had been embedded among the workers, to the fact that they constituted for the workers a more or less valuable instrument—but at least an instrument available to them on a day-to-day basis in capitalist society; that the work-

ers were not inclined to leave these parties for new formations untested in action.

This organizational inertia on the part of the working class in the European countries would also be evident, to a lesser degree, during revolutionary periods—the political development of the class proceeding at a faster pace than its development on the organizational plane. No major social crisis in a European country could fail to involve a major crisis for the mass workers' parties in that country, especially the dominant workers' party. Sustained activity in the mass parties, more especially in the main mass party in each country, was thus placed on the order of the day.<sup>26</sup>

In its entrism tactic, the International made a distinction, then, between the Socialist parties, where relative internal democracy allowed for the organization of tendencies, and the Communist parties, which did not tolerate the least manifestation of divergent points of view (such was the case in those days). In the former, entrism was envisaged as being total; while in the latter, where it was necessary to use "trickery and lies" (as Lenin had advised in connection with remaining in the reactionary and reformist mass trade-union organizations), the tactic provided for maintaining an independent sector that would publicly explain the positions of the Fourth International in full.

### Critique of the Third World Congress

The theses and resolutions of the Third World Congress represented an initial attempt at answering questions raised by the postwar upheavals mentioned earlier, upheavals that continued to occur. It would thus be useful to see what aspects of the theses were subsequently confirmed and what invalidated. For the verdict to be relevant, we should not overlook the fact that any analysis inevitably includes gaps and errors, life itself bringing into being trends that were only embryonic at the time the analysis was being made or that emerged from the struggle of social forces. The important thing to see is whether the line of action stemming from the analysis was, on the whole, valid for the situation at a given moment; whether it enabled the organization to react correctly to events while keeping up with each change in the situation in order to take into account the emergence of new factors and new trends—not to mention correcting any errors in the analysis.

Because of the limited scope of this work, only the major

26. In the discussion on entering the Labour party, the emphasis was on the structural aspects of the workers' movement. In the Third Congress discussion, the emphasis was placed on conjunctural aspects; structural conditions were taken up again only toward 1954-55.

political lines—where they were correct and where they were revealed as essentially erroneous—will be examined.

The Third World Congress had correctly evaluated the shift in the global relationship of forces at the expense of world capitalism. The congress had even accurately demonstrated that this did not prevent capitalism from maintaining its superiority at that time on the economic plane per se (a superiority it still possesses) and on the military level. Strictly speaking, capitalism's military superiority probably no longer exists on an overall world scale (which obviously does not mean that there is parity in each particular area: army, navy, air force, conventional weapons, nuclear weapons, etc.)

Our understanding of the regroupment around the Soviet Union on one hand and around the United States on the other was proved correct. The situation began to change in this respect only about fifteen years later, when centrifugal forces assumed increasing weight in each alliance. Nevertheless, even taking into consideration the new factors, we cannot say that new alliances, new constellations are henceforth foreseeable or delimitable and that the former division may not reappear in the event of a considerable deterioration in international relations.

What the theses stated about the dual role of the Soviet bureaucracy, about the Communist parties, and about the contradictory relationships between the masses, the Communist parties and the Kremlin, was essentially right. Without these considerations, it would have been impossible for us, amid the welter of postwar events, to find an orientation. The explanation of what had occurred in Yugoslavia and China was absolutely valid; moreover, it had been indicated as a possible eventually by Trotsky in *The Transitional Program*, in the following terms:

"Of all parties and organizations which base themselves on the workers and peasants and speak in their name, we demand that they break politically from the bourgeoisie and enter upon the road of struggle for the workers' and farmers' government. On this road we promise them full support against capitalist reaction. At the same time, we indefatigably develop agitation around those transitional demands which should, in our opinion, form the program of the workers' and farmers' government."

"Is the creation of such a government by the traditional workers' organizations possible? Past experience shows, as has already been stated, that this is, to say the least, highly improbable. However, one cannot categorically deny in advance the theoretical possibility that, under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances (war, defeat, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressure, etc.), the petty-bourgeois parties, including the Stalinists, may go further than they themselves wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie. In any case, one thing is not to be doubted: even if this highly improbable variant somewhere at some time becomes a reality and a 'workers' and farmers' government' in the above-mentioned sense is established in fact, it would represent merely a short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of the proletariat."

In these lines, Trotsky shows that while fighting as hard as possible to build revolutionary Marxist parties defending the Fourth International, he did not exclude the possibility of exceptional cases in which, because of extraordinary objective conditions, the revolution could win even under a leadership that might not be revolutionary-Marxist.

The postwar period has produced a few cases of this type—which Trotsky estimated as scarcely probable but not impossible. They should not be denied, under penalty of complete disorientation on the world arena. But we must also uncover the conditions surrounding these cases, in order to demonstrate their exceptional nature. In that way will it be clearly seen that these are not examples from which we can generalize nor from which we can deduce that the construction of revolutionary parties is not necessary.

Among the sectarian tendencies that appeared in the Trotskyist movement after the war, there are groups that (through fear of having to conclude—by using very formal logic—that building revolutionary parties was superfluous) have denied the existence of workers states created by exceptional circumstances, under the leadership of a mass movement that was not revolutionary-Marxist. Denying facts can only lead to incorrect positions.

On the other hand, the theses of the Third Congress were in error on the prospects for war and on the economic prospects. Nobody at all imagined at the time that we were about to enter a period of economic prosperity in the capitalist world, the like of which had never before been seen in scope or in duration, a prosperity interrupted only by short, mild recessions. We know of no writer who had even entertained such a notion. The main results of this unforeseen reversal in the economic conjuncture were that the perspectives on the crisis of capitalism and the world war became much more remote than anticipated by the congress's theses, for capitalism is not driven to war as long as the economy is not in dire straits.<sup>27</sup>

The perspectives of the document on the crisis of Stalinism, which the theses postulated as coming to a head not before but during a world war, proved to be wrong because this crisis was much closer than anticipated. As for the opponents of the Third Congress's theses, they generally had no real perspective whatsoever on the crisis of Stalinism, even for the long run. In other words, the main error of the theses lay in the relative rate of the crises of capitalism and Stalinism, the congress having seen the crisis of capitalism as preceding that of Stalinism, while the opposite was to happen.

[To be continued]

27. The discussion for the Third Congress barely dealt with the proximity of the war, but with the idea of the "war-revolution."

Thousands of political activists belonging to a wide spectrum of political parties and striking trade unionists in different parts of Pakistan, have been arrested under emergency regulations.

In Baluchistan the NAP government (Nali Khan's National Awami Party) is reported to have imprisoned nearly 400 political workers and peasants and expelled a few political opponents from the province. Not to be outdone the PPP (President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party) in Punjab and Sind have resorted to large scale arrests in order to curb the opposition from both the right and left. In Sind alone nearly 1,000 people have been categorized as political prisoners.

The arrests in the provinces reflect the extent of the social crisis that has gripped Pakistan since the independence of Bangladesh. The only way out of the impasse requires revolutionary solutions of which neither the NAP nor the PPP are capable. As a result they look for temporary remedies such as an alliance with the Indian bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile in Pakistan, rising prices and increased cost of living have created growing disillusionment with Bhutto and Nali Khan on the part of the workers and peasants. And in the absence of an organized socialist alternative a drift to the extreme right is possible.

**AFTERMATH OF ARGENTINE MASSACRES**

One of the effects of the emotional and moral reaction of the Argentine people to the atrocious murder of 16 guerrilla fighters has been to complicate the jockeying between the military government and the Peronists, whose support is needed to put a damper on the rising social conflicts in the country.

Since the massacre a number of incidents including the banning of an issue of the Peronist magazine "Primera Plana", have increased the tensions between the armed forces and the followers of Peron. An order has reportedly gone out for the arrest of the Peronist youth leader Radolfo Calumberti when the police and army attacked the Peronist headquarters in Buenos Aires on August 24 to seize the bodies of 3 victims of the Trelew massacre, the tension had clearly reached a high point.

The political complications caused by the massacre and its aftermath were most spectacular, on the international level, leading apparently to Lanuse threatening to break diplomatic relations with Chile. In this sphere, the complications of the affair were compounded by the combined contradictions of two regimes delicately balanced on political tightropes. The arrival of 10 guerrillas in Chile, the comrades of escapees captured in Trelew, seriously embarrassed Chilean President Allende, who would like to see the continuance of the "cordial" relationship with Argentina. The Chilean government granted the Argentine guerrillas asylum, in an attempt to appease, Chile has decided that these political refugees must leave the national territory within the briefest possible time. The Argentine



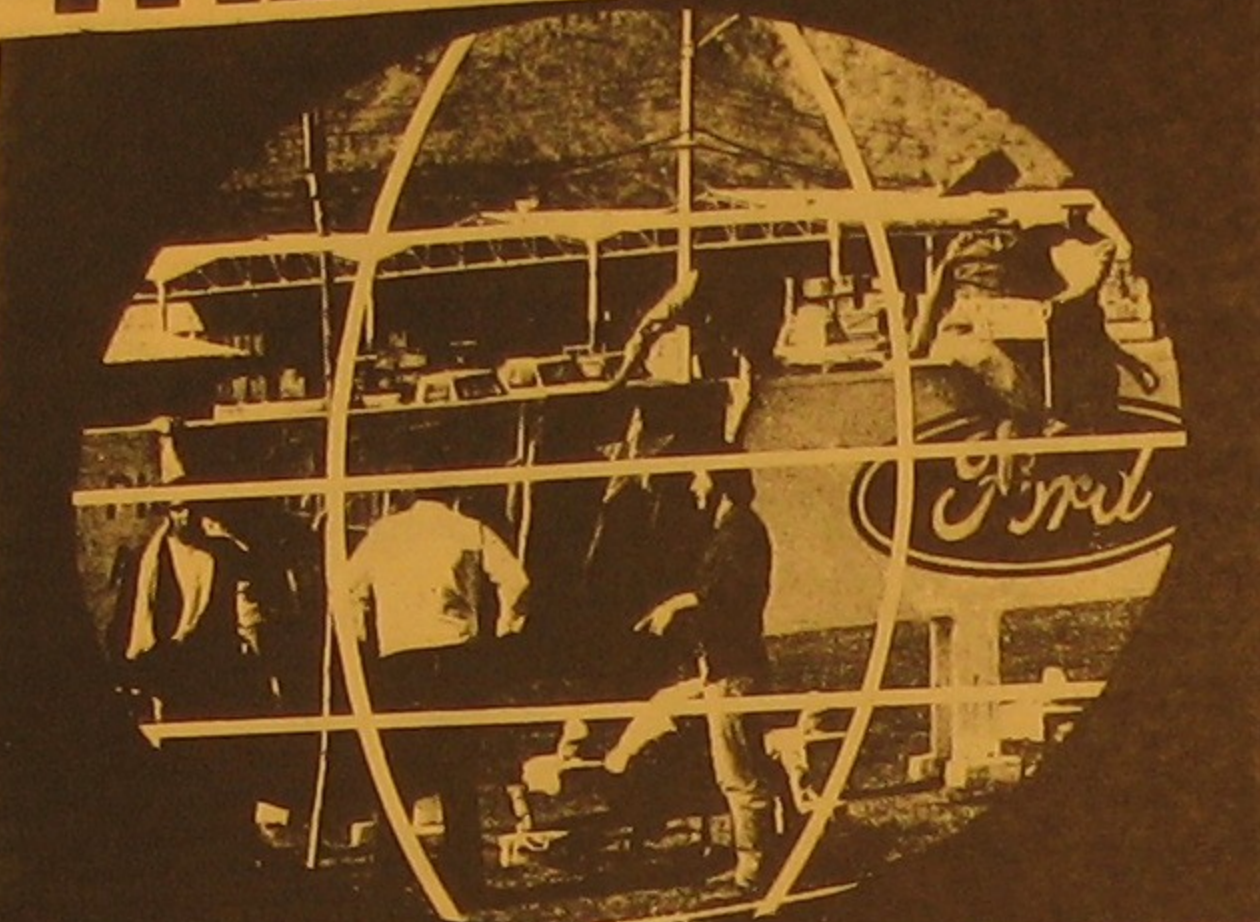
Anna Maria Villarreal de Santucho, E.R.P. leader slain by military.

Government responded with a "severe formal protest". It also withdrew its ambassador, Doctor Teodoro Gallaco, from Santiago, ostensibly for consultations.

It is hard to predict what further effects the bloody episode in Patagonia will have on the complex political situation

# THE WORLD

# REVOLUTION



Nationalised Ford plant in Chile

in the Southern part of Latin America. But one thing is certain. The Argentine military dictatorship is determined to suppress the facts about the massacre in Trelew. Only the 3 surviving revolutionists, if they survive) can tell the whole truth about what happened to them and their slaughtered comrades.

**BRODSKY**

On June 4 Yosif Brodsky, 32, a soviet poet well known in the west, left the Soviet Union under pressure from the Secret Police (KGB)

Yosif Brodsky first received international notoriety in 1964 when a transcript of his trial was published in the west. A slander campaign began against him in November 1963 in an article in the "Evening Leningrad" entitled "A Semi-literary Parasite" which charged him with corrupting the youth and writing anti-Soviet poetry.

In February 1964 he was brought to trial in Leningrad on the charge of "vagrancy and parasitism". The verdict was no surprise.

"The prisoner Brodsky is not filling the duties of a Soviet citizen. . . He has refused to work and has continued writing his decadent poems and reciting them at private evening parties. According to the report of the committee investigating the work of young writers, it is clear that Brodsky is not a poet. This is why the court will apply the law of February 4, 1961. Brodsky is condemned to exile in a remote locality for a period of 5 years of forced labour."

In October 1965 he was pardoned and released under pressure from his fellow writers and intellectuals. Although he continued to write his "decadent" and "corrupting" poetry, none of his work has yet been published in the Soviet Union except as Samizdat (literally "self-publishing house"). The recent blow against him by the Soviet bureaucrats indicates that they still consider him dangerous. It also indicates an ominous turn by those who would like to see art and literature serve nothing but the interests of the bureaucracy.

**CHILE**

The past few months have seen the rise of a reactionary right wing in Chile with its base in the expropriated landlords and local businessmen. Its expression is via the Christian Democrats who have organized and mobilized right wing opposition under the demands, liberty, bread, peace and freedom.

When Allende's Unidad Popular government introduced price controls, because of a 33% rise in the cost of living over the past year, there was a strike of the shopkeepers, with the complaint that their economic freedom was being impinged upon. The same evening of the day of the strike, police tried to reopen the shops and in the furore that followed there were 300 arrests. Two members

of government had their homes picketed, and a female member had her car stoned. In other right wing attacks, there was a case where landlords killed two peasants and wounded six others in attempting to seize the peasants' property, another where one peasant was killed and four wounded. On September 2 left wing militants fought rightist elements with Molotov cocktails, poles, rocks and fists, in street battles.

Allende has attempted to steer the Unidad Popular away from the revolutionary cause, and against all Marxist logic to fight for socialism through the parliamentary structure. Allende's hope is to conciliate with the right Christian Democrats and to defuse the right wing resurgence by methods of appeasement. For his part Allende has denounced the attempt to form a mass revolutionary united-front organization as "divisive". This has resulted in the right wing being strengthened. The fundamental problem Allende has not come to grips with, is what to do with the bourgeois state apparatus. In the August 15 issue, the far left bi-weekly "Punto Final" expressed this contradiction under the caption: "Who Controls the Police?"

"The events in the 'Moncada Attack' camp of homeless people have gravely disturbed the working class, showing dramatically the contradiction that exists when a government proposes to begin building socialism and at the same time retains the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. This repressive apparatus moves by its own weight. It was created to intimidate the dispossessed classes. Only a little push is needed, a judicial or administrative order, for its ferocity to be unleashed against the working people."

Also on May 12 in Concepcion the Communist Party, used the police to savagely attack a left-wing demonstration leaving one dead and about fifty wounded.

In the July 18 issue of "Punto Final" Pedro Felipe Ramirez, the deputy secretary of the Izquierda Cristiana, argued that Allende's actions were strengthening the right.

"Thus far the UP has wavered between the masses and the superstructure in seeking the political strength that it needs to carry the process of change forward. Many of the enterprises today in the hands of the workers were won fundamentally by appealing for the support of the masses. The institutional conflicts with the parliament, the tended, however, to lead to confrontations in which the government has not superstructural solution. In general this confuses the masses. They can't understand why the right-wing liberals are friends one day and enemies the next."

"One day they attack the Christian Democrats and the next day they praise them. One day they say that the Chilean

courts defend the interests of the ruling class and the next day they condemn the peasants who rebel against a rightist, provocative judge. How can the people know who their friends are and who are their enemies? And if the most conscious sectors of the masses are confused, what can you expect of the peasants, the Shantytown dwellers, and the workers who, victims of their alienation, support the Christian Democrats and even the Partido Nacional?"

"A sharp demarcation in political lines thus seems to be developing in the UP, and among its supporters. The left forces in the coalition are calling for mobilizing the people and forming organizations directly representative of the masses to combat the rightist offensive."

They have formed a People's Assembly with the support of four UP parties, the Socialist Party (Allende's party), the Radical Party, the Movimiento de Accion Popular Unitaria, the Izquierda Cristiana (Christian Left) and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), 60 unions, 5 peasant organizations, 31 camps of homeless people, 16 student organizations and 27 mothers' co-operatives. These are the representatives of the masses. At the first meeting of the Peoples' Assembly, 5,000 were present.

Out of the struggle only one party has emerged with any semblance of a revolutionary socialist programme.

The most consistent supporters of the People's Assembly seemed to be the MIR. They proposed not only to use the assembly as a means for mobilizing the masses to resist rightist intimidation and pressures; they also presented a concrete programme around which the assembly could organize the people to smash the power of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists and begin fighting immediately against the reactionary sabotage of the country's economic life.

The main points of the MIR programme issued on August 28 are:

- Immediate readjustment of wages and salaries by 100 percent to cover the increase in the cost of living, with preference given to the most poorly paid workers. Readjustment of wages every time the cost of living rises more than 5 percent. It is to be understood that this does not limit the legitimate struggle of the workers to win increasing shares of the profits from their bosses. Moreover, we call for establishing state outlets at which the basic necessities would be sold at subsidized prices, giving preference to the poorest strata who lack stable employment.
- Workers' control in the companies of the private sector, on the basis of opening the books of businesses and banks. Workers' management in state enterprises.
- Control by the people over supply and prices, including, if necessary, rationing of the basic necessities. This control should be applied by the unions, the JAF (Juntas de Abastecimiento y Control de Precios - Supply and Price Control Boards), neighborhood groups, and other mass organizations represented in the Local Workers' Councils.
- The establishment of a consumer market basket of basic products whose prices would not be allowed to rise. Discriminatory price rises on those products consumed by the well-to-do strata. A price policy that would effectively transfer resources from the private to the nationalized sector.
- Immediate expropriation of the big wholesalers and big retail traders.
- Expropriation of the industrial big bourgeoisie. Only the people can produce for the people.
- Expropriation of ranches of more than forty hectares without leaving any "reserves" or loopholes, with the land being handed over immediately to the peasants, under the direction of the Local Peasant Councils (Consejos Comunales Campesinos).
- Workers' control over the means of mass communication in order to stop the campaign of terrorizing the people by creating fears about scarcities.
- Immediate suspension of payment on the foreign debt to the U.S. and the opening of bilateral negotiations with those countries ready to cooperate with Chile. We need our dollars to feed the people.

The MIR programme ends with an appeal for worldwide support: "We call on all peoples and in particular the socialist countries to show internationalist solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people."

# REPRESSION IN CEYLON

BY FRED FELDMAN

The trial of forty-one Sri Lanka youths accused of participating in the April 1971 uprisings is continuing despite protests by defense attorneys and growing opposition by trade unions and civil libertarians to the United Front government's effort to railroad them to prison. The forty-one are the first contingent to be singled out for public trial. Of the 18,000 youths who were seized for allegedly engaging in the uprising, at least 10,000 are still in jails and detention camps.

Among those now on trial for conspiring to "wage war against the queen" (Ceylon's "socialist" government remains in the British Commonwealth) is Rohan Wijeweera, leader of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the radical youth group that headed the uprising.

According to the August 17 "Ceylon Times", only three of the thirty-two prisoners who appeared for trial (nine are reportedly still "at large") pleaded guilty to the charges. Attorney General Victor Tennecoone charged in his opening argument at a hearing August 10 that the youths were responsible for civilian deaths during the uprising. The government apparently hopes to use the trial to shift the blame for the massacres committed by Bandaranaike's security forces onto the young rebels.

At the August 10 session, H. N. G. Fernando, president of the Criminal Justice Commission, specially set up to try these cases, overruled defense objections that the act creating the commission was illegal, that the alleged offenses are not

now punishable by law, that the suspects should not be required to plead, and that evidence should not be heard regarding suspects who are missing or dead. Fernando refused to hear any defense arguments in support of these objections.

In protest against Fernando's arbitrary rulings, five defense attorneys (G. D. C. Weerasinghe, Edmund Samarakody, Lakshman Guruswamy, M. B. Ratnayake, and Harischandra Mendis) withdrew from the trial. This act, plus efforts by defendants to make statements in their own defense, led Attorney General Tennecoone to directly threaten defendants and attorneys who oppose the procedures of the commission.

According to the "Ceylon Times," Tennecoone said: "While we pay all respect to the presumption of the innocence of the accused until they have been proven guilty, these very incidents are proof of their guilt. . . I should not be surprised if last night they conspired to do this."

The "Ceylon Times" report continued: "He added that it might be well to remember that some of the lawyers who appeared for them were themselves declared revolutionaries without revolutionary parties and they would very willingly join this kind of conspiracy."

Wijeweera charged that he had not been permitted to see a lawyer who attempted to visit him.

Although Fernando promised shortly after

the defense attorneys' walkout that "in the interest of justice we will permit them (defendants) to cross-examine witnesses, to call evidence and to address when necessary," it remains to be seen whether these concessions will prove real. Only prosecution arguments and witnesses have been heard so far. The attorney general's threats against attorneys and defendants justify skepticism about the reliability of Fernando's promises.

The increasingly isolated United Front Government of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike is seeking to placate opposition by promising large-scale releases of detainees in the near future. Felix Dias Bandaranaike told a gathering that 7,000 will be released "very soon". A later statement from the Justice Ministry asserted that 4,000 would be released by mid-October. Those released would be "required to report to Rehabilitation Committees regularly."

Despite such promises, Prime Minister Bandaranaike has been making frequent speeches denouncing the island's young people and blaming them for many of the economic and political troubles faced by her government. According to the "Ceylon Times" of August 10, in one such oration Bandaranaike "appealed to youth to change their values and attitudes. . . Referring to the insurrection she said a band of impatient men who were misguided wanted instant socialism. All they did was to put the clock back and wreck what was already achieved."

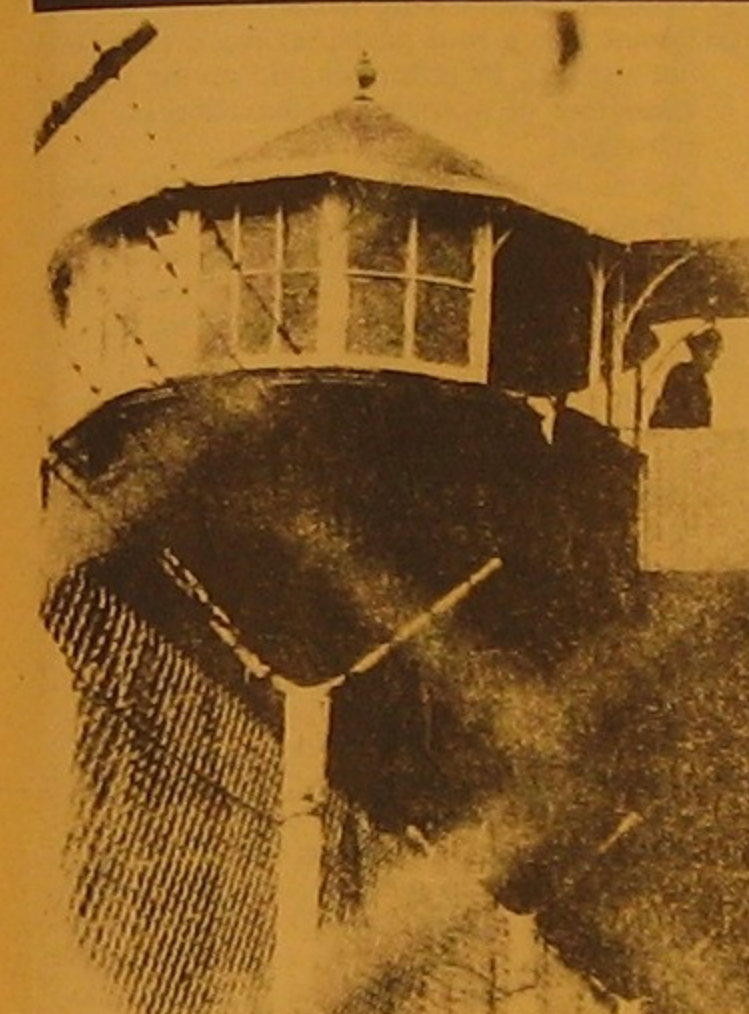
"Don't keep blaming the government and

attempt revolution," she warned. "We admit our failings but we expect you to point it out to us through your MPs." To make certain that the MPs' jobs would not be threatened by such "pointing out," Bandaranaike's parliament recently extended its term of office until 1978.

A recent indication of rising opposition to the seventeen-month-old state of emergency is a leaflet issued July 20 entitled "Against Repression!" The statement is signed by Prins Gumasekera, general secretary of the Human and Democratic Rights Organisation, Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (Tampoe is also the attorney for several defendants in the current trial), Kerthie Seneviratne, president of the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union, Leslie Fernando, joint secretary of the Central Council of Ceylon Trade Unions, and M. S. Sallasmay, general secretary of the Ceylon Workers' Congress.

The leaflet calls for a one-day hunger strike to demand repeal of the Public Security and Criminal Justice Commission Acts, and the end of repression against dissenters. It represents the first such call for mass protest action issued by prominent political figures since the state of emergency was instituted in March, 1971.

The leaflet also informs readers of the July 7, 1972, resolution passed by the General Council of Advocates of Sri Lanka denouncing the Criminal Justice Commission Act, under which the current trials are taking place.



# THE PRISON REVOLT

BY DAVID DEUTSCHMANN

Penitence

The rebellion by prisoners is not a recent phenomenon, and yet it is only in the last few years that this rebellion has intensified and taken on a political consciousness. It is only in recent years that prisoners have been able to articulate their demands and relate them to the general nature of society. That is, prisoners are now recognizing that the repression by the legal system, of which prisons are an essential part, is in itself part of the oppressive capitalist framework.

The prison revolt has taken on a world wide dimension. The United States (Attica, Tomie, Folsom and Soledad), France (Toul), Canada, Britain (Dartmoor), and the Philippines have seen some of the largest and most recent examples of prisoner action - and the most repressive reactions by the forces of "law and order."

Whenever a prison revolt takes place all sectors of the bourgeoisie join together, if not to place an embargo on all reports of the incident, at least distort the facts to their own advantage. The American bourgeoisie epitomized such a reaction in the days following the Attica rebellion.

"Attica was an example of the capitalist state lashing back against the revolt of radicalising prisoners within a period of general radicalisation" (International Socialist Review, May 1972 "Behind the Prison Revolt" by Joe Johnson)

The crimes of violence on which the media place an overwhelming emphasis are indeed only a small minority of all crimes committed. In 1969 only 11% of the prison population of the United States were convicted for crimes of violence - the remainder, 89%, committed 'crimes against property.' This situation is little different to that existing in prisons throughout capitalist countries. The prisons

of the United States can be seen as being representative of the nature of prisons in any advanced capitalist state.

And the Johnson Government report of 1967 is even less surprising in its statement that more than 90% of all criminal offenders come from the lower income section of the community (less than \$5,000 p.a.). The recognition that nearly all persons committing a 'criminal offense' are from the working classes is essential in understanding a basic contradiction within the capitalist state. That is, the bourgeoisie itself commits crimes on a much larger scale and of a greater significance and yet it is never subject to the repressive legal system which it relies upon so much to continue its day-to-day exploitation and oppression. The bourgeoisie finds it necessary to establish an apparatus of coercion and violence so as to continue in existence as the exploiting class - to maintain the social and economic order. Prisoners themselves are used as examples to foster conformity and obedience to the existing social order.

In Australia we find prisoners going through a similar period of radicalisation. Throughout the country the repressive nature of the prisons is obvious and various revolts have taken place, particularly in Penitence Gaol, Melbourne. Here we have seen prisoners refusing to submit to the physical conditions of the prison and they have taken part in sit-ins and strikes, in an attempt to convince the authorities, if not the public, that the prison is of an archaic nature. Prison is with the full support of the Liberal Party State Government, reacted with numerous baton charges and an overall increase in coerciveness. The present government inquiry into the

bashings of H division, with its very limited terms of reference, must be seen as an attempt to convince the public that the government has little to hide. The fact that the inquiry is of such a narrow nature shows clearly that the government does in fact have a lot to keep from the public in relation to the repressive conditions of the prison. Only after much pressure, particularly from the newly-formed Prisoner Action Group, did the government finally submit to this 'inquiry'.

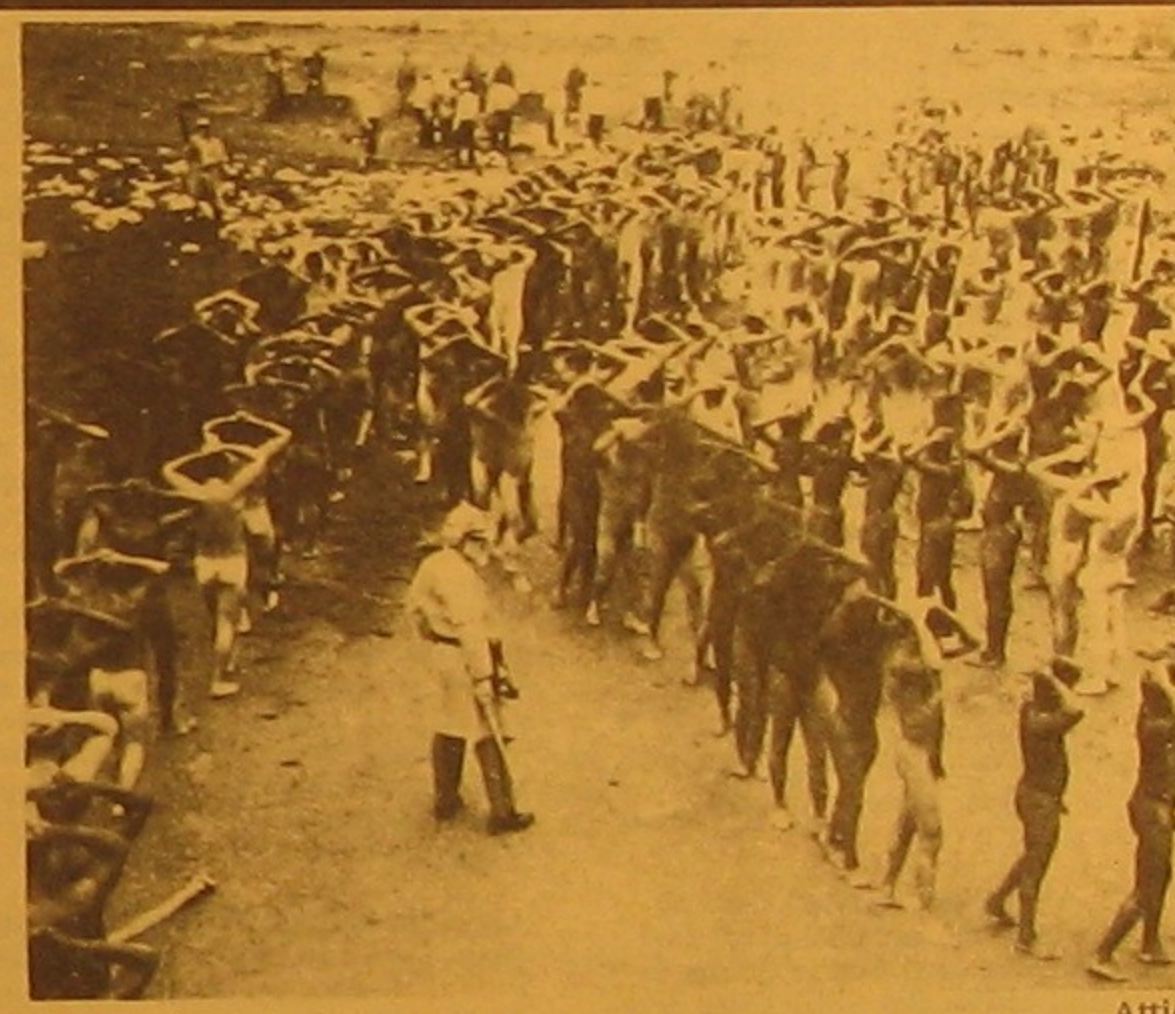
Throughout this inquiry and wider ones which must follow, it is necessary to present various demands to both the public and the authorities. As a broad objective we see the necessity of the abolition of prisons but the realisation of this can in no way come about in a capitalist state. And the abolition of prisons is completely unacceptable to society as it is now, so it is necessary to take on demands of a transitional nature. Reforms, however small, of the present system, must be supported on the grounds that any alleviation of the appalling conditions currently imposed in prisons will be a victory for the prisoners.

These demands centre around the principle of prisoner self-determination as well as minimum prison standards. Briefly, these demands are:

- \* free speech for prisoners (freedom of communication with prisoners and visitors without censorship)
- \* political rights for prisoners (the freedom to hold political meetings and form political organisations within the prison; freedom to receive, to read and to write political material of any sort; freedom of prisoners to join any outside political group, and to vote in elections)

- \* prisoner self-government (of such sections as the prison industries, provision of meals, recreation and routine - that is, all sections of the prison not directly connected with security)
- \* abolition of unnecessary humiliation, regimentation and suffering (abolition of such things as corporal punishment, uniforms and so forth)
- \* non-productive work and forced labor must be abolished.
- \* prisoners must have a reasonable choice of work, receive remuneration and conditions equivalent to those existing outside prison.
- \* prisoners must have the right to join the relevant union, to form shop committees, and to receive regular inspection from union officials.
- \* no prisoner who needs immediate treatment for any illness or injury must be denied it.
- \* prisoners must not be denied access to the normal legal system, or access to legal advisers.
- \* prisoners must be entitled to receive regular visits in private and congenial circumstances from sexual partners.
- \* homosexuality amongst prisoners must be permitted.

"This struggle (for prisoners' rights) is only beginning and full support should be given to this fight of the most oppressed and tormented within capitalism. The reforms of liberals that give more power to the capitalist state throughout its unjust courts, parole boards, judges, etc., must be rejected. Prisoners, like students, are not in the position, unaided, to make a socialist revolution. But they are in the forefront of the fight for a just society. Their struggle to be treated as human beings is a giant step toward the time when we will all be free." - ("International Socialist Review", May 1972, Joe Johnson.)



Attica

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## ALIENATED STUDENT

Dear D.A.,

While outlining some of the more obvious faults of the education system, your back-page article in the August 24 issue didn't seem to attack the basic assumptions on which the system works. Maybe this wasn't the aim of the thing, or it might have been due simply to lack of space. But a deeper analysis would be greatly appreciated, so that the SYA's stand on education can be more thoroughly evaluated by high school kids.

I work from the premise that before there can be a radical breakdown of the capitalist social structure, there must be a radical breakdown of a value system that is very strongly instilled in modern man, mainly by the education, (or rather, indoctrination), system. This value system perpetuates the present social system, by stifling initiative and alienating people from themselves and each other, thus inhibiting direct (group) action.

This breaking down of the individual's initiative diminishes or even removes people's ability to make a claim to what they might otherwise regard as their basic human rights.

Both the sociological implications of the education system and its effect on people individually must be taken into account. Schools fail miserably in fulfilling many of the student's psychological needs (which in many cases the family unit is simply incapable of providing for). This has been demonstrated to me by the fact that I have seen a number of students suffer severe mental breakdowns, because the pressure on them to stifle a strong sense of personal initiative, and live up to the demands made of them by the system, was too much to handle. (Demands, moreover, that are imposed by teachers who claim to oppose this very system.) This, as well as being expected to live up to the ideals of other pressure groups surrounding them, puts students in a situation that they often simply can't cope with. (In fact, I later found myself in this position, one which is physically and mentally incapacitating, as well as dehumanising.)

"Direct Action" outlines what it sees as the main demands forwarded by Education Action Groups in the capital cities. But while these demands are realistic at this present stage and from a practical viewpoint, surely we need to go a lot further if we want to destroy the foundations on which the school (and university) systems work.

1. The strong emphasis put on outward success, shown by a) the grading of kids (from an early age), according to assumed levels of intelligence. Not only does this thwart potential in many cases, but it also alienates kids from each other and causes hostility between them. b) a radical change in the examination system (which I was surprised to find wasn't listed as one of the EAG's demands!) Or better still, the outright rejection of the "success"-orientated way of thinking that encourages the display of knowledge for the sake of personal gain, and not the sharing of knowledge for mutual social benefit.

2. The amount of time spent on the theoretical side of learning, and the neglect of the practical aspect. Your article states that "... the ultimate aim (of schools) is to suit people for a vocation ..." and subordinate to this is the development of the individual. While this statement is quite true, schools fail to fulfill even this vocational aim. Students are denied the opportunity to learn by practical experience. The school is fairly isolated from the rest of society. Students who have been (fortunately for employers) cut off from personal involvement in the workings of other governmental and privately owned institutions, often willingly enter a job with an unrealistic idea of what it will be like.

3. The emphasis on teaching rather than learning. The break-

down of this mechanism would mean that the school teacher's position and function in the school (that is, as part of the administrative bureaucracy) must change.

An autonomous person can establish a balanced knowledge of the sciences and humanities, without having it imposed from above. However, the old-fashioned idea that learning is a task and not a source of enjoyment is still very widespread in Australia. It is possible for knowledge to be discovered and digested rather than forced down the student's neck, as long as sources (libraries, for example) are provided.

In fact, it's time students thought about taking the responsibility of selecting their syllabus into their own hands, rather than having the syllabus handed to them.

The present emphasis on 'teaching' is part of the basis of authoritarian thinking (particularly in Australia) and is a major cause of alienation of people from themselves (i.e., their own integrity), and thus their obedience to capitalist ethics.

Yours,  
Alienated student.

## IRELAND AGAIN

Editors  
Direct Action

You cannot dismiss the trouble in Ireland as not being a religious matter largely.

1. How do you explain the fact that the great majority of bomb victims are Protestants?

2. During the depression of early 1930 when I was still in the primary school a man came to our farm asked if he could get any work and for payment he only wanted his food and tobacco. During his stay with us we learned he had come only recently from Ulster. It was at this time that the late Dr. Mannix of Melbourne had decided to cause trouble in Ulster by making a visit there; but he didn't get further than the Belfast wharf. Just as well for him because at the time we learned from our farm hand that he was one of many men maintaining a 24 hour wait for Dr Mannix to step ashore, where execution was certain.

My point is sir, would you say Mr Todd farm hand was an Imperialist?

3. Now sirs also are you aware that a plebiscite was taken during World War 1 asking the people of Ulster if they wished to remain under Britain or under Irish government. The reply was an overwhelming vote to remain British, as it will again be when the next plebiscite is taken shortly.

I am anxious to know how you equate American support for the IRA through the so-called North American Alliance which is just another faction of the CIA for these are the same criminals who are killing millions of innocent people in the Republic of Vietnam (of course you know apart from financial aid from America also how to make your own home made bombs.)

Also what about the Irish people working in England tax free - that's for those who work of course, but what about those many more on the dole, yes I worked in Kentish and Camden Town in London nearly 20 years ago, but it would be different for me if there today in this respect, I am an Australian and wouldn't be able to get a work permit at my trade but for even an Irish labourer the situation is the same as 20 years ago. Just another example of the power of religion internationally. If you are going to analyse the situation in a socialist manner you will clearly see the Catholic Church is the enemy of socialism all over the world for it thrives on ignorance, has advanced little since the middle ages (President Theu is a Catholic). It has assets second only to Wall Street not to mention its priceless treasures. It has political influence in all countries except (Russia, China and maybe 1 or 2 smaller countries). It interferes in the daily lives of millions of people, worst example probably being Ireland at the moment. Yet DA is giving it full support. Come come where does

your socialist system stand behind Nixon in Ireland and against him in Vietnam. Mankind needs to rid of both religion and imperialism.

Socialism cannot afford to lend assistance to any one religious faction of people for it is certain that would only retard the ultimate socialist society.

Giving support to the IRA could well be compared to supporting General Franco in Spain in 1936. For the outcome would be the same. It will be recalled even priests and nuns were imprisoned, tortured and murdered by General Franco, so DA be warned. Beware.

Thanking you  
Yours faithfully  
H. Wilson

## D.A. REPLIES AGAIN

Our correspondent seems somewhat confused as to what we said in our reply to his previous letter (Direct Action No. 25, Page 15). We refer the reader to this and the articles we have carried on Ireland in the past.

Here we wish only to take up a few general points carried by H. Wilson. Any study of the actual dynamics of the struggle will show that religious factors have played a purely secondary role. The essential content of this struggle is the fight of the long oppressed Irish people to determine their own destinies free from British imperialism and its local lackeys.

We are not supporting "one religious faction" against another. The essential thing about the oppressed minority in the north is that they are nationalist, not that many of them are Catholic. Catholicism is an enemy of the Irish people. They will find out who their real friends are in the course of the struggle. If socialists wish to influence this struggle they must go through this experience with the masses, not denounce it because many of them have religious beliefs. That is why we support the Irish people's struggle unconditionally, i.e. irrespective of its leadership and the level of consciousness of its participants. In this regard, in the 1920s, the Communist Third International under Lenin and Trotsky supported the struggle of the Moroccan Riffs under feudal leadership against Spanish domination, and they were absolutely correct in this. The religious aspect of the struggle is not accidental. Imperialism consciously created the pro-British protestant enclave in the north. And in the 1921 Partition Treaty they divided Ireland into the 26 counties Free State and the 6 counties in the north. This arrangement has higherto managed to contain the national struggle in Ireland - in the north by terrorising the nationalist minority. Given this situation, plebiscites conducted in the north prove nothing except the intelligence shown by British imperialism in defence of its interests. The real will of the Irish people north and south is being shown in the struggle.

## ABORTION

To the editor,

In your August 24 editorial, you state that "the fight to repeal the anti-abortion laws is the central task which the women's movement faces in the current ... The campaign for the right to abortion is the way forward for the whole women's movement." Your concern is shown by the fact that this issue has 5 articles on abortion, including 3 in the Women in Revolt section.

This emphasis on abortion to the exclusion of other women's issues can have very serious repercussions. Concentrating on a single issue can lead to the collapse of a movement once the particular demand is achieved. This was demonstrated in the Women's Rights movement at the turn of the century: restricting the objective to the vote was one of the factors contributing to the failure of the movement to survive.

The editorial states: "the right to abortion attacks the whole role of women in patriarchal capitalist society, and brings them into direct confrontation with church and state." Of all the demands of the Women's Liberation Movement, legalised abortion is the most easily provided by the state. It requires merely a simple piece of legislation. Other demands, such as equal pay, and work opportunity, or free client-controlled child care are much more expensive to provide and raise questions about woman's role in relation to society. England found it easy to provide legal abortion well before the Women's Liberation Movement arose. Many states in the U.S. now have legal abortion: though the women's movement may have been the stimulus, the demand was easy to fulfill.

Socialists should encourage the women's movement to call for free abortion on demand. Unless abortion is free, there is no meaning in the phrase "a woman's right to choose". With the restriction of contraceptive information to better-educated middle-class women, it is the poorer working class women who have the greatest need for abortion. If it is not free and freely available, they will be no closer to being able to choose.

If abortion is not available on demand, we could end up with a situation like that in London, where abortion is legal, and even available free on the national health scheme, but there is a two to three month waiting list. Thus many women have to resort to a private clinic, where the cost is around £150. Those who can't afford this are no better off than in France, where all abortions are illegal.

In another article, you note that the abortion coalition calls for "free contraceptives". Does SYA support this demand? Then why not call for free abortion?

Janey Stone

## D.A. REPLIES

In taking up some of the points made by Janey Stone in her letter, it is important to re-emphasise that we see the abortion issue as an issue which will play a key role in bringing new women into the women's liberation movement and in transforming the women's movement into a real political force capable of winning its demands and giving many hundreds of women an education in struggle.

To claim that the present women's movement could collapse if it concentrated only on, and won abortion law repeal, as did the early feminist movement when female suffrage was granted, is to display no understanding at all of the dynamic of the present women's movement and its demands which lead women very rapidly to an anti-capitalist consciousness. Far from causing its collapse, the winning of a victory on the abortion issue would give the women's movement a renewed impetus to struggle and a confidence in its own strength.

The abortion issue has undoubtedly emerged as the central issue of the women's movement internationally, polarising the right-wing in every country. Even in Britain anti-abortion forces have organized enormous demonstrations (50,000 in Liverpool on April 30 of this year) and abortions are becoming harder and harder to get. In Japan, where abortion is legal there has been strong pressure from reactionaries to repeal the present laws and make it illegal. The fact that abortion can be granted through a simple piece of legislation is precisely what causes women to question why it is denied to them.

Abortion, of course, should be free as should all medical services, or else it is out of the reach of large numbers of women. However, many women who would support the demand for the repeal of abortion laws would not agree that abortions should be free. Both the demand for "Free Abortion on Demand" and the demand for "Repeal all Abortion Laws" are principled demands. What we must assess is which demand has the capacity to mobilize the greatest number of women against the capitalist system. If bringing the question of socialized medicine into the demands, cuts off the support of large sections of women in the struggle against abortion then it is obviously not the most effective demand. It is our role as socialists to continually explain why abortion must be free if it is to be accessible to all women, not to press for the purest, most radical sounding demand at the expense of involving the maximum numbers of women.

We certainly agree that socialists should encourage the women's movement to question society as a whole. We constantly do this in our press and in all our propaganda. The question is how to reach the masses of women and draw them into struggle around demands relevant to their needs. In this way women will learn about the society they are fighting and begin to understand the limitations of reforms.

Crusty

Editors  
Direct Action

I read with interest (and some anger) the editorial in issue no. 26

in which you lecture the Victorian Socialist Left on the correct policies to be pursued by them during the current federal election campaign.

What right do you have to give this advice?

May I remind you that your faction got control of the New South Wales Socialist Left almost 12 months ago. Do you remember how a policy document submitted by me was rejected at a weekend policy meeting? Do you remember that Roger Barnes even refused to accept an amendment incorporating a few historical paragraphs from my document because it would reveal that your faction played no part whatsoever in supporting the Victorian left against right wing intervention?

You certainly have a crust to tell the Victorian SL that they must fight actively for a socialist programme. Why have you allowed the New South Wales SL to collapse if the socialist programme which you submitted, and which was adopted by the SL in New South Wales, was so important?

One of the prime curses of the Labor movement in Australia has been the existence of elitist sectarian groupings bringing their particular versions of salvation down from on high like Moses returning from Mt. Sinai. A consistent feature of most of these groups has been their disinclination to do any work in the Labor movement.

Your criticisms of those who do work in the Labor movement, like the Victorian SL, will deserve consideration only when your deeds match your rhetoric.

George Petersen

## D.A. REPLIES

Unfortunately George does not bother to discuss the actual content of our criticism in DA no. 26. Does he agree or disagree with this criticism? Do you or do you not believe that the Socialist Left should present a socialist alternative even during (or more especially during) a federal election campaign? People seriously involved in politics would answer this question first.

However George decides that its best to bluster about "crust" and "right" to advise etc. Unfortunately this sort of paternalism doesn't go down very well today. The youth radicalization has destroyed the ability of the labour "establishment" to avoid political discussion by appealing to experience. The monolithism implied in George's criteria for possible critics would lead to the elimination of workers' democracy in the labour movement and the stifling of all tendencies which identify their interests 100% with those of the working class and yet do not have parliamentary representatives or union officials in their ranks.

Of course we do not think that the deeds of Trotskyists do not match our "rhetoric". The programme that we support and in which we base any criticism is not new. It is the continuation of the revolutionary tradition from Marx and Engels through Lenin and Trotsky. We are not ashamed to use the concepts of these labour leaders and to seek to pass them on to the labour movement in Australia.

But one factual error about the collapse of the Socialist Left: Our "faction" never "got control" of the NSW Socialist Left. If anyone "controlled" George and his mates did so. What happened is that after full democratic debate when the SL voted for a document submitted by Roger Barnes, George and his mates boycotted the SL in a fit of pique. No organizational changes were made to the SL executive etc. But George and Co losing interest led to its collapse and there is no point to such a formation unless it is broadly based: this sort of Socialist Left is what we will fight for in the future. We hope George will rejoin the struggle too.

One other point: We are not directly involved in the Mideast revolution, yet we feel it is our duty to explain what is happening there and argue our point of view. We hope George will do this too. Meanwhile we would like to ask him how he voted in the NSW Legislative Assembly on the despicable motion presented by the Liberals on Munich. We understand it was carried unanimously. We hope George followed his own suggestion of not giving advice and at minimum found the courage to abstain.

Letters are welcome; comments, criticisms, contributions, or even praise, but try to keep them to less than 300 words.

# IN BRIEF. BY STEVE PAINTER

## ALP RESPONSIBLE FOR USTASHA BOMBINGS!!

For those puzzled as to who bombed the Yugoslav travel agencies in Sydney 11, as Attorney General Greenwood says, the Ustasha does not exist, Queensland premier Bjelke Petersen does not have the answer but he knows who is responsible. Speaking in the Queensland Parliament on September 19 he said that he was shocked to think that the bombings were a direct result of the Labor Party's campaign to spread the idea that if people did not like the law they could break or disobey it. Liberal MP's Mackay and Wentworth went a step further maintaining that although "it's impossible to say whether the bombings were done by the coms or not", the likelihood was that "communists" were "trying to stir up hatred."

Of course the bombing had nothing to do with the fact that the Ustasha has been allowed to function unhindered by the government and that at various times they have been permitted to use army equipment to train with.



Bjelke-Petersen

## TEACHERS VICTIMISED OVER SUPPORT FOR BLACK MORATORIUM

Five teachers at the J. J. Cahill High School (Sydney) have been charged with misconduct as a result of taking time off to attend the July 14 black rights rally. The 60 teachers at the school have asked the NSW Teachers Federation to instruct them to strike in support of the charged teachers.

J. J. Cahill High School was the scene of provocative action by the education authorities earlier this year, when Teachers Federation organiser Doris Jobling was charged with trespassing as a result of entering the school grounds to attend a teachers' meeting.

## WOODENBONG EVICTIONS PROTEST

On September 14, 50 people demonstrated outside Parliament House in Sydney in support of a rent strike being carried on by black people at Woodenbong Aboriginal Reserve in Northern NSW. The demonstration was addressed by black militants Gary Williams and Lyn Thompson.

The rent strike at Woodenbong is a result of the current NSW government policy of liquidating black reserves and selling the land which they occupy. A part of this policy has been the raising of rents on reserves to levels to which the black people cannot afford to pay. This policy has resulted in rent strikes at Purfleet and Brewarrina as well as Woodenbong. As a result of the Woodenbong strike, one family has already been evicted from their home and eviction proceedings have been instigated against five other families.

## GALLOPING INFLATION!

10,000 unskilled workers in the Port Moresby area of Papua have just been given a pay rise of \$3.50 per week. This brings their weekly wage to \$11.50. Social workers in the area claim that the minimum necessary to avoid starvation in Port Moresby at the present time is \$20 per week.

## REHABILITATION INSTITUTIONS

A prisoner from Melbourne's Pentridge Gaol, giving evidence to an inquiry into conditions at the prison has testified that warders at the prison took meat from the prisoners meals to feed to their dogs and that one warder dropped cigarette ash into prisoners meals. He also stated that officers at the prisons used stripplings for searches for sexual purposes against prisoners' wishes.

## MAKING MEN OF THEM

Labor Party Senator J. L. Cavanagh speaking in Parliament on Wednesday September 20, claimed that at Puckapunyal army camp in Victoria (where National Service conscripts spend 10 weeks in basic training) at least five conscripts have attempted suicide. When another conscript fell on a bayonet during a parade, an officer said "let the bastard die". The conscript later received stitches to a cut in his chin.

## CPA DOES NOT DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN LIBERAL BOURGEOISIE AND ALP

In a full page advertisement for the CPA election campaign carried in the September 19 - 25 issue of "Tribune", the CPA urges voters where there are no CPA candidates to vote for candidates opposing the Liberal Country Party coalition. The advertisement calls on people to vote for either the ALP or the Australia Party, making no significant distinction between the two. The advertisement fails completely to take account of the fact that the ALP is the party constructed by the Australian working class while the Australia Party is the creation of a section of the bourgeoisie which has no stomach for the genocide in Vietnam but considers it more sensible to exploit the underdeveloped countries through trade and financial deals rather than through military intervention.

## EMBASSY DEFENDER ACQUITTED

Ambrose Brown, a black militant arrested in the July 20 demonstration at the Aboriginal Embassy was acquitted in Canberra court on Tuesday September 19 on charges of hindering police, assaulting police and indecent language. The police offered no evidence. Of course the arrests at the embassy were not an indiscriminate tactic by the police aimed to break up the demonstration.

## STOP LIVING IN POVERTY OR ELSE

The Cloncurry (Queensland) Council has given 100 aborigines living in a camp outside the town, three months notice that their humpies will be bulldozed unless they are "cleaned up". The black people in the area have been forced to live in poverty for most of their lives because of unemployment. A member of the council said "We are not being hard on these people."



George Crawford

## GEORGE CRAWFORD REPORTS BACK

On Saturday September 16, George Crawford, Victorian ALP Chairman and leading figure in the Socialist Left reported on his trip to north Vietnam to a joint meeting of the La Trobe University Labor Club and the local Socialist Left branch. Here as elsewhere Crawford expressed the opinion that the antiwar movement should be pressing for a political settlement of the war, i.e.: all US troops and equipment out, withdrawal of support for the Saigon regime and the setting up of a coalition government in the South.

The last point represents another variation of the "negotiations" position rejected by the antiwar movement in the past. To call for negotiations of any kind is to allow the US presence in Indo China a justification when in fact, no such justification exists. The only principled stand for the antiwar movement is to call for complete and immediate withdrawal of all US troops and materiel, and an end to Australian complicity. To call for immediate withdrawal is to leave the question of formation of a government in the South in the hands of the Vietnamese people - which is where it should be. Any other stand on the question of negotiations admits the "right" of imperialism to interfere with the running of third world countries.

## MONGOLIA EXISTS

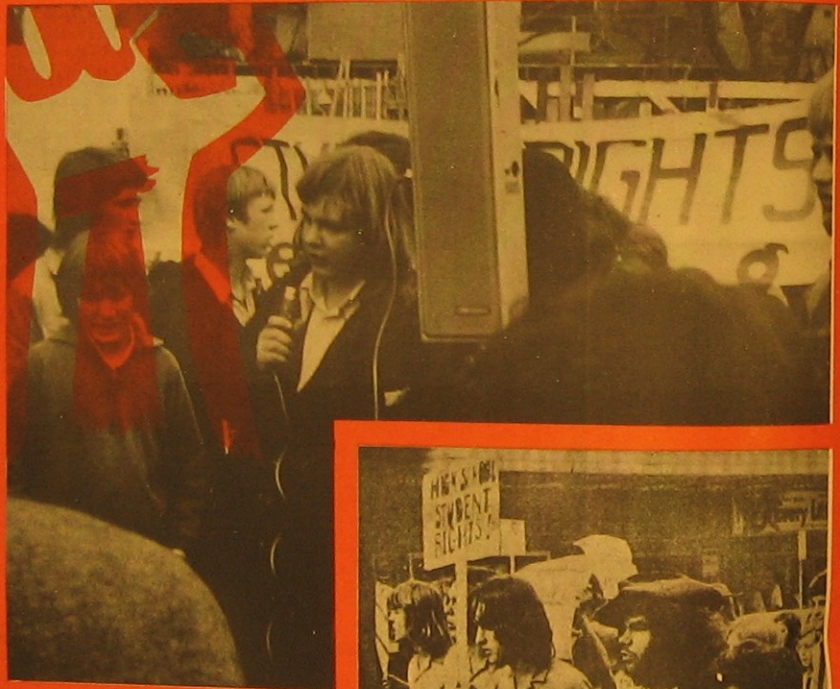
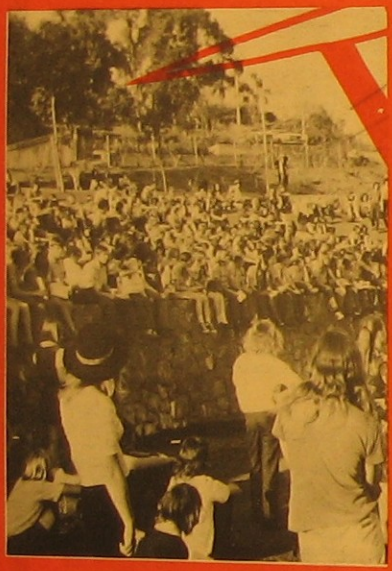
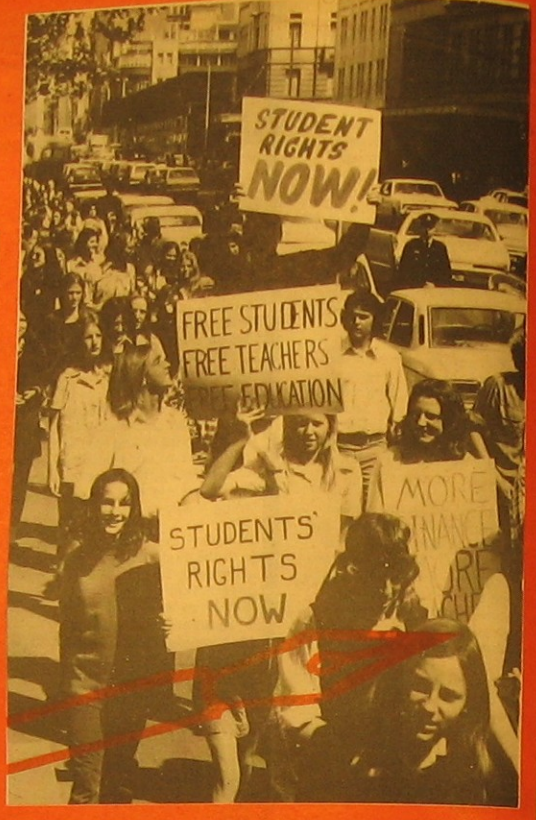
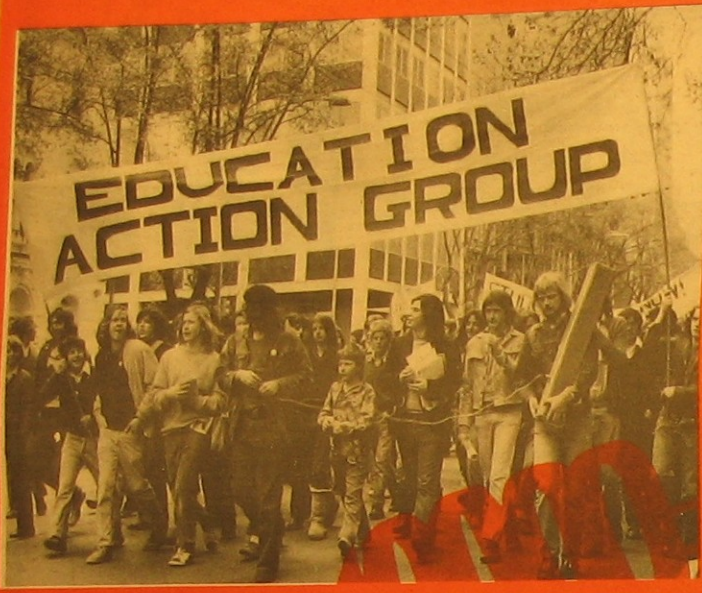
The Australian government has recently agreed to establish diplomatic relations with the republic of Mongolia in Central Asia. The government is reported to be investigating rumours about the existence of another republic called China believed to lie somewhere between Vietnam and Mongolia. It is believed however that the rumours are being treated with scepticism.

Above is an army recruitment billboard that has been altered for the sake of accuracy by a Syracuse, N.Y., group calling itself the Citizen's Committee for Honesty in Billboards. Previously it read, "The army will pay you \$288 a month to learn a skill." Photo from the US paper 'The Militant'



# Sept 20 Strike A Huge Success

FULL STORY, MORE PICTURES, PAGE 6



Top left: Melbourne march. Top right: Sydney march.  
Above: Brisbane rally. Right: Ian Gordon, Melbourne  
EAG coordinator, addressing rally.  
Below: Black activist Gary Foley speaking at meeting  
in Sydney's Hyde Park.  
Below right: Front of the march in Brisbane.

