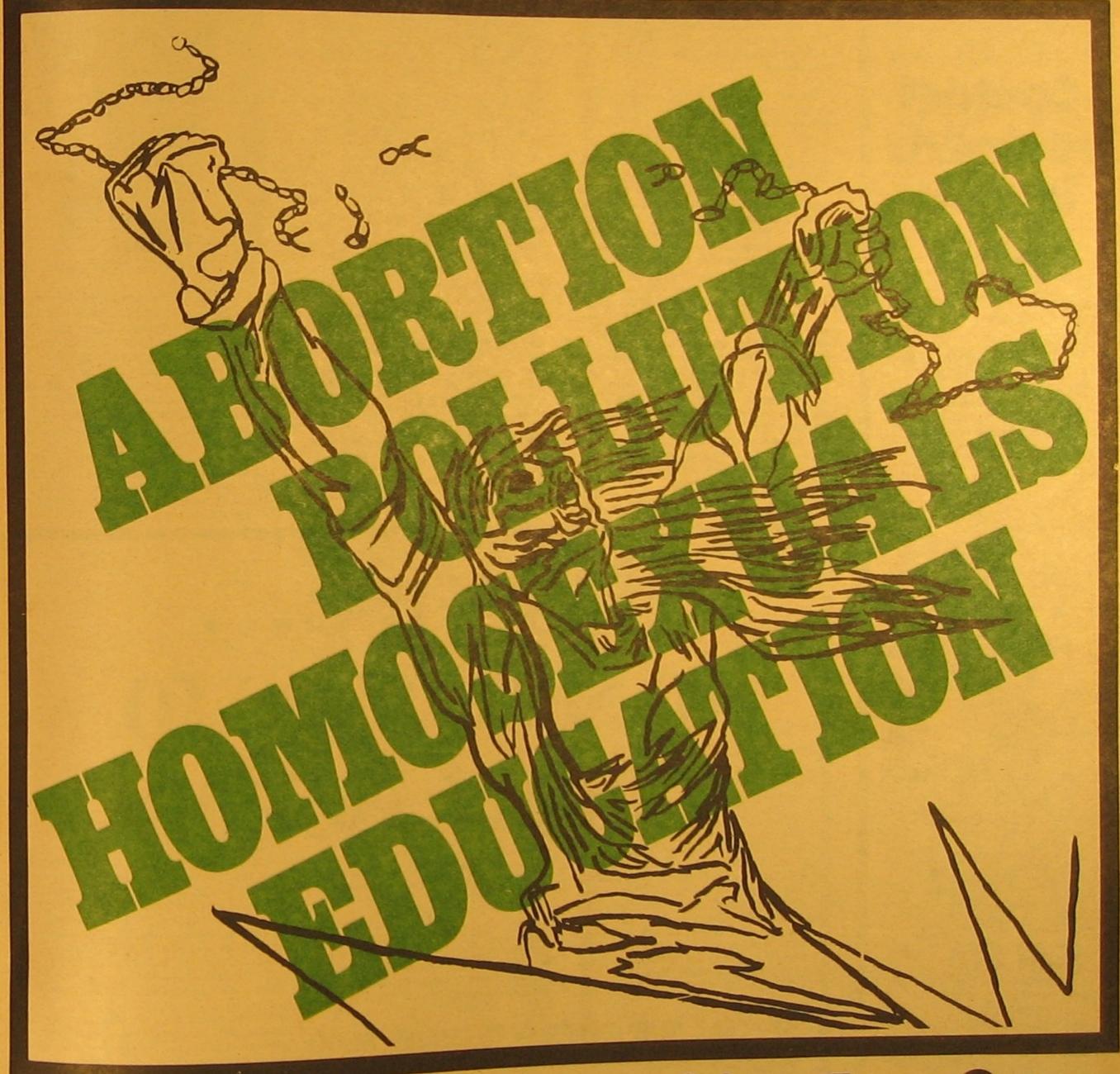
OG 13 1972 TO CENTS A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

What will Labor do about



Labor must fight for socialist solutions!

No. 28, October 13, 1972.

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

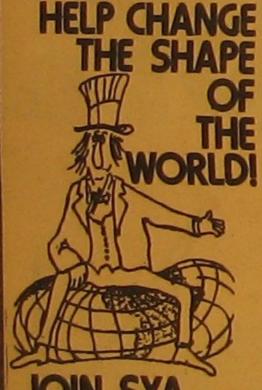
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DOWN WITH DUNSTAN'S
ANTI-LABOUR LAWS
The unsurge in working class militares.

The upsurge in working class militancy over the past 3 years has posed more than a few problems for the Australian ruling class. The international economic crisis has forced the bourgeoisie to bear down on the working class in every way possible, to squeeze the very last penny out of them in profits. Production line speed-ups, drop in quality of products, inflation and the creation of a permanent pool of unemployed are becoming part of the everyday experience of the worker. To combat this attack on its standard of living the working class has resorted to strike action - both "official" and "wildcat". The ruling class, to protect its interests, must make a concerted effort to hold back any attempts at advancement by the working class and break its will to struggle. This will necessarily include attempts to shackle both the established union movement

as well as stifling any rank and file

movement.

This can be attempted by two general tactics. Firstly, blatant state intervention against the unions. (e.g. the "Lynch Laws", the penal powers etc.) This form of attack has met with solid resistment. The union officials have been forced to take up the counteroffensive against the various Liberal governments' attacks through fear of being outflanked and bypassed by their own rank and file, Many sections of the ruling class have now realised that this tactic has met with too many defeats and will only lead to a big confrontation between the workers and the employers, which would be better avoided. The second tactic is gaining more and more credibility amongst the ruling class. That is, the introduction of anti-strike and anti-union laws through the medium of a Labor government. This utilises the union bureaucracies and more backward sections of the working class against the more militant sections. The infamous "Cameron Proposals" are the prime example of the type of legislation that the employers would expect a Labor government to implement. The "Cameron present leadership with regard to "indroposals" suffered an initial rebuff from the industrial wing of the ALP, but

form or another after a Labor victory in the Federal elections.

In the meantime, the Dunstan Labor government in South Australia has taken steps to show the way in which the workers movement can be attacked with the minimum of reaction from the ranks of the workers. It has introduced into the SA House of Assembly an "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Bill" which includes in its provisions declaring strikes illegal if 14 days notice isn't given, prohibiting of all state employees taking strike action, the firing or imprisoning of individual workers or union officials for taking part in strikes deemed "illegal", fines of \$1000 for unions who refused to enter into conference with employers and fines and imprisonment for workers or union officials who breach terms of the act, a settled award, or court orders on injuctions invoked during a dispute.

The SA Trades and Labor Council met on Thursday, October 5 and by a 2/3 majority adopted a resolution supporting the new bill. The only unions at this stage ance from all sectors of the labour move- to voice direct opposition to the bill are the Miscellaneous Workers Union, Plumbers and Gasfitters Union and the Australian Building and Construction Workers Feder, ation (formerly Builders Laborers). Unions controlled by the ALP and SPA, most notably the AMWU, the Seamen and the wharfies have all supported the bill.

> A "Committee for Industrial Democracy" has been formed and will attempt to mob- ists" in the SPA. Despite the fact that ilise as many workers as possible in a fight against the bill. Already organised is a contigent to march in the Labor Day parade in Adelaide with banners calling for opposition to the bill and a public forum on the bill to be held on Friday October 13 at 8 p.m. in the AGWA hall in Franklin St., Adelaide.

The introduction of the bill gives us an indication of what to expect from a Labor government in power under the ustrial relations". And the role of the union bureaucracy and those "commun-



Dunstan in "Westminster Rig",

the right wing ALP leadership will attempt to introduce such legislation on a Federal level we must still support the ALP in the coming elections. At the same time we must warn the working class of what to expect from Whitlam and Co. and attempt to organise the workers in independent struggle against such legislation. A class struggle alternative to the present anti-working class ALP leadership such as Dunstan must be Such a leadership would support the rights of unions and workers, not try to restrict them.

It's time... to subscribe to Direct Action When the United States Central Intellism while retaining the better aspects of Labor Party, and why we think every-

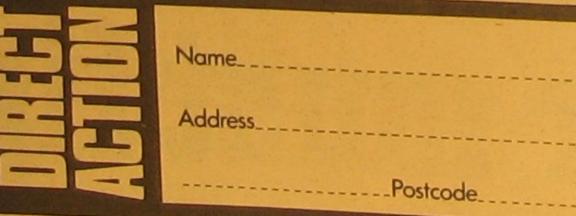
The Invisible Government" by Wise and Ross, which exposed the insidious world-wide operation of the CIA, they sent there hundreds of minions down to the bookshops and bought up the whole of the first issue, to keep things from

upon a daring and imaginative course for the next couple of months.

You see, Billy McMahon heard that every issue of DIRECT ACTION that we publish between now and the electthe public for a while longer.

In the finest tradition of building social
policies (or otherwise) of the Australian

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FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

igence Agency learnt of the impending bourgeois society, we have taken a leaf body should vote to put an ALP government in power at the end of this year. And Billy and his capitalist mates know that all the things we'll be saying won't be too flattering to the Liberals. Come to think of it, some people in the ALP might have some cause for alarm too. Not to mention any names of course. Take a look at this issue for instance.

> Well, we found out that Billy planned to counter this campaign by - yes, you guessed it folks! - buying up the whole ot of each issue! So, always one step ahead of Billy and ever-willing to oblige his voracious appetite for quality socialist literature, we have decided to offer him - and you - the opportunity of buying DIRECT ACTION. That way we can get Billy out of our hair and guarantee continuing circulation to our thousands of current readers, while at the same time offer new readers the not-to-missed opportunity of reading all about the Australian Labor Party and Australian capitalism in the weeks leading up to the elect ions and after as well as all our continuing analysis of the movement of the radicalisation, our international news and regular features.

NOVEMBER 18 ANTI-WAR ACTION

BY COL MAYNARD

While the war in Indochina is escalated and U.S. warplanes drop their millions of tons of bombs on Vietnamese hospitals, schools, villages, dikes and workplaces in a bid to terrorise the Vietnamese people into submission the worldwide antiwar movement once again begins to move out of its temporary lull,

The partial withdrawal of allied ground forces and the promises to solve the Vietnam "problem" has contributed to the demobilisation of the antiwar movement on a worldwide scale.

To counteract this lethargy, the National Peace Action Coalition, the largest antiwar body in the United States, has called for international antiwar actions to centre around November 18. NPAC argues that the antiwar movement must not prostrate itself at the feet of President Richard Nixon's manoeuvres. It was the united actions of hundreds of thousands of people around the world, rallying, marching, speaking-out - showing their strength, that forced the Australian and New Zealand governments to withdraw almost all their combat troops and has prevented Nixon from launching the type of attack (all-out invasion of North Vietnam, using nuclear weapons if necessary, etc.) that the U.S. is capable of.

Now, when large sections of the population are under the illusion that the war in Indochina is scaling down, it is more important than ever to attempt to mobilise as many people as possible in antiwar actions. The fact that the Federal elections are upon us and that the ALP offers a "solution" to the war, should not deter us in building antiwar actions. The best way to ensure that an ALP government withdraws Australian support for the U.S. aggression in Indochina is to build a mass antiwar movement now - independent of the control or electoral aspirations of any political party.

In Sydney an Antiwar Action Coalition has been formed to organise for a march and rally on Saturday morning November 18. The demands that the coalition is raising to organise the

Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops and materiel from Indochina.

2. An end to Australia's complicity in the Indochina war.

3. Immediate repeal of the National Service Act.

Central to the campaign in Sydney is to solidarise ourselves with the antiwar movement in the U.S. and to try and re-involve as many people as possible in the antiwar movement. Unfortunately not all sections in the Sydney antiwar movement seem to hold this perspective. AICD has decided not to endorse the November 18 campaign and will limit itself "to informing its membership of

As our regular readers will know DIRECT ACTION is having a Fund Drive - \$2,000 by the end of November.

This is to build DIRECT ACTION into an even better paper by equipping our new offices, keeping the land lord happy, paying our creditors.

Already we are over halfway there a little after 10 weeks. If we are to successfully conclude this drive we need your help, now! The socialist press does not have the resources of the big establishment dailies. It needs the generosity of those who believe in it. So please keep on sending your contributions. All amounts are a

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the action". The main reason given for their refusal to throw their weight behind the rebuilding of the antiwar movement is that they have "so many other campaigns and projects that they are involved in".

A member of the Communist League moved at an October 3 general meeting of the Campaign, that we adopt as a further demand "support for the Indochinese revolution". Communist Party members present gave this resolution strong support, along with:

members of Worker Student Alliance.

The Maoists' main objection to the motion was that the situation in Indochina is not a revolution but a "national liberation struggle". Both the WSA and the Communist League see the need to "raise the political level" of the demands. They fail to realise that such demands would actually exclude thousands of people who would otherwise support the antiwar movement. On the other hand the role of the CPA was particularly cynical and frivolous. Their position seemed to be "the action will be small - so let's make it smaller". The proposals of the Communist League were rejected by the meeting and the Sydney coalition can now go ahead and attempt to mobilise the largest number possible on November-18 despite the lack of interest of the CPA and AICD.

An enthusiastic meeting of over 100 people held at Melbourne's CICD antiwar centre marked the initial re-emergence of the movement that had built such successful mass actions in the past. The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution to give the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign's full support to the antiwar conference and further to actively participate in building the actions as projected. This is an important and positive development and should greatly contribute to the success of the demonstrations.

Where during the past months we could observe the the VMC shying away from a mass-action perspective - in effect succumbing to the illus-

withdrawals etc. - and opting to divert the central thrust of the movement into an all-inclusive protest movement, this present course represents a step in the right direction. Part of the reason for this lies in one fact that negotiations initiated by one VMC with the view of conducting a multi-meratorium ended in complete failure when other groups were unwilling to submerge their demands and forces into the all inclusive morass. Needless to say this is really victory for the antiwar movement, preserving the independent single-issue character as reflected in its demands which provide its mass base and incisive impact.

Further resolutions were carried outlining the demands the VMC shall present at the November demonstrations. In addition, plans were made for an intensive campaign of education in the community along with a medical aid programme.

In the main the demands presented by the VMC coincided with those adopted by the Sydney meeting. The addition of a latter demand calling for an end to the U.S. - Australian Alliance and the removal of Omega bases from Australia although unfortunate in that it doesn't centre on the pressing question of the Indochina war should not be too much of an obstacle.

As the attempt of the capitalist press to stifle any real information about the present intensification of the Indochina war continues, one role of the antiwar movement in disseminating the facts assumes vital importance. In this regard the decision to implement an intensive programme of education is an extremely important one. Such a campaign, by laying the foundations of the forthcoming actions is an essential pre-requisite for their success.

The medical aid programme, however, cannot be looked upon with such favour. Fundamentally this would divert the necessary resources of the antiwar movement away from the only course that can hope to end the war: the building of the international antiwar movement mobilised around the slogan of OUT NOW. It is thoroughly absurd to think that the insignificant aid which could be raised

would have any effect in alleviating the suffering of the Indochinese people, let alone eliminating the cause of that suffering. People who spoke against this proposition at the meeting correctly pointed out that this was like a feeble attempt to cover up the wounds of a person being attacked at the expense of removing assistance to the attacker. The end of the suffering brought by the war will only ' come about when the US and their allies are out completely. Anything that delays or diverts the antiwar movement from this urgent task must be resolutely opposed.

Confusion arose over the precise date of the action in Melbourne due to the date November 17 (the Friday prior to November 18) being the date set for the moratium for Social Service Justice, Eventually it was decided to leave the option open for either the 17th, or the 24th, to be decided after further consultation, This, of course, presents some difficulties in light of national and international coordination, however the problems should eliminate themselves as the campaign preparations gain momentum. In Adelaide the major antiwar group, the Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, has refused to take up the call for organising actions on or around November 18. They don't wish to "upset the apple-cart" before the elections. Regardless of this sell-out by the CPV, the same forces who organised the successful April 22 actions will call for a public meeting to discuss the proposal to build an action on November 18,

In Canberra a series of films are being shown at ANU once a week. It is hoped that a meeting or rally can be arranged on November 18. The Hobart Peace Action Campaign has decided on some form of action on November 17, probably a rally and possibly a march.

Recently the antiwar movement in New Zealand mobilised 27,000 people in demonstrations around the country (New Zealand has only about 3,000,000 people.) This is a great inspiration for antiwar forces around the world to attempt to reactivate the movement. It is the greatest support we can give to the Indochinese people and to the U.S. antiwar movement, All out November 18!



Conference to Map 1973 Schools Campaign ference" i.e. abstention. As the student

BY GREG ADAMSON

Secondary students who took part in September 20 actions for democratic rights in schools have responded enthusiastically to a proposal for a national student activists' conference in January 1973. The conference is being planned to map a course for school radicals in 1973, and will be held either in Melbourne or Sydney. While financial and parental restrictions make interstate travel for secondary students difficult, a national discussion of perspectives at this stage is essential. Approaches will be made to university student representative councils and trade unions to subsidise student travel costs. The conference will probably be around mid-January, and although the venue is uncertain, students interested in attending should write to the nearest address listed below to learn of further preparations.

While the bourgeois media tried to play down secondary student action on September 20, students found little relief in the coverage in "Tribune", paper of the Communist Party of Australia. We learn from the "Tribune" report (September 26 - October 2) that "several hundred Sydney high school students" and hundreds more in other Australian centres" took part in protests. Even "The Australian" called the several thousand students "over a thousand" (for a full report see DIRECT ACTION No. 27)! Furthermore, following these actions by students in defence of their interests - the largest ever seen in Australia - "Tribune found a report - short, vague and inaccurate was sufficient. Such a lack of analysis reflects the CPA's approach to school radicalism, which is one of "non-inter-

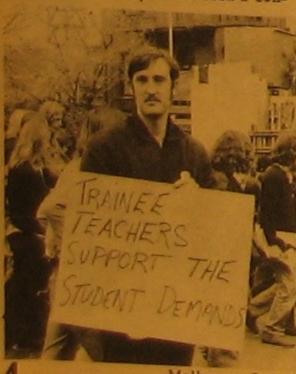
Teachers Protest

BY JOHN SIMS

On Wednesday October 4, approximately 300 teachers and trainee teachers rallied outside the NSW Parliament to protest against the abominable conditions existing in many NSW schools and eachers, colleges and against the government's refusal to act to alleviate the poor working conditions for teachers. Because of understaffing and overcrowding in schools, many teachers are forced to work hours which few sectors of the work force are still for ced to tolerate.

The rally was preceded by a mass meeting of 400 trainee teachers at Sydney University. Speakers at the rally raised demands for increased living allowances and employee status for trainee teachers, Conditions at most of the NSW government's teachers' colleges also came under attack. Trainee teachers in NSW presently exist on living allowances smaller than the old age pension and are not regarded as employees by the Education Department. The most important consequence of the lack of employee status is that trainee teachers have no right to appeal to the Industrial Commission for increases in allowances or alleviation of bad working conditions. In addition most of the state's eachers' colleges are neglected by the government to the extent that some (like Sydney Teachers' College) have been forced to operate out of portable classrooms over a period of years.

Rather than attack the problems facing its education system, the NSW government prefers to devote its efforts to shifting the blame for the education crisis onto shoulders other than its own. The course of this year has seen a con-



rights campaign moves into its second stage with plans for a national activists' conference in January, it is hoped that the CPA will discard its patronising attitude towards students, and start supporting them in their struggles.

In late reports received on the Sept. 20 strike, ten high school students in Bathurst defied strong threats from the school administration to take part in the actions, and students at Bairnsdale, in the Latrobe Valley in Victoria also participated in the strike.

The struggle at MacRobertson Girls'

High School and the uniforms issue has suffered a setback. The headmistress suspended several students, only allowing them back into school if they and their parents signed a form guaranteeing that the students would obey all school rules. The administration also told a meeting of students that they would put up with no further rebellion. What is needed for these sorts of actions to succeed is a vigorous campaign in as many schools as possible culminating in further mass action demonstration. To achieve this aim we must unite all forces in the secondary school movement around the demands for student rights.

Education Action Group of NSW, c/-Dennis Garnsey, 57 Kenneth St., Longueville, NSW 2066.

Student Action Group, c/- Julian Madge 287 Rundle St., Adelaide, 5000

Victorian Education Action Group P.O. Box 130, Carlton, Vic 3053.

tinuing campaign by the government against the Teachers' Federation including several instances of disciplinary charges being laid against Teachers! Federation organisers who were carrying out the policies decided on by their union. Faced with the government's refusal to take action to alleviate the shortage of staff in NSW schools, the Teachers' Federation has been forced to instruct teachers to refuse tasks above their normal work loads.

Besides its attack on the Teachers! Federation, the government is now preparing to attack the conditions of trainee teachers by shifting the cost of training teachers from the Education Department onto the shoulders of individual trainees. In a new scheme announced recently, the government revealed that it intends to "abolish" the present system of bonding teachers to remain in teaching for a set period after completion of their training and to replace it with a system whereby the government no longer pays for the training of teachers but merely loans the trainees money to pay for their courses. The practical result of this new scheme is that a trainee who by the end of his/ her course decides not to become a teacher is no longer required to pay back \$900 or \$1,000, (depending on whether the training involved has been over a period of three or four years) but is liable for \$8,424 - the entire cost of training. This new scheme, rather than abolishing bonding, actually increases by several times the period for which a trainee is bonded or the amount which a defaulter on the bond

Trainee teachers, like apprentices and other young workers in training are already severely exploited. They are forced to exist on allowances well below the poverty level and not even approaching the minimum wage. The government attempts to justify this by foisting the burden of supporting trainees onto their families. Now it wants to cut back these already miserable conditions even further and to force trainees to bear the whole cost of their training.

has to pay back.

Teachers are paid for far less than the work which they actually perform, This is because much of their work involves research and preparation for classes, much of which is carried on outside school hours. The staffing shortage aggravates this situation, placing an even heavier burden on teachers. In such circumstances the government



should be attempting to increase its recruitment of teachers by making training more readily available, not driving potential teachers away by imposing savage conditions upon those wishing to be trained. Because of the surplus of university graduates which is expected at the end of the academic year, the government appears to be seizing the opportunity to cut back on costs of training teachers and will possibly attempt in the new year to again challenge the Teachers' Federation on the question of whether or not teachers must receive specialist training before being permitted to

The whole concept of bonding, not merely the new proposals, must be fought by the Teachers' Federation and the trainee teachers. Many students on leaving secondary school, accept Education Department scholarships to the Universities or teachers' colleges because they have no other way of financing their tertiary education. Very few students have families able to provide the finance to pay the fees,

BY BRUCE GOODWIN The confrontations at Pentridge Gaol have been simmering all year. The recent upsurge is a continuation of the February actions. According to Michael Wood, a draft resister, who was in gaol for refusing to attend a medical examination, "rumours of trouble" started on Wednesday. Then on Friday the prisoners' committee decided strike action should be taken after a warder and prisoner exchanged blows, and of course the prisoner was charged but not the warder. Wood was in A division and in this section of Pentridge prisoners were locked in, denied visits by relatives, lawyers. Wood says ("The Age" October 3) : "At about 2,30 on Saturday afternoon

The implications are quite clear. The warders were intimidating prisoners quite openly and implied they would receive a "good going over" if they supported the prisoners of other divisions. Then Wood says younger offenders from J, F and G divisions were brought to see the

we were let out to be confronted by 40

to 50 warders all carrying batons the size

of baseball bats with their sleeves rolled

3 Months for Defending Embassy

Canberra rigger, Rodney Robinson was sentenced to 3 months hard labour in Canberra Court of Petty Sessions on Thursday September 21. He was charged with assaulting police, resisting arrest and hindering police, because he attempted to prevent the illegal "Trespass on Commonwealth Lands Ordinance" from being implemented against the Aboriginal Embassy in Canberra,

On Sunday July 23 when Robinson was arrested, 17 other people were taken to gaol, many on similar charges.

Much to the McMahon government's embarassment the specially drafted Ordinance, under which the embassy defenders were arrested, was found to be illegal in a judgment by the Supreme Court of the ACT on Tuesday September 20. The court ruled the Ordinance inoperative because it was improperly gazetted. The ALP called for the dropping of the charges against those arrested for resisting government implementation of the illegal Ordinance. The government however, stifled opposition and drafted another ordinance retrospective to the date of the original ordinance.

However, when the judgment ruling the Ordinance illegal was notified on Tuesday the aboriginal embassy was re-erected. Abortion Action Coalition: By 1 o'clock Wednesday morning the police, clutching the new ordinance in ink stained hands, informed the occupants of the embassy that it was again illegal to be there; this time they were

expenses and living expenses involved in tertiary education. As Education Department scholarships are often the only way of financing tertiary education, many students are forced to enter into bonds for purely economic reasons. These students will not necessarily be capable teachers and many will not wish to teach. Education Department attempts to hold such teachers by coercion merely serve to inflict uninterested and embittered teachers on the education system. Bonding must be abolished if the NSW education system is to function with teachers who are genuinely interested in their jobs.

The crisis in the NSW education system will continue to worsen while the present government policies continue. Only a massive campaign to replace antiquated school building to build permanent teachers' colleges, to increase recruitment of teachers. to improve teaching conditions generally and to provide free training with a living wage will begin to tackle the immediate problems.

show of brute strength. The divisions of main concern , B, E and H divisions were locked in on Saturday and in retaliation 120 prisoners in B and E divisions built a blockade and went on a hunger strike. This eventually was broken when police moved in and threatened tear gas. On Sunday prisoners refused to cook for the gaol. The siege in H division was broken by a baton charge of 16 warders.

As Pentridge returns to "normal" i.e. warders bashing prisoners, the media screams about the need for "tighter discipline" or "prison reform". The State Government under the "progressive" Hamer has banned the inquiry into Pentridge conditions. (see DIRECT ACTION No. 27) The role of Minister of Social Welfare Mr. Smith has been one of trouble shooter yet even his antica have failed to appease right-wing prison guards and officers. The Prisoners' Committee, the only attempt at penal reform the government ever made has been "disbanded". While the press raves about the responsibility of government to prison officers and guards they ignore the real victims - the prisoners.

sure the government hadn't bungled

Panic was evident in ACT legal circles when the Tuesday judgment was announced. The courts closed for a day to eamine the legality of similarly gazetted ACT ordinances, So the "Trespass on Commonwealth Lands Ordinance" was made retrospective. And also a special retrospective law to cover similar ordinances was rushed through parliament, thus assuring the people of the ACT and Australia that the propertied classes'legal system was not capricious, unjust and illegal.

Robinson is appealing against his 3 months hard labour sentence, however he made the mistake of pleading guilty initially, clearly throwing himself at the mercy of the bourgeois legal system.



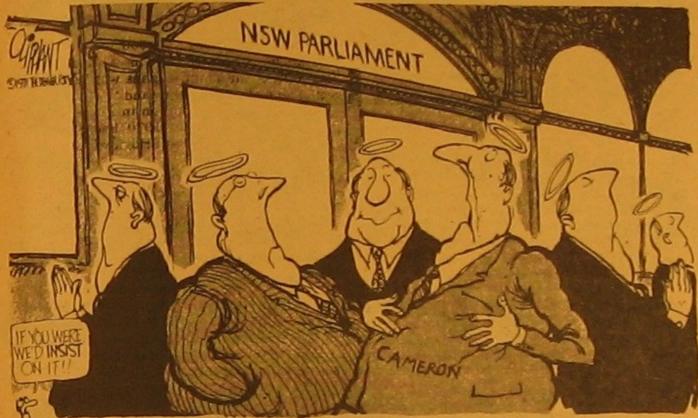
New badge - available from Women's c/- 25 Alberta St., Sydney or Box 249, P.O. Leichhardt 2040. Badges are 20 cents, and a 25% discount is available to all orders of 10 or more

BY NITA KEIG

The last few weeks have seen a marked increase in interest and activity around the abortion issue, sparked off by a whole number of factors, probably the main one being the interest in abortion as an election issue both here and in the United States. In Sydney on October 3 there was a demonstration outside Parliament House to protest the resolution put in the House that day by Mr J Cameron the Liberal member for Northcott, which moved "that this House disassociate itself from the actions of those seeking to legitimise abortions on demand..." The object of this demonstration, apart from being to protest the content of Cameron's resolution, was also to protest the fact that such a decision was to be make by men, and that women, whose lives are directly affected by such a decision have no say whatsoever. Approximately 80 people demonstrated outside Parliament House holding placards asserting the right

of women to abortion on demand and calling for the repeal of all abortion laws. The meeting was addressed by Dr Bertram Wainer and George Petersen, Labor member for Illawarra who had presented seven thousand signatures calling for abortion on request. Another dem-onstration will be held on October 24 also outside Parliament House when further debate on the abortion issue will be going on inside the House.

On October 21, the Women's Abortion Action Campaign will be holding a "Speak-Out" at Women's Liberation House, 25 Alberta St., Sydney, where women will speak on different aspects of abortion and the experiences they have had, and also make plans for bringing women into the struggle for repeal through planning future actions of the campaign. More than any other issue the struggle for abortion has the potential for mobilising women in collective action.



WELL, IF I WERE PREGNANT I CERTAINLY WOULDN'T HAVE AN ABORTION!"

Firemen's

On Tuesday October 3 1,800 firemen in Sydney and Newcastle, Wollongong and Canberra went on strike. This left less than 100 senior officers to operate services in these cities. (The Serior Fire Officers Association even threatened to walk out.)

The strike was in response to the rescission of a \$5 a week wage increase granted to firemen. Application by the N.S.W. Board of Fire Commissioners against the wage increase was heard and accepted by the N.S.W. industrial commission.

Mass meetings held during the 2 day strike attracted over 1,000 firemen, demonstrating their combativity and desire to participate in the function of the of the strike, On Thursday October 5, the strikers voted in favour of the Fire Brigade Employees Union executive resolution to return to work.

Workers in service industries that have immediate effect on public safety like

firemen, nurses etc., are extremely vulnerable to attacks by the bourgeois media when they decide to strike. It is very easy for the press to whip up hysteria against any strike by such workers unless support can be enlisted from other sectors of the work force. The firemen have shown that no sector of the work force is "above" strike action. In fact in the face of growing inflation and attacks upon the working class, strike action is the only course left open for workers to defend their interests regardless of whether they are part of an "essential service" or not,

The executive of the Fire Brigade Employees Union showed no willingness to utilise the determination of the firemen and help extend the strike to other sectors of the work force. They displayed no ability to turn the tables on the Board of Fire Commissioners and show to the public that it is that very body in league with the Askin government, that was responsible for any "danger to life and property" that existed during the strike.

Gagging the ABC

BY SUE MADISON For the federal election in the near future; ABC management is demonstrating its usual three yearly paranoid sensitivity toward any criticism or expose of the corrupt ruling class establishment. In late August, the Postmaster Gen eral suggested that the ABC commissioners (all appointees of the Liberal/Country Party government) should censor current affairs programmes with "controversial" political content. This was the first shot in the latest struggle. An attempt by management to put this directive into effect was met with spontaneous staff hostility. A mass meeting was organised, at which condemnation of management and the commissioners

were passed almost unanimously.

The latest crisis - the removal of Tony Ferguson as Executive Producer of THIS DAY TONIGHT - has met with a similar response. Ferguson was removed because he decided in the public interest, to run a filmed interview with Jack Baker, General Secretary of the Postal Clerk's and Telegraphists' Union, exposing the financial corruption and mismanagement of the Postmaster

General's Department. In this interview Baker outlined the under statement of profit made by the PMG and the gross overcharging for phone calls and other postal services. This story was filmed in mid-August, Ferguson used it as a TDT item on September 29 and was immediately removed as executive producer.

A mass meeting of staff on Tuesday

October 3 expressed "total support for the TDT staff and in particular its Executive Producer, Mr. Tony Fergusori' and "condemned the actions of the Acting Assistant General Manager of the ABC, Mr. Keith Fraser, for his high handed and arbitrary banning of a TDT item last Friday". It also expressed its "continuing lack of confidence in the decisions of the top management group" A motion was carried at a special meeting of the committee of the Staff Association (NSW Branch), stating that "this committee believes that the continuing crisis within the organisation can only do serious damage to the ABC and further demoralise staff. We strongly endorse current moves for a mass meeting of staff with management to discuss these issues".

Activity on Abortion Women in Revolt

VEW YORK ABORTION ACTIONS

At a press conference on September 26 he New York Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) outlined its autumn schedule of activities.

The schedule of actions, announced by ncluded:

the call for a picket line on Oct, 2 day "Women's Right to Choose Day". organising women from New York and other East Coast and Midwest cities o travel to Washington DC on Oct. 12 o demand that the Supreme Court rule he Texas and Georgia abortion laws mconstitutional.

plans for New York Abortion Hearings, cheduled for Oct 21 at the New York University Law School.

As in New York, local abortion hearings The latest move by Catholic antiabortion are being organised in scores of cities across the country. These local hearings seeking abortions is the setting up of vill build up toward, and develop test- a telephone referral service - "Heartline mony for, an International Tribunal on "Women troubled by a pregnancy and bortion, Contraception and forced terilisation planned for New York City on March 9-11, 1973.

INPLANNED PREGNANCIES

A survey of 360 women in Brisbane has shown that 227 or 63, 2% of them have unplanned children. The survey also showed that of the 960 babies born to the 360 women, 60.8% were unplanned. how they can procure an abortion.

The survey, on attitudes to family planning, was conducted by a student and 3 staff members at the University of Queensland.

Of the women, 311 approved of birth control, 169 approved strongly. Twelve disapproved - 2 strongly - while 37

Husbands were also interviewed. Of 360 interviewed, 54 said they did not think about birth control, 227 approved of it and 29 (compared with only 12 women) disapproved of it.

Of the 360 women surveyed, 310 had used some form of birth control at some time; 79 (49.6%) regularly practised birth control, and 131 (35.4%) said they all argued for the liberalisation of the were occasional users. The most import- abortion laws. ant reasons for birth control were financial problems, 48%, inability to cope with more children , 15.8%, husbands' wishes, 16.7% and ill health, 12.6%.

AXED OVER PILL

A mother of 12 children tried to kill her husband with an axe after he had forbidden her to take the pill, Cologne Court was told,

Charged with attempted murder before sarbara Mutnick of New York WONAAC, a woman judge the 40 year old woman, Auguste Keosel, admitted the attack and said she was terrified of having a to counter "Respect for the Unborn Day", 13th child. She said she had asked her organised by the anti-abortion forces in husband for money to buy the pill but New York. The picket will declare the he would not give her any. Upon his refusal she ran down to the cellar to get an axe, and evidence was given that she struck her husband 3 blows that were nearly fatal.

> It was ruled that Keosel had been of temporarily unsound mind and ordered her into a home for the care of mothers.

HEARTLESSLINE

forces to counter the number of women considering an abortion are invited to telephone Heartline and discuss their problem with one of the trained counsellors who can offer guidance."(Catholic Weekly) Apparently the women who ring up are given all sorts of advice as to the practical help they should seek anything except an abortion.

Heartline has apparently been flooded with calls by women who want to know

VIEW ON ABORTION

The dispute over the present abortion laws seems to have reached all sectors of society, and an informative gauge of women's opinions on abortion can be found from the latest edition of "View World". This is a journal produced by approved for others but not for themselves, a club call the "Voice, Interest and Education of Women", which involves thousands of women in its activities throughout NSW.

> In its most recent edition it had a special section on abortion. Of the eleven letters printed, only one was against abortion. The other letters reflected the view that abortion should be a woman's right to choose. They

These women come from a variety of walks of life and their view reflects the view of many women on abortion.

A women's SPEAK-OUT for ABORTION



A day of discussion for women to exchange ideas relating to the abortion issue and to plan future actions in order to win

Sat. October 21st, 10am-6pm 25 Alberta St, Sydney

WOMEN'S ABORTION ACTION CAMPAIGN Box 249 PO Leichhardt 2040 ... I would like to sponsor the campaign. Enclosed is \$1 ... I wish to be kept informed of meetings and activities of the campaign.

NAME..... PHONE.....

ADDRESS.....

FDUCATION

The education system is a vital pressure point in the struggle for socialism. The crisis in education in all its aspects reflects the inability of the system to effectively impose its hegemony of ideas on the upcoming generations. The youth radicalisation which has rocked the capitalist world is challenging every assumption, every institution in the education system. Starting in the universities it now extends into the heart of the secondary school system (as witness the recent nation wide secondary student strike). Students are demanding democracy in the schools, teachers are demanding the right to independence in their teaching. Students, teachers and parents are demanding equality in education for all. Organisationally, this is reflected, in the growth of militancy in teachers and students unions. The ALP cannot remain unaffected by this ferment.

Just about everybody involved in any way in education in this country realises that the Liberal government which has presided over the development of our poverty-stricken, class-ridden education system must go. Most look towards the ALP for a solution. That solution is only very partially forthcoming at the moment as an examination of Labor's education policy shows. The central planks of the policy as outlined in the leaflet "Education: It's Time" and in policy speeches show no signs of a real appreciation of the crisis in our education system.

The Vice-President of the Australian Union of Students was quoted in "The

Age" as saying: "The ALP hopes to solve the country's education problems simply by more money and buildings. But the problems are far deeper than that."

The major points of the ALP programme on education are: reduced class sizes (primary 30, secondary 20): Schools

ion; abolition of university fees; establishment of an "Open University" and "Open CAEs"; and provision for children with special problems.

Labor's proposals only scratch the surface, and in no way offer to tackle the fundamental class bias of the system as a whole, Each proposal reflects a wink in the direction of basic problems. Reduction in class sizes is much needed and will be welcomed by teachers, but it would have a far better effect if it were in conjunction with new concepts of financial and educational autonomy for schools. Extra teachers and classrooms pushing the same old stuff will still be unable to really educate.

The establishment of separate schools and preschools commissions is not only an abrogation of political responsibility, but quite dangerous as well. It merely establishes a centralised national bureaucracy to oversee the state bureaucracies. It hands over responsibility for decisions to a committee of "experts", and assumes that it is experts rather than teachers, students and parents directly concerned in education who should decide. Only a fully elective body representing these three groups can understand the real needs of schools. It is also a mistake to artificially separate off preschools.

The Labor Party proposals do not approach the problems of institutionalised inequalities beween upper class and working class schools, private and state. No private school should receive any state aid: Religious indoctrination must not be supported by public money.

Historically the fight for democracy has meant a struggle for a free, secular education for all. The system must be expended so that all children have the opportunity to attend state schools if they wish. This should be high priority for a Labor government,

A realistic programme must confront the

In 1971, the Federal Conference of the Australian Labor Party passed a resolution stating that "This Conference recommends that the Party and its various groups, such as the Parliamentary Parties should take a non-Party attitude and vote according to their conscience on the issue of abortion law reform."

This has meant that the ALP has had no clear policy on abortion but has fallen in behind the Liberals in upholding the most reactionary and oppressive legislation regarding it. The individual bodies within the Labor Party at this stage, regardless of their views, can have no influence in shaping ALP policy on this question, and can have no control over the positions taken by Party Parliamentarians. An example of this was the recent decision of the Victorian State Council meeting which voted overwhelmingly in favour of the repeal of all abortion laws. The Federal ruling meant that the new state policy is not binding on the party parliamentarians.

The ALP's shelving of this issue by leaving it up to the "conscience" of individual politicians is merely a way of abdicating responsibility for taking a clear position on abortion, and endorsing the backward Liberal Party policy.

The question of abortion is a matter of no-one's conscience but the individual woman concerned. It is a fundamental right of women to be able to decide whether and when to bear children. It is not a matter for individual politicians to debate and make decisions about. A recognition of the ultimate right of the woman to decide is the only defensible position the ALP can adopt.

Jim Staples, a prominent desence barrister in abortion cases, and a member of the ALP, wrote in a contribution to "Labor Newsletter" entitled "Abortion and Votes" that "a modern law of abortion should declare that it is not unlawful for a termination of pregnancy to be carried out, where the same is done by a registered medical practitioner, by consent of the woman, with appropriate skill and care, under proper conditions and where there is no grievous bodily harm done in the sense that the woman is not maimed,

The responsibility of government lies in ensuring that the safest conditions exist for women to obtain abortions and that they are easily available and low cost. The present laws exist to discriminate against women who can't afford the fare to Japan or the \$200 or more for a medically safe but illegal abortion in Australia. The law is an unenforceable law which only leads to the suffering of women through having unsafe, backyard abortions, and the spread of police graft and protec-

The rottenness of the ALP position on abortion was demonstrated clearly in New South Wales Parliament when, on October 3, Mr J Cameron, Liberal member for Northcott put his incredible resolution calling for the House to "disassociate itself from the actions of those seeking to legitimise abortions on (see DIRECT ACTION No. 27 page 5)

The leader of the Opposition Pat Hills stated he would vote as a private member in support of Cameron's motion. He said the Labor Party did not intend to introduce legislation on abortion reform, and had stated so at both State and Federal levels. "Members of the Government would be surprised at the number of members on this side of the House who would be voting for Mr Cameron's motion," he said. No doubt a lot of women and Labor Party supporters would be too! That the repeal of abortion laws is so much more urgent for working class women, who cannot afford to pay through the nose for abortions and effective contraceptives, reflects the fact that on this issue the ALP completely sells out the interests and needs of the people it claims to represent, and instead panders to the most reactionary and mystical ideas, as revealed in Cameron's resolution where he refers to abortions "being repugnant to human dignity" and talks of the "human rights of the foetus".

The complete hypocrisy of Cameron was duly exposed when he appeared on television on "Frost on Abortion" and made the stupendous statement that removing

way that the education system reflects and maintains the class divisions in society. Hence it must be part of a programme of change in society as a whole. Not only is social inequality the cause for imequal schooling, but the education system also perpetuates class differences by channeling poorer children away from higher education. But the ALP approach is a piecemeal one, which attacks each aspect of Australia's problems in isolation from the others. We see this in the following Labor proposals:

1. The promise to vastly expand preschools could be an opportunity to introduce new concepts of educational selfmanagement in the new system, giving full control of facilities to teachers and

2. The abolition of university fees is very much needed, but only a start. The whole education system is a process of selection: only a few get to the universities. Tertiary facilities must be expanded to offer free advanced education to the established under their control. whole public on a full or part time basis. They should be autonomous and democrat- These are some important demands with ically controlled. Students should receive a Labor government should be pushed to a wage, so that the less well-off can afford to attend.

3. Finally, the ALP policy shows no sign of tackling the problem of curriculum control in the schools. As quickly as possible we should take control of curriculum planning away from the Department and universities and put it in the hands of people in the schools.

In the area of education, or elsewher the ALP leadership must be pressurised by socialists within the party and by th mobilisation of students, teachers and parents outside to respond to real needs. Effective demands on a Labor administration ione would include:

1. Totally free education (including realistic living allowances for all stude from preschool to tertiary. No entrance qualifications (such as examinations)

2. Effective, broad, adult education incorporating reduced working hours with vastly increased educational opportunities

3. No aid to any "independent" schoolhigh tax on independent school incom

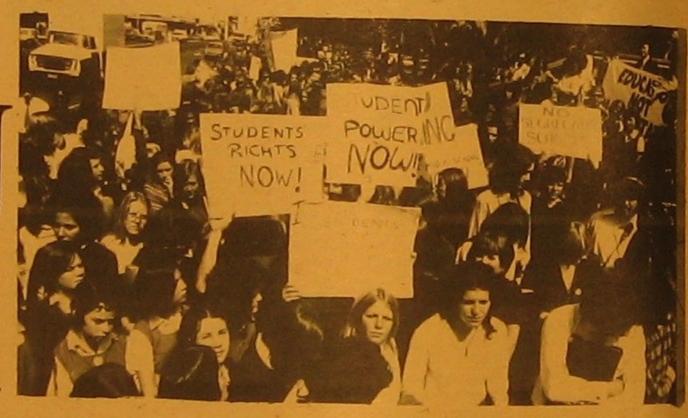
4. Vast increase in expenditure on education facilities, especially in inner suburban and poor working class areas

5. Autonomy for schools including economic; curricula etc to be decided by students and teachers.

6. Special attention to education for blacks, women and migrants, with new institutions and new courses of study to be

implement as a means of opening up the whole question of the necessity for a social. ist education system. While real educational equality can only be achieved within socialism, the presentation of a socialist programme to ever-broader sections of the community will build the revolutionary movement which must cary out this task. The achievement of a Labor government is a step in this direction,

Four burning issues





Labor must fight for

would encourage promiscuity. (Presumably he bases this theory on the behava iour of the sorts of people with whom he mixes, to whom the cost of the Pill is no problem!) Another Labor Party parliamentarian Mr C J Earl (member for Bass Hill) stated that "he did not believe that there was a basis for abortion on demand" because "there were a number of contraceptives that were safe and effective and and did not offend human morals". He also said that he believed that when there was adequate sex education for all, demands for abortion would disappear. We would like to believe this to be true, but anyway this certainly isn't likely to the existing 27% tax on oral contraceptives schools curriculum. Mr Earl also doesn't

seem to be aware that it is obscene in the eyes of the law to advertise or promote the use of contraceptives publicly. One wonders how long Mr Earl's optimistic predictions will take to eventuate, and what will happen to all the women faced with unwanted pregnancies in the meantime. Is it offensive to the morals of Messrs Earl, Cameron and Co to see children born who are not wanted and cannot be adequately supported, or is it offensive to their morals to see women suffer the anguish of having to go through with an unwanted pregnancy?

The ALP must delineate itself from the hypocritical and backward policy of the Liberals which seeks to keep the decision

HOMOSFIXIAI

BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

With the Liberal -Country Party coalition taking a reactionary stance on all of the social issues presently being raised in the current radicalisation the question of the attitude of the ALP, the party of the Australian working class, is posed more acutely. In an election period this is particularly so and hence necessitates the adoption of a clear position by the ALP - not a position typified by the evasive "conscience vote" as in the case of abortion, but a clear, unequivocal position of support.

Homosexual oppression is one of these issues, perhaps the one most shrouded in prejudice, superstition and fear.

Taking inspiration from the Women's Liberation movement and spurred on by the deepening radicalisation, a movement for Gay Liberation has developed internationally and now in Australia. Gays are demanding their rights and an end to the blatant discrimination which attempts to subjugate them to the moral strictures of capitalist society. The oppression of homosexuals has not always existed, but is endemic to male dominated class society as with the oppression of women. The Gay Liberation movement's essentially anti-capitalist thrust is reflected in that it strikes at one of the central facets of bourgeois society - the patriarchal family with its attendent sexual oppression.

Particularly insidious is that in Australia

New Zealand, the majority of states in the U.S. etc., homosexuality as a form of sexual expression is considered criminal and punishable by law. Rarely enacted, the laws discriminating against homosexuals nevertheless have the effect of inflicting psychological oppression against gay people and opening the road for "legal" harrassment by the police. Obviously this avoids any specific refer-Faced with the constant threat of being subject to blackmail, entrapment and harrassment gays; are very often forced to live in fear and guilt; treated as outcasts in the very society that is responsible for their oppression,

With an ALP government after the forthcoming elections an eminent possibility the important question arises: what is the ALP policy in regard to homosexuality and in particular the discriminatory leg-

The most concise answer is that there is

The closest approximation to a policy statement appears in the ALP platform under section XXIII under "Law Reform" Section 11 reads:

"Laws on divorce and other social issues

sociology and standards." and further section 17: "In a matter where the community standards on the behaviour of the average person calls for consideration, the courts should, if requested, receive and apply

expert evidence on that issue." ence to homosexuality and other issues, concealing it in a vague abstract formula so general as to deny interpretation. It reflects some flexibility, in that the ALP is subject to mass pressure from within and without, but is vague enough to allow any avenue to be followed. As it stands it amounts to an acceptance of the present situation. Any policy that doesn't call for total abolition of the laws must inevitably fall into this category. The ALP must adopt a clear policy of repeal of all anti-homosexual laws, in or out of government. In government the ALP must ensure that no legal or extra-legal discrimination against gays

It is quite clear that the ALP has been intentionally evasive on this issue, not wishing to commit themselves one way or the other. In fact this is an issue that has been raised often inside the ALP, in

Federal Electoral Assemblies etc. only to find that no proposals have come up for decision by the party. Further such bodies as the Victorian Young Labor Association has as part of its official platform the repeal of all laws against homosexuality. This policy should be made

Why then, is the ALP pursuing an abstentionist policy? The reason lies in the opportunist and conservative nature of the ALP brass and its attempts to win the "middle of the road" voters to its "moderation" and "good sense". A useful illustration of the attitude of the ALP if in government is provided by the role of Don Dunstan's Labor government in South Australia. Deliberate avoidance of the issue has been the hallmark of Dunstan, saying that it should be "put off" - even in the face of the Duncan case where there have been rumors that the South Australian police were involved in the murder.

Although it must be realised that the total liberation of homosexuals will not come about by the mere removal of discriminatory laws, but will only come about with the total elimination of the last vestiges of class society, the repeal of the laws would be of great benefit to the gay liberation movement and all gays. In this matter the ALP must take a stand and when in government remove this archaic stricture from the law books and place it in the battered history where it belongs.

for the Labor Party:





of whether to terminate a pregnancy out of the hands of those with whom the decision belongs - women!

Every demand of women which furthers the control they have over their lives and frees them from the constricting role imposed on them by capitalist soclety should be supported. The demand for the right to abortion is to all appearances the easiest to grant, but the most contentious of women's demands, as it throws up the whole question of a woman's role as childbearer and rearer in male-dominated capitalist society, and exposes the most blatant aspect of a woman's present physical and psychological oppression - the denial of full

control over her body. The denial of this right reinforces the realisation that women were and still are regarded as chattels and slaves with no right to run their own lives. If women are to gain and safeguard this right they must organise independently and on a massive scale. They must also fight within the unions and within the ALP to have these bodies take up the issue as their own. The present ALP leadership will obviously not support the struggle of women for the right to abortion without women themselves demanding that they do, and exposing the reactionary nature of present ALP leadership's role in backing up the Liberals on an issue of fundamental importance to women.

BY JIM MCILROY

is allowed to occur.

Under the Liberal regime of the last twenty-three years we have seen the accelerating destruction of Australia's natural and social environment on a vast scale. The pollution and environmental crisis throughout the world is one aspect of the decay of capitalism as an international social system. The inability of this system to solve the most basic tasks in maintaining a living environment threatens the very existence of humanity on this planet. The fundamental contradiction of advanced capitalism, as Marx explained it, is the developing contradiction between the prices of production expressed as the sum of numan resource and technique) which are becoming increasingly socialised and interdependent and the relations of production (i.e. private ownership) which remain based on the unceasing quest for private profit. Thus, while the overall potential for socialised control of the use of resources and of pollution increases, the continuance of private property means that our environment (in the broadest sense) is rapidly being destroyed in the name of increased profits for the exploiters. This is a contradiction which affects every section of society although the great majority of wage earners suffer most since they have no escape onto pleasure cruises or to isolated retreats. Only a system of social planning on a large scale financed by the state, and under the direct control of the people, as part of a total economic and social plan, can effectively tackle the enormous problems of environment preservation.

The ALP is a different sort of party to the Liberals. It is based on the support of the working people and their organisations rather than being directly tied to the interests of the employing class. Despite the conservatism of its leadership, the ALP is responsive to pressures from the working majority and their mass political movements. We have seen this with the antiwar movement and to a certain extent the women's and black liberation movements. The anti-pollution movement has begun to take on a broad, militant character also, as for example, in the case of the anti-Bay Pipeline dispute in Melbourne. The ruling State Council of the Victorian ALP unanimously passed a Socialist Left motion which read, in part: "That this ALP conference strongly supports the principled actions of conservationists and trade unions in opposing the Esso-BHP ethane pipeline across Port Phillip Bay and urges all members of the Party to actively assist the struggle."

In Australia, the Federal Liberal - Country social ownership and control. Party government has presided over the commercial destruction of forests, the decimation of the countryside and the urban environment by the most crude commercialism, the pollution of the air and waters by every form of industrial filth, A Labor Party in power is an important all in the name of free enterprise. Now broad sectors of Australians are looking towards the Australian Labor Party for a solution to this among the many other threats to basic living conditions which the Liberals are serving up.

What has the ALP committed itself to as a government? Mainly the institution of a new environment ministry and other controlling bodies with funds to study and implement conservation measures. These are certainly advances but they do not go nearly far enough. They do not tackle the problem of private industry which will not comply with anti-pollution measures unless forced to. They ignore the interrelatedness of the necessarily unplanned chaos of capitalist development and its destructive effects, the tyranny of the automobile industry and the resultant pollution, the need for democratic, social planning and the necessity for social ownership.

This meant supporting strong direct action in the form of strikes, demonstrations, and pickets. ALP support can be instrumental in building these movements, as was seen with the Moratorium in Victoria in particular where the role of Jim Cairns and the old Victorian Central Executive was crucial. The Socialist Left has played a considerable role in building a militant anti-pollution movement both within and without the ranks of the ALP.

A realistic set of demands which a Labor government should implement include:

1. Legislation forcing all industries to adopt the most effective methods developed at the present time to reduce polluting effects of production, a system of inspection by elected representatives of the working people and a 100% tax on the profits of offenders.

2. Divert funds from military spending into research and development of effective anti-pollution measures.

. Existing public transport systems should be made free and should be enlarged to meet the needs of residents of every city. A drastic re-ordering of transport priorities: discrimination in favour of public and against private transport.

4. Expropriation of any industries that refuse to comply with anti-pollution standards. These industries should then be run as public facilities under democratic management by those who work

The acceptance of demands such as these will not come easily. It must be fought for within the ALP by a strong left wing and pressured on the Party leadership from outside by a vigorous mass movement. This is essential just to begin to tackle the environment crisis. In the long run only international socialism can solve the problems of world environment in the context of complete

In the meantime, in Australia the Labor Party offers a vehicle for the struggle for demands which pose basic questions about our social system and its future. initial step at this time. It will pose the political questions relating to pollution and environment more sharply and provide opportunities for socialists to fight for their programme on a broader scale.

The Aftermath of Munich

past, it is imperative that all supporters of organising terrorism on a multistinian people who are struggling to egain their homeland against the he killings at the Olympics has been ontrol to try to turn public opinion against the Palestinian Liberation Movement, We are printing here David Direct Action will no doubt be aware on Rothschild's account of the recent League, the Australian sympathising Israeli onslaught on Lebanon and Syria group of the Fourth International, and donists' and their imperialist friends' laims about Israel acting in "self defence".

As the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers League predicted in its statement in Direct Action 26 an inter- Finally, the article on page 13 by Tony ions which support the Palestinian cause, insight into the actual conditions of One of the more vicious manifestations millions of Arabs in Israel.

The repercussions of the killing of 17 of this has been the attack on the Fourth people in Muni ch last month are con- International in the September 19 issue tinuing. As we have explained in the of Newsweek, where they accuse the FI of human rights should stand squarely on national scale. Not only was Newsweek's he side of the real victims: the Pal- research extremely shallow (they claimed it was founded two years ago, when in reality it was founded by Trotsky in ionist state of Israel. The uproar over 1938), their attack was completely illfounded and unsubstantiated. Similarly the London Economist in its September imperialist powers and the media they 23 issue falsely accused the Fourth International of co-ordinating the attack on Lydda airport in May. Readers of Vizoz's review of Australian reactions. of the policies of the Socialist Workers provides an invaluable rebuttal to the the Socialist Youth Alliance, the youth organisation sympathetic to the Fourth International in this country, on terrorism. As a result of the Newsweek attack on Leon Trotsky's views, we are reprinting his real views on terrorism.

national witch-hunt campaign has been Thomas, while not strictly referring to launched against all left-wing organisat- the aftermath of Munich, gives some



The international witch-hunt against radicals and Arab people continues. In the latest development, the West German government banned the General Union of Palestine Students and the General Union of Palestinian Workers. Some dozens of Palestinians and other Arabs have been expelled. In Australia the racist reaction also reached new heights. An Arab who appeared on a television station and spoke in defence of the Palestinians, was framed up and arrested on charges of receiving stolen goods. The charges of course, did not stick and were dropped soon afterwards, and the only amazing thing about the event was that a Melbourne radio station announced his arrest before the police arrived at his house.

Intimidation was of course wider than this one instance. Other occurrences, particularly at schools, were also reported, not to mention job sites where Arabs have always been discriminated against.

The bourgeois press carried a campaign against "mad animals", Arab murderers etc. To reply to any of their wild accusations would take several issues of Direct Action so we shall not bother.

The unfortunate involvement of so many members of the Jewish community in these racist campaigns and accusations of Arab murders can only be re-

The reaction of left wing groups and the ALP is of much greater interest and we devote the bulk of our review of the aftermath of Munich in Australia to analysis of their statements.

It is interesting to note however, that Gordon Barton's mouthpiece of Aus-tralian liberalism, Nation Review, carried an article on the "Arab Mafia" directly from the Israeli intelligence sources, while it declined to publish an article by Phillip Bowering in sup-port of the Palestinian cause. Apparently there is a limit to their "liberal-

A prominent Arab, Dr. M. Haddad of Sydney University was even asked on television whether he was ashamed of being an Arab!

The ALP has always been a pro-Zionist

party. The establishment of the State

ALP REACTION

of Israel was greatly helped by the role at the UN of ALP leader Herbert V. Evatt. More recently Mr. Whitlam has visited Israel on several occasions. Bob Hawke has also admitted that he acted as a secret emissary of the Israeli government. The attitude was reflected in the party's reaction to Munich, Speaking in support of McMahon's statement in Parliament, Mr. Whitlam said, "The madness and horror of this act will not hide the ultimate truth that the martyrs of Munich have died in the cause of Israel's right to exist and for Jewish

freedom everywhere, as surely as if they died in battle. On behalf of my Party, I express our deepest somow and sympathy to the Australian Jewish community in this hour of frightfulness for Israel, and for all Jews and for the friends of Israel around the World (Sydney Jewish News, September 29 1972). The only exception to the racist tirade came from the Leader of the Opposition in the Senate, Senator Murphy, who agreed with

the motion but expressed reservations, "The slaughter by the State of Israel of innocent women and children as well as others, is no answer to the kind of atrocity that was committed against the State of Israel". (ibid).

The opportunist leaders of the ALP should be forced to discontinue their unashamed support for Zionism, and the ALP should - not their oppressors.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party of Australia (CPA) was quick to react to the Munich events. Tribune, the party's paper, featured them the Middle East he said that he was on its front page: "Is terrorism ever rather confused on this issue and didn' justified?". While its editorial correctly lashed out at the hypocrisy of bourgeois leaders and explained the cause of the a major flaw. For them, the condemnat- They followed their defence of the Palion of the killings (which they character- estinians with an attack on the CPA ised as murder) wasn't based on revolutionary efficacy in assessing the impact of the action on Arab and Israeli masses. Instead it was based on the "innocence" of the athletes. This became clearer in is to the SWL statement that we are the article they carried by a "special correspondent" where terrorism as such was discussed and the activities of the Ustasha and the British Army in Ireland were compared with the Munich killings! Deliberately or otherwise, Tribune also gave a false impression as if all the dillings were premeditated. Even so, the editorial was undoubtedly the clearest opposite page.) statement in support of the Arab revolution that the CPA has yet published.

However, although the doctrine of "balanced representation" might have its days italist government around the world as numbered on the ABC, it's still very pop- well as that of the Pope and the Stalinular with "Tribune". Its issue of October 3-9 devoted half a page to an article by All well and good, we couldn't agree Mr. Henry Zimmerman. Mr. Zimmerman's more. The next sentence however carr-Zionist views are well known. His assoc- ied an unexpected punch line: "The Pal- "unequivocal condemnation". It implies iation with the Jewish Progressive Centre, estinian Liberation Organisation has a "left-Zionist" formation are public through the centre's publications. Zimmerman's article is full of such gems Cairo newspaper "Al Ahram"." Nobody as: . . . all the Arab terrorist (sic) organisations have the reactionary aim of ". . . all Arab terrorist organisations who lack contact with the people. . . " ". . . the terror organisations organised in the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), led by Arafat and financed by the feudal oil sheiks, has only one aim: divert the attention of the Arab masses in Egypt, Sudan etc. etc., from their own and includes such groups as the revolutenemy." There are many more similarly outrageous statements. Such slanders against all Arab organisations, including ones like the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP) which proposed an internationalist solution, go unchallenged by the editor.

The editorial note merely replied to two of Mr. Zimmerman's other points regarding a previous article on Uganda and the nature of moves for peace in the Middle East. As for other matters, the note simply said: "Mr. Zimmerman has raised views -with many of which we agree. . ."
(emphasis added)

Regular readers of DIRECT ACTION may recall that on several occasions in the past we have pointed out the ambiguous position of the CPA on this question. So long as Zionists remain members of the CPA this National Question will remain their Achilles heel. The doubts in the Arab community about the CPA's sincer-

ity will persist until the CPA come out with a clear-cut and unequivocal position in defence of the Palestinian revolution and in support of the Palestinian peoples' right of self determination,

LABOUR PRESS

The sectarians of the Socialist Labour League were quick to jump on the bandsupport the real victims - the Palestinians wagon after Munich. As far as we can find out, they have never taken any interest in the Palestinian revolution before. Several months ago their Victorian Secretary attended an SYA forum in Melbourne and when he was challenged as to which side he supported in rather confused on this issue and didn't know a thing about it. Now, on this occasion, these Healyites decided that they should outdo all other tendencies Palestinian people, it still suffered from in their defence of the Arab revolution. and the Socialist Workers League. Their attack on our statement published in DIRECT ACTION is to say the least a strange one. One of their main objections the inevitable product of the frustration "unequivocally opposed to the policy of individual terrorism". Presumably, these so-called "Trotskyists" have forgotten Trotsky's position on terrorism: "... Marxists have categorically condemned individual terrorism. . ." (emphasis added, For a more detailed statement by Trotsky on terrorism, see

In their enthusiasm to prove themselves more revolutionary than anyone else they attacked the hypocrisy of the capists in Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, support. joined the chorus, together with King was surprised at the reference to Hussein or the editor of "Al Ahram" But, the denying the national rights of one people.", juxtaposition of those two with the PLO was surprising. As far as we know, all the PLO has done was to disassociate themselves from the Black September

> The PLO is the umbrella organisation of the Palestinian resistance organisations, ionary Marxist PDFLP. In their opport-

unist attempts to outshine everyone else the Healyites deny the rights of these militants to either defend themselves. or issue any statements conflicting with the sectarians' view of the world. The Healyites consider themselves to be the only true mentors for the Arab revolution, capable of giving advice to the Palestinians to the tactics they should use. When any of the mass or vanguard organisations of the Palestinian people conflicts with them, then they get lumped together with such reactionaries The Marxist Worker is a small as Hussein and Heykal.

WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE

The Worker Student Alliance at Monash University moved the following motion at a meeting of the Public Affairs Comm- make any mention objective ittee (PAC):-

"That this meeting of the Public Affairs Committee unequivocally condemns the murder of members of the Israeli Olym pic Team by individuals claiming to represent the Palestinian revolutionary movement. Further, that PAC believes that this attack and others like it are and desperation bred by the dispossession and exploitation of the Palestinian people by the Israeli, Jordanian and other Arab regimes. PAC believes that such attacks will end only when the land and rights robbed from the Palestinian people are restored to them."

There are two points to which we raise objection. The first one being the reference to "individuals claiming to represent the Palestinian revolutionary movement. The WSA is trying to run away from the facts, Unconditional support can't be based upon a selective application to the movement one claims to

moralistic rather than revolutionary objections to terrorism.

"Struggle", the newspaper of the WSA; carried a different line than the Monash version. It carried excerpts from the statement of the Palestine Australia Solidarity Committee, The statement falled to analyse or comment on the tactics of the Black September group in Munich. In addition "Struggle" carried an article on the incident. This contributed article also failed to analyse the Black September tactics. Its defence of the Palestinian revolution fell down because it resorted to nit-picking and

During the recent invasion of Lebanon an Israeli tank ran over this car,

included a large most factual errors, e.g.l. Jord leged to control a part of his which it lost to Israel in 1967, g. 2. Ikrit and Bira'am are to ses on the Lebanese border brael's pre-1967 borden - "Struggle" ges to transfer them to the Gaza Stride these borders.

MARXIST WORKERSHIP

group mainly at Malniversity. Its members are self a Frotskylsts". This group has been in the past to be even more equal on the question of Zionis the CPA. Thus its publication "Hart" failed to causes of terrorism. Lespite the fact that its memberno doubt

se family was deman. The

school served 600 ch.

aware that Zionist oppression has been the main cause of the Palestinians' plight.

In their condemnation of the Black September group they stated that Black September is a middle class movement. The reality of the situation is exactly the opposite. The Palestinian nation, being composed mainly of stateless refugees, has a very small middle class, mainly in existence in the territories occupied by Israel. The origin of the Black September movement is quite different. They arose as a result of the massacre in September 1970 of the Palestinian guerrillas by King Hussein of Jordan. To suggest that Black September is a middle class movement and condemn it as such under these circumstances is simply preposterous.

Newsweek took out a full page ad on the groups throughout the world, their Times, advertising its September 18 Leon Trotsky?) and the civilised world Issue containing articles entitled "Olympic chances of stopping them in an age of Terror" and "Terrorist International". instant communications and jet travel".

The ad reads in part: "European experts What was Leon Trotsky's actual position are convinced, says Newsweek, that Black September is no bunch of loners, out rather a super secret arm of Al from Trotsky's testimony before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry of 1937 week explores the links between the as a whole are unalterably opposed to major - and minor - young revolutionary such tactics.

Volya", "Will of the People" Party,

based their tactics upon individual

the Marxists made a terrible fight,

In this fight between Marxism and

versus individual terror, the school

which differentiated the strategy of

individual terror and the organised

decades. When I came in 1902 to

movement. It penetrated our action,

our psychology and our literature for

tudents and workers, with the first

Ministers, but the assassination of

Tsarism, the order of tyranny". . .

Our country (Russia) has the greatest century, two generations of Russian experience in the matter of terror. I Marxists in their personal experience lived Kampi, the theoretical monthly of the selieve only the Irish people would have through the era of terror, learned from its Austrian Social Democracy, I wrote in a certain competition with us. We had tragic lessons, and organically instilled November 1911, an article on terrorism in themselves a negative attitude toward for this publication. the heroic adventurism of lone individuals. and the Social Revolutionaries, which Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marx- "Whether or not a terrorist attempt, even ism; Lenin, the leader of Bolshevism; the historic fight against individual of Menshevism; all dedicated thousands

Leon Trotsky?) and the civilised world's

on terrorism? The following excerpts

terror. It was not a mystical or relig- of pages and hundreds of speeches to the ious principle with the Marxists. It was struggle against the tactic of terror ... a question of organising the soul against and educating them. Because the ble whenever political oppression transterrorist fight was a very glorious page gresses certain boundaries. Such acts in our revolutionary history, with great almost always have a symptomatic sacrifices of the best youth of our people, character. But politics that sanctifies terror, raising it into a system - that is ideological fight, against the ideology a different thing. "Terrorist work", I of terrorism, in order to turn the best wrote in 1909, "in its very essence deelements of the youth to the workers. mands such a concentration of energy upon 'the supreme moment', such an terrorism it is the action of the masses over-estimation of personal heroism and lastly, such a hermetically concealed conspiracy as ... excludes completely any agitational and organisational against terrorism, the Marxian intelligen- What is the need of meetings, mass Lenin, there was a movement in Russia tricts for the sake of tunnelling mines beginning, a mass movement of the underneath the Gran Ducal and Tsarist sacrifices resulting from conflict in the wit history. In the long run, history streets. Now, the first reaction of the puts everybody in his place. The basic youth was revenge, the assassination of property of terror as a system is to des-Ministers, and we told them: "Not that troy that organisation which by means of avenger and emancipator who will some is our revenge, not the assassination of chemical compounds seeks to compensate day come and accomplish his mission". for its own lack of political strength ... (Emphasis in original).

Beginning with the 'eighties of the past groups of Austrian workers. Upon the re- Trotsky, pp. 45, 489-92.

terror. All Marxists in Russia began in Martov, the most eminent representative ruling circles depends upon the concrete if 'successful', introduces confusion in the political circumstances. In any case this confusion can be only of short duration. The capitalist state does not rest upon the monster, of organising the masses Isolated terroristic explosions are inevita- gether with them. The classes whom the ministers and cannot be destroyed tostate serves will always find new men - the mechanism remains intact and continues to function. But much deeper is that confusion which the terrorist attempts to introduce into the ranks of the working masses. If it is enough to arm oneself with a revolver to reach the goal, then to what end are the endeavours of the class struggle? If a pinch of powder and a slug of lead are ample to shoot the enemy through the neck where is the need of a class organisation? If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled personages with the noise of an activity among the masses ... Struggling explosion, what need is there for a party? tsia defended their right or their duty not agitation, elections, when it is so easy London to the home of Lenin and met to withdraw from the working class dis- to take aim at the Ministerial bench from the Parliamentary gallery? Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissable prepalaces". It is impossible to fool or out- cisely for the reason that it lowers the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes towards the great

Leon Trotsky's testimony before the Dewey In 1911 terrorist moods arose among certain Commission of Inquiry, The Case of Leon

by Jon Rothschild

A A A

"The cinder-block of the Hammother, Rasmilla, even children from 14 months years of age were said to brin killed.

"A new concrete schuse was reduced to rubble. It's said the

New York Times consident Juan

de Onls filed the shaport from the village of Rafil aptember 9. The town, in someon, was one of the ten target on the afternoon of Septembin 2 17 minute long level bing attack on Syrian and Lebandllages, Between 50 and 80 pt - US built Phantoms and French Hied Mirages - were involun the raids Because of the wifted the attack, virtually no defente flered by the Arabs: No Syriste banese planes were sent intra ir; no ground to air missise fired, and except in northern Sino Arab anti-aircraft batteriet used.

Israeli military the raids, the mo pution for the June 1967 n commanthe September which II do action in Ma ", the Israelis were kill Israeli briefing of hit the terrorists at we can, to cripple them and to make it clear that we mean business. The message is directed not only to the terrorists, but also to the countries that harbour

Again on September 9, this voice of a not inconsequential sector of the US ruling class editorialised that "The Arab murderers in Munich have, in effect, served notice on the world that no international gathering for any purpose anywhere is automatically immune from potential attack".

After the Israeli retaliation, which a September Il Times editorial called "predictable and understandable", the editors cautioned Israeli leaders that massive retribution could be selfdefeating, driving all Arabs to support "terrorism". Another note of caution was introduced: "Moreover, as Arab civilian casualties inevitably mount from the bombing and shelling, Israel will forfeit much of the widespread sympathy and support it commanded after the senseless slaughter in Munich".

But there were no tears shed for the dead Arab civilians, no mention was made of the Israeli government's message to the world that no Arab village is immune from attack.

Most of the Western press and the governments it supports accepted the Israeli claim that the September 8 bombing raids were not directed against civilians but against "terrorist bases". But de Onis provided counterevidence to that assertion. "First, the people in this village are not Palestinians, and second, there have been no commandos around here for more than a year", one of the citizens of Rafid told de Onis.

Rafid, it should be noted, is one of the lew Israeli targets that even conceivably could have harboured fedayeen. This is demonstrated by a glance at the map. Of the eight targets aside from Rafid and one other village in southern Lebanon, three are in northern Syria. Of these, the closest to the Israeli border is a full 100 miles away; two are nearly at the Turkish border; all three are separated from the "promised land" by the entire length of Lebanon.

Perhaps realising that 100 miles is further than even an "Arab murderer" can lob a mortar, the Israel i military officials who explained the raids to Western reporters claimed that the three targets in northern Syria were "Fateh naval bases". Supporters of the Arab revolution, not to mention participants, may be pleasantly surprised to learn that the commando movement has a navy. The surprise should be tempered with suspicion. The same Israeli military officials announced on September 9 that the Israeli navy had sunk "a small attack boat manned by Palestinian guerrillas off the southern Lebanese coast early Friday morning (September 8". The sources doubted that the crew exceeded ten in number. A heroic victory over Fateh's mighty fleet.

Objective observers must conclude that the bombs dropped on northern Syria, if they indeed touched any boats at all, fell on Arab fishing craft, and not on naval installations.

Another target was the village of Nahar el-Bard in northern Lebanon, about 85 miles from the northernmost reaches of Israel. Until the Israeli attack, no one had claimed that there were any operational commando bases in northern Lebanon.

Three targeted villages are in southern Syria, two of them near the Golan Heights, Syrian territory occupied by Israel since the 1967 war. There have been few, if any, reported attacks there during the last two years,

The final target, el-Hameh, is also a considerable distance from Israeli territory. But it is only four miles from Damascus, the Syrian capital. The inhabitants of Damascus, it was reported, could see the Israeli jets swoop in and could hear the bombs falling.

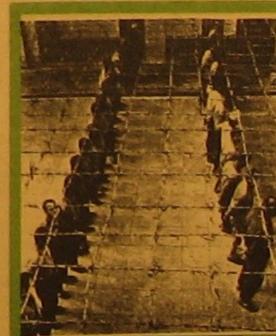
The fedayeen news agency reported on September 9 that the total casualties of the Israeli raids were 26 dead, most of them women and children, and 40 wounded. Arab governments suggested the toll was considerably higher.

The Israeli military apparatus is apparently not yet finished, "Conversations with Israeli government officials here today," New York Times corres-

pondent Terence Smith wrote from Jerusalem on September 9, "left the strong impression that yesterday's raid and incidents today were the beginning, rather than the end, of the Israeli response to the Munich shootings".

In a September 10 television interview, Lieutenant General David Elazar, Israeli chief of staff, called the September 8 raids "part of a continuous war". When asked about Arab civilian casualties, Elazar, striking a familiar note, replied, "We make every effort to avoid hurting civilians but many terrorist bases are situated (like dikes) in the vicinity of civilian settlement. It is therefore, unfortunately, impossible always to avoid harming civilians".

That the Israeli bombings were in reality



Arabs in prison near Tel Aviv

aimed at civilians and not at "terrorist bases" is best proven by the simple fact that there are no longer any functional commando bases either in Syria or Lebanon. This in turn explains to a considerable extent the origins of the Munich The attacking troops were forced to stay action itself.

Some of the Israeli armed units that poured across the Lebanese border on September 16 in massive terror raids against the civilian population almost did armoured vehicles out after dark", a not make it home in time for Yom Kippur, senior officer told the press. the day of atonement for sins of the past year. For the first time ever, the Lebanese army had the effrontery to de-

fend itself - a fact that brought forth both denials and indignation from Israeli military leaders.

The September 16 invasion was described by Lieutenant General David Elazar who had promised further attacks after the massive September 8 air raids on Syria and Lebanon, as part of "our continuing war against the terrorists".

And he promised more: "The operation itself will not end the war, but it was a major battle".

An unidentified senior officer of the Israeli General Staff called the assault "a combing and purging operation". Those familiar with Israeli terminology know what this means: bombing civilians, blowing up houses, destroying roads and

At dawn - 5.45 a.m. - three columns of Israeli infantry, armour and artillery, supported by helicopters, breached the Lebanese border in what was to be the largest Israeli ground operation since the June 1967 war. Simultaneously, 25 Israeli jet fighter bombers struck at Nabatiye, population 20,000, and Tyre, population 35,000. Both towas are sites of Palestinian refugee camps.

The ground forces penetrated some 16 miles into Lebanon, seizing a total area of more than 130 square miles. At least 16 Arab villages were occupied in the sweep and Israeli military spokesmen reported that more than 150 homes were destroyed - allegedly because commandos had been known to have stayed in them. At least 60 "fedayeen" were reported killed, 20 taken prisoner. The real toll is doubtless much higher. First reports of the September 8 air raids listed 40 dead and 20 wounded; later, the figure was expanded to 200 killed or wounded. The Israeli command reported three Israeli soldiers killed and six wounded.

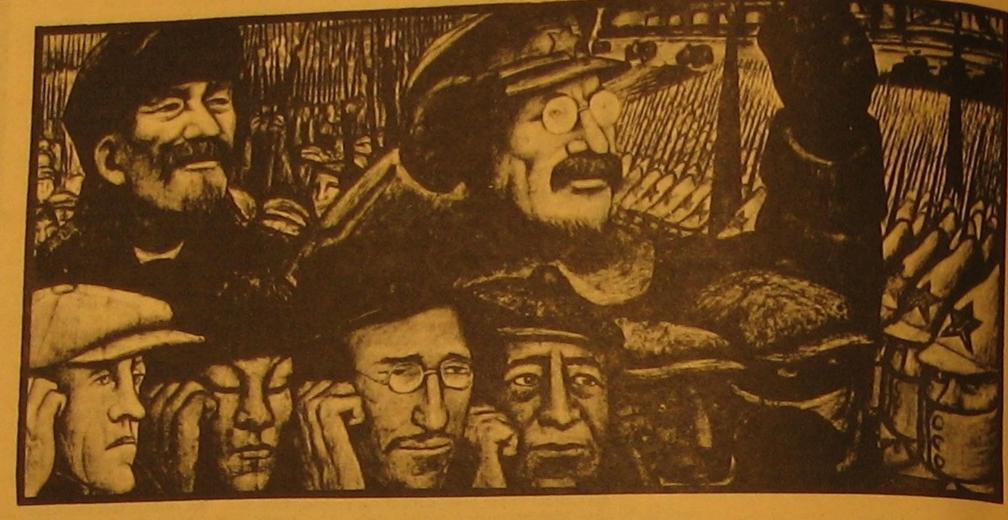
longer than they had planned. One armoured unit came under heavy fire during its withdrawal and had to take up defensive positions over night. "We were unwilling to move our tanks and other heavy

CONTINUED PAGE 14

THE STHUTTERMATIONAL

PART 8

TO THE MOTORY OF THE PUERRE FRANK



[The following, eighth installment of our translation of of Pierre Frank's The Fourth International: A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement begins with the second section of Chapter 6.

* * *

Chapter 6: From 1948 to 1968

II. The Period of Splits in the International

At the Third Congress, no principled differences had appeared within the International, such as the disagreement on the class nature of the Soviet Union that had in earlier years torn the movement. Apparently the International was united; the opponents of the congress's theses in the French section (who were subsequently to form the Internationalist Communist Organization Organisation Communiste Internationaliste - OCI]) were placing the emphasis in their attacks on the tactical conclusions, in which they saw a capitulation to Stalinism, rather than on the analysis itself, only certain parts of which, generally speaking, they criticized.

The 1953-54 Split

(Cont'd)

The error in perspective discussed above would not in itself have caused a split; besides, nobody had proposed any other perspective. Nevertheless, two years after the congress, a split occurred on an international scale, preceded about a year before by a split in the French section.

How can the split be explained? As already indicated, we were on the threshold of an unexpected development, the outcome of which was not clear. It is, therefore, not too surprising to realize, after the fact, that the congress's quasi-unanimity really masked divergent positions and tendencies which had not been expressed, not because of lack of democracy in the organization, but because the situation was so unclear. The divisions that subsequently surfaced, not only in the form of splits but also inside each of the groupings resulting from the splits, attest to that. With this as a basis, two other factors played an important, if not decisive, role. To begin with, the theses adopted by the congress had not been assimilated by the sections, their leaderships included. It was only with the advent of the split that the situation became completely clear to the leadership of the International. The latter had not at all been aware of this state of affairs; it did not have a clear view of the condition of the organization as a whole; and it realized all this, belatedly and to its very great surprise, only in 1953, when preparations were being made for the next congress.

In the months following the Third World Congress, relationships between the International and the majority of the French section, 28 which kept refusing to implement the congress's decisions, deteriorated to such an extent that in the middle of 1952 a split took place in the PCL This split was not to end there: the two organizations claiming to be the French section of the Fourth Internawere taken by the International, with the approval of

in the British section, which, by dint of its systematic work, had made palpable progress inside the Labour place even before the respective positions were clearly

The decisive factor in the split was an internal crisis

28. The division in the PCI was in the proportion of 55% to 45% - which, of course, contributed to exacerbating the internal

within the Socialist Workers party (SWP), the American Trotskyist organization. At that time the situation in the United States was growing more and more difficult for the vanguard. McCarthyism was on the rise. While a majority of the American organization maintained fundamental Trotskylst positions, a strong minority was searching for a new path. Without stating its essential positions - at least in those of its published documents known to the International - this minority seized upon the Third World Congress's theses and subsequent documents of the International (particularly a discussion document on Stalinism, drawn up in preparation for the next world congress) as weapons in its fight against the ma-Jority of the American organization.

When this internal struggle ended in a split, the majority of the SWP blamed the leadership of the International, with which it disagreed at the time on the question of "de-Stalinization." Moreover, the political differences were overlaid with organizational and even personal suspicions. Finally, there was practically no personal contact, no person-to-person exchange of views, during this period. Thus, without being preceded by an extensive political discussion in the international movement, a split occurred on an international scale. A minority established the "International Committee of the Fourth International." As for the SWP minority, no sooner did it break away from the party than it publicly expressed liquidationist positions and openly fought the Fourth Inter-

The McCarthyism just referred to subjected the SWP to a great deal of pressure and led the party's leadership, embrolled in a fight against the liquidationist current, to resist what it considered dangerous innovations. This happened in 1953 when, immediately after Stalin's death, the first "de-Stalinization" measures were taken in the Soviet Union. In preparation for the next world congress (the decision to call this congress had been taken in May of 1953), the leadership of the International had readied a document, "The Rise and Decline of Stalinism," which, in a way the leadership had not expected, sparked the powder keg. Since this document was adopted at the Fourth World Congress and completed at the Fifth, we shall analyze it later. However, we must say here and now that it excited more than fear in the comrades who were going to form the International Committee: they saw in it a capitulation to Stalinism, the liquidation of the Fourth International, and "Pabloism."

This split was by far the most serious of all for the Fourth International. Although all the groups and all the people who have through the years left the organization cannot be considered lost to us for all time, the other splits proved, by their nature and in actual fact, to be rather splits away from the Trotskylst movement. On the other hand, this split was in fact primarily a division of the movement itself into two parts, one continuing the International and the other organized in a committee that acted as a faction. This split profoundly affected the life and development of both sides. Actually, it had the effect, among others, of injecting into the Intertional soon had their own splits. Disciplinary measures national, into the part continuing the organization as well as the other, both a disequilibrium and a reinforcethose who, the very next year, would join with those ment of the centrifugal forces - during a period which, who had been expelled to form the International Com- as we have repeatedly stressed, was replete with power-Somewhat later, extremely violent differences erupted sectors of the movement. All this certainly resulted in ful forces placing unequal degrees of pressure on various reinforcing the heterogeneous character of certain tenparty. So intense was the disagreement that a split took tion as such and of its center. During the years of this dencies, as well as reducing the authority of the organizasplit, members and groups of the international Trotskyist movement experienced developments that were by no means inevitable. Had this split (which, in our opinion, was not unavoidable) not taken place, the International would have been able to reach the overall appraisal of the postwar world that it acquired at the reunification, perhaps faster but certainly in a less costly way.

The Fourth and Fifth World Congresses (1954 and 1957)

Preparations for the Fourth World Congress as well as the congress itself were dominated by the split that had occurred in the meantime. Representatives from twenty-one countries participated in the congress, which was held in July 1954. The congress devoted part of its time to a small group that had waged a violent struggle against supporters of the International Committee but which, right after the split, turned its fire just as violently against the International. This group considered the struggle to create new revolutionary parties unnecessary, did not even stay until the congress adjourned. and then rapidly fell apart.

The most important task facing the congress consisted in subjecting the positions adopted at the previous congress to a thoroughgoing reappraisal. Two principal documents were adopted. One dealt with integrating the Trotskyists into bona fide mass movements, and reviewed the revolutionary conditions of the era and the essential task of building mass revolutionary Marxist parties. For this purpose, the document insisted on the necessity of merging with the masses in action, not in program. It brought out what was happening within the mass organizations, and pointed out the necessity for the Trotakyist organizations to choose a field of work in these organizations - it being understood that reforming them was not the question. To the main considerations, the document added considerations appropriate for applying the tactic in various countries.

The other document was entitled, "The Rise and Decline of Stalinism." Since it was taken up again and completed at the following congress, we shall come back to

The Fourth Congress served mainly to put a brake on the consequences of the split, to effect a regroupment against the centrifugal tendencies let loose by the split, to consolidate the organization in the wake of the blow it had just suffered.

The congress also adopted a resolution declaring the reestablishment of unity in the Trotskyist movement both possible and desirable, and authorizing the International Executive Committee elected at this congress to contact the nonrepresented organizations - those of the International Committee - in order to apprise them of the congress's position on the question of unity.

Shortly after the Fourth Congress, the situation in the International began to improve somewhat, helped in large measure by developments in the international situation

Beginning in 1955, an unexpected turn in the economic conjuncture became apparent in the advanced capitalist countries. Prosperity began to settle in. This turn called for analysis, and in October 1955, the International Erecutive Committee provided an initial appraisal. The IEC noted the radical change in the economic conjuncture, the economic prosperity that had been appearing for over a year. The IEC gave a description rather than a the oretical analysis of this phenomenon, and was somewhat cautious as to perspectives.

The most important factor in improving the movement's condition was developments in the Soviet Union and in the workers states of Eastern Europe. In the former, a struggle was going on inside the leadership that had taken over at Stalin's death. Beria was the first to be eliminated. Then Malenkov had to give way to the Bulganin-Khrushchev team. The struggle was to continue for almost another two years. The crisis at the summit the concessions made by the leadership, opened possibilities for expressing nonconformist views in what had for so long been the citadel of monolithism.

And then came 1956 - the year of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the year of the Polish and Hungarian events. At a closed session of the Twentieth Congress, Khrushchev had delivered a report on the Personality Cult of Stalin," in which he denounced many of Stalin's crimes. Khrushchev was not inquiring into the original of the Stalinist phenomenon; on the contrary, this repor

sacrificed Stalin as an individual in order to save the power of the bureaucracy. In Poland, strikes followed by a mass movement brought Gomulka, one of Stalin's victims, to the leadership of the party and the state Hungary, faced with the breadth of the mass mobilization and the indecisive attitude of Imre Nagy, the Kremlin repressed the mass movement by a bloody intervention of the Soviet army.

Elsewhere, in the arena of the colonial revolution, hardly had the war between French imperialism and the Vietminb been ended by the Geneva Agreements in July 1954. when the Algerian war began (November 1954).

Likewise in 1956 came the Suez crisis, in which the gove ernments of France and Great Britain Intervened militarily in collusion with Israel against Egypt, following the naionalization of the Suez Canal. Under the joint pressure of Washington and the Kremlin, France and Great Britain had to end their military intervention.

All the sections of the International were engaged in two kinds of activity. First of all, they intervened in the international crisis of Stalinism and the Communist parties, which was expressed mainly among students and intellectuals inside those parties but which also reached working-class layers. In addition, many sections cooperated more and more in helping the Algerian revolution and, more generally, the colonial revolution.

On the whole this period witnessed a new start for the sections, a certain amount of recruiting, a growing confidence due to the fact that, for the first time, all the things we had been saying about Stalinism for so long in an essentially theoretical way were being verified in actuality on an already considerable scale. Besides a still limited recruitment, the organization had a wider audience, and its political authority was reinforced.

Under these conditions, preparations for the Fifth World Congress got under way in November 1956. This congress was to have an entirely different character from that of its predecessor.

In the course of preparing for the congress, an attempt at rapprochement with the International Committee was made, with a view toward reunification, in line with the decision of the Fourth Congress. In the wake of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, it appeared from a reading of the publications, especially those of the SWP, that differences on the USSR and "de-Stalinization" had diminished. This attempt at rapprochement failed, mainly because distrust on the organizational level persisted.

The Fifth Congress, in October 1957, assembled about a hundred delegates and observers from twenty-five countries. Among the fraternal delegates were representatives of the Algerian fighters.

The march of events had permitted far more light to be shed on the problems posed by the postwar upheavals. Three essential questions were dealt with by the congress. the conclusions reached appearing in the following documents: "Economic Perspectives and International Policies"; "Colonial Revolution Since the End of the Second World War"; "Rise, Decline, and Fall of Stalinism."

The document entitled "Economic Perspectives and In-

ternational Policies" started off with a thorough discussion of the causes for the unexpected prosperity in the United States and Western Europe. It explained the "anticrisis" methods employed by the capitalist states, the role of consumer credit, the public debt, etc. The document went on to explain that the devices used by capitalism to obtain its much vaunted results would eventually bring about increasingly frequent recessions, technological unemployment, and a long-range depreciation of money.

On the economy of the workers states, the document noted its prodigious growth and pointed out that these countries, which had until then stressed the production of capital goods, usually without taking production costs into consideration, would (for social reasons) have to expand their production of consumer goods and would also have to "rationalize" their economy. Far from advocating solutions such as those presently prescribed by reformers such as Liberman, Trapeznikov, Sik, etc., the document emphasized the basic role of workers' democracy, not only as a political factor but as indispensable for development in the economic area.

This document also stressed the fact that although the colonial countries were making economic progress in terms of absolute figures, they were actually regressing in a relative sense compared to other countries; that the result of this would be a growing impoverishment of the colonial masses and consequently the continuation of the objective conditions that were fanning the flames of colonial revolution.

As to the class struggle in the capitalist countries, the document stated that while the economic conjuncture did not allow for revolutionary struggles in the immediate future, in certain countries it could not fail to give rise to trade-union struggles linked to the various phases of the economic cycle.

The congress's document on the colonial revolution stressed the fact that it was the dominant feature of the postwar period; it had upset all the perspectives that had been made since the origin of the working-class movement, even those made after the October Revolution, because all the perspectives had been based on the victory of the revolution in the West before it could triumph in the East. The document pointed out that the colonial revolution could triumph only as a permanent revolution; that it was thus an integral part of the world revolution; that it constituted at a given stage the link between October and the victory of the world revolution. The document went on to a detailed study of the colonial movements, of the nature of their leaderships (particularly those of a pronounced Bonapartist character), of the policy of the imperialists and of the different workers states. (USSR, China) with respect to colonial countries and colonial movements. The document examined the respective roles of the proletariat and the peasantry in the colonial countries. Already emphasized was the importance of guerrilla warfare in colonial countries, not only as a military factor but also as a factor in the organization and political education of the masses. The congress insisted on the necessity for the Trotskyist movement, es-

pecially for the sections in the imperialist countrie devote a large part of its activity to aiding the colonia. revolution.

The Fifth Congress went back to the document The Rise and Decline of Stalinism" adopted by the preceding congress and added another section to it entitled. "The Decline and Fall of Stallnism." The completed document constitutes one of the most exhaustive texts extant on Stalinism, the workers states, and the Communist parties. Its point of departure is the great historical stages since the October Revolution: the rise in the revolutionary tide from 1917 to 1923, the decline from 1923 to 1943, the new rise beginning in 1943. It reviews the objective conditions surrounding Stalin's rise in the Soviet Union and the Stalinization of the Communist parties (isolation and backwardness of the Soviet state, decline of the world revolution) and counterposes the objective conditions of the new situation: the existence of several workers states, the USSR become the second world power, the revolutionary rise throughout the world. Thus it clearly sets forth the conditions underlying the crisis of Stalinism. It demonstrates that henceforth there can be no danger, except in the highly improbable case of defeat in a world war, of a restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The crisis of Stalinism should consequently result in a confrontation between the bureaucracy and the proletariat. The document characterizes the "de-Stallnization" measures as measures for the self-defense - not self-liquidation - of the bureaucracy, showing that those in power are hoping. through these measures, to find a wider base in the bureaucracy itself and to satisfy some of the crying needs of the masses. That part of the document written after the events of 1956 contained an erroneous perspective: it envisaged a sharpening of the crisis of Stalinism in the immediate future. It did not foresee the period that may be called "reformist," which followed the elimination of the "anti-Party group" by Khrushchev in 1957 and which lasted about ten years. Finally, the document outlined a program of transitional demands for the political revolution, starting from the demands Trotsky had already formulated in the 1938 Transitional Program, taking into account the data furnished by the new conditions in the Soviet Union and by the Polish and Hungarian events of 1956. The document devotes considerable space to the crisis in the Communist parties, both in the workers states and in the cap-Italist countries. The subsequent development of the Sino-Soviet dispute would renew this subject and intensify its importance.

The discussions at the Fifth Congress were broad in scope; certain points were strongly debated by various delegates, but there was no factional fight. The International had largely recovered; it came out, once again unanimously, in favor of reunification of the international movement. But underneath the unity evidenced at the congress, new crises were brewing. Friction could already be felt in the International's leadership.

[To be continued]

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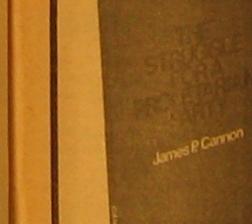
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THE WORLD REVOLUTION Working Class Front Formed in Venezuela

For the first time, an electoral front along working class lines is being formed in Venezuela. Its aim is to intervene in the presidential elections scheduled for December 1973. The campaign is being launched by the MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo - Movement Toward Socialism) around the candidacy of the independent Marxist Jose Vicente Rangel, who is being presented as the socialist candidate for president.

The MAS is a centrist formation that grew out of a split in the PCV (Partido Comunista Venezolano - Venezuelan Communist party), and includes most of what was then the PCV youth.

Jose Vicente Rangel has an excellent reputation throughout the entire left for his untiring and audacious efforts in denouncing the tortures and murders committed by the repressive forces and for his defence of political prisoners. His book Expediente Negro, documenting the assassination of Alberto Llorera, a PCV leader, by the Accion Democratica (Democratic Action) government of Romulo Betancourt was widely read.

The two major bourgeois parties, Accion Democratica and COPEI (Comite Organizado por Elecciones Independientes - Committee for Independent Political Action, the Christian Democratic Party), have selected their candidates - Secretary General Carlos Andres Perez and ex-Minister of the Interior Lorenzo Fernandez respectively - and launched their campaigns.

Two other bourgeois parties, the MEP (Movimiento Electoral del Pueblo -People's Electoral Movement, an Accion Democratica split off that occurred during the 1968 election campaign) and the URD (Union Republicana Democratica, Democratic Republican Union) have joined with the PCV to launch a popular front under the designation "Nueva Fuerza" (New Force).

The Stalinist leadership of the PCV has publicly supported bourgeois candidates in the past, but this is the first time that a formal, open "alliance" of this kind has been put together here.

At a recent national conference of the three participating parties, MEP leader Jose Paz Galarraga was chosen as the Nueva Fuerza candidate.

The formation of this popular front was, of course, clearly inspired by the Unidad Popular victory in Chile. The liberal opportunist politicos of the MEP and the URD assumed leftist poses and are mouthing "socialist" slogans. The PCV, in keeping with its class-collaborationist policy, eagerly merged with these "progressive" bourgeois parties. For all its leftist verbiage, the programme of the Nueva Fuerza is nothing but a rehash of old reformist formulas.

The crucial difference between the candidacy of Jose Vicente Rangel and the

The first national convention of Raza

Unida parties, the Mexican-American

(Chicano) nationalist movement, was

held in El Paso, Texas, September 1 -4.

Attended by over a thousand observers in

addition to the 268 voting delegates, the

convention rejected support to either the Democratic or Republican parties in the 1972 presidential elections.

The resolution calling for "complete

independence" from the Democratic

and Republican parties declared that the

Raza Unida parties "support none of the two major candidates for President of the

important victory for those forces led by

the Colorado delegation over those who

This victory came about despite divisive

ion, such as those from Texas. These

socialists from a Texas caucus while at

the same time caucus organisers didn't

em to address the convention.

tactics by certain sections of the convent-

tactics included the excluding of Chicano

think twice about inviting George McGov-

favoured endorsing George McGovern.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and the rest of

United States". This was seen as an

popular front campaign hinges on the question of independent working class action versus class collaboration. This is the first time that this basic question relating to Marxist principles is being posed in a national context in Venezuela.

It must be pointed out, however, that neither the MAS nor Jose Vicente Rangel, nor various other groups that have publicly endorsed his campaign, have explicitly stated that they are opposed to making electoral alliances with bourgeois formations. Nevertheless, in practice Rangel has The statement begins by placing the

ionaria - Movement of the Revolutionary Left), badly weakened as a result of the past The final section of the statement experiod of guerrilla armed struggle, has evolved into a centrist group like the MAS, although with different traits. Unlike the left tendency reaching into the leadership. dependent programmatic platform. The as a group stated its position on the elections a "frente revolucionario socialista" (re-

A tendency in the MIR appears to favour supporting Nueva Fuerza.

The forces that still identify with the strategy of guerrilla warfare as the road to (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional -Armed Forces of National Liberation) and Bandera Roja - have failed to appreciate the opening presented to the revolutionary forces by the present political situation. They have called for a "front of all those

Maoist formation, which has come out in support of the Nueva Fuerza candidate, these groups have announced no position on supporting candidates or participating in the

In a statement published in the August/ September issue of Voz Marxista, theGTV (Grupo Trotskista Venezolana - Venezuelan Trotskyist Group) explains its position on the election campaign.

been adamant about maintaining alliances Venezuelan situation in the present interonly with forces standing on this side of the national context. Following a brief analysis of the country's economy and where it stands, handless handless the statement appraises the class struggle and The MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revoluc- the contending political forces.

plains why the GTV decided to give critical support to Rangel's campaign as long as he makes no alliances with bourgeois MAS, the MIR contains a clearly discernible organisations and maintains his present in-True to its centrist nature, the MIR has not document also calls for the construction of and the working class candidacy of Rangel. volutionary socialist front) as an outcome of the campaign.

working class stance, and runs a militant campaign by forming a united front with other revolutionary and proletarian groups, socialist revolution in Venezuela - the FALN the working class and revolutionary vanguard could take significant strides forward. creasingly wide impact in the revolution-This would create very favourable conditions ary vanguard in Venezuela despite the for the construction of a revolutionary workers' party and would have positive

repercussions in the class struggle on a

If Rangel remains firm in his independent

ARRI MARRET ALRES String of String of A

The front cover of "Voz Marxista", 2 monthly newspaper published by supporters of the Venezuelan Trotskyist Group, This issue contains the group's statement explaining its decision to give critical support to the election campaign of Rangel. "Voz Marxista is having an inrelatively small size of the Trotskvist movement there. A run of 5,000 of the previous issue sold out quickly, so 6,000 copies of this issue were printed.

i por la unidad proletaria

JOSE VICENTE RANGEL

en torno a la candidatura de

Martial Law in Philippines

continental scale.

On September 23 martial law was imposed throughout the Philippines by decree of President Ferdinand Marcos, Newspapers, radio stations, television broadcasts, and despatches filed by foreign correspondents were placed under strict government control; rallies and demonstrations were banned; travel abroad by Filipinos was prohibited; and mass arrests of "Communist conspirators plotting to overthrow the government" were announced.

"We are falling back and have fallen back to our last line of defence", Marcos declared. "The limit has been reached because we have been placed against the wall". The next day Marcos ordered the military to take over three Philippine airlines and all major

This is the first time martial law has been proclaimed in the Philippines since it obtained its formal independence from the US in 1946. While it is certainly true that both the government and the people of the Philippines "have been placed against the wall", the real culprit is the Marcos government and the social system it supports, not any "Com-

Chicanos Reject Capitalist Parties

munist conspiracy".

In fact, in a September 4 despatch to the New York Times, Tillman Durdin wrote from Manila that there was a 'revitalised Communist movement that is plainly gaining ground but does not yet appear to threaten large-scale revolutionary upheaval.

"President Ferdinand Marcos characterises the movement as serious but under control", he said.

However, in a despatch filed the next day, on September 5, but not printed by the Times until after the declaration of martial law on September 23, Durdin explains that although the organised revolutionary forces are small, "conditions in general are dismal and the outlook for the next few years is not bright. A desire for drastic innovation, a feeling that things cannot go on much longer the way they are, is in the air, and the possibility of radical, possibly violent change is there".

Massive dissatisfaction with government corruption was brought to a head this summer by the worst floods in Philippine

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales addressing Raza Unida national convention.

history. Illegal timber cutting and the failure of large landowners to maintain dikes on their property, both ignored by corrupt officials, greatly aggravated the damage caused by the floods.

It is estimated that 400 families dominate the economy and politics in this nation of 38 million. Per capita income is about \$158 a year, and last year the rate of inflation hit 24, 7%. About 45% of the population suffers from malnutrition, and unemployment and underemployment affect millions.

The Philippines has a long history of rural guerrilla groups, but Durdin reports that the Marcos regime sees as its chief danger "the increasing disillusion of the urban population, particularly the un-employed educated youth". Out of one million young people with diplomas in higher education, 400,000 are unemployed.

Given these conditions, the declaration of martial law came as no surprise. There was widespread speculation among many of Marcos's political opponents that he would use the mounting number of terrorist incidents - some of which may have been the work of agents provocateurs - as a pretext to declare martial law. Some of Marcos's political supporters openly supported this course: Durdin quotes one prominent Filipino senator as saying, "We need a bloodbath; no country has become great without a civil war".

The US government is worried about that possibility, and for the last two years it has been sending "civic action" teams of Green Berets into the Philippines. The US hopes to establish friendly relations with certain elements of the population in the event that a more substantial intervention is called

The possibility of such an intervention out, "The importance for the United States in what happens in the Philippines is great. Aside from the billion dollar private American economic stake, the Subic naval base and Clark Air Force Base are the most important American military stations in the Western Pacific.

"They are vital to the war in Vietnam, and if and when that conflict is settled, they are essential for a continued United States military presence in East Asia ...".

Uganda: Border Fighting Flares

Kampala, Uganda's capital, appeared on September 21 to be suffering what one foreign observer called "an explosion of emotion". Military vehicles were reported to be scooting around the streets without apparent coordination and press reports referred to sporadic shooting in

The immediate cause of the "panic" in Kampala was the fighting that broke out on Sept. 17 in the southern part of Uganda near the Tanzanian border. The arrest of most of the foreign journalists based in the country has made accurate reports of the events virtually unattain-

Uganda radio has claimed that a thousand regular Tanzanian troops crossed the border at dawn on September 17, seizing three villages, and headed for Masaka, an administrative centre about eighty miles south west of Kampala.

Although General Amin's original report of the invasion was greeted with some scepticism, the Tanzanian government confirmed on September 18 that fighting was going on. It insisted, however, that "absolutely no" Tanzanian soldiers were involved. Later, informants in Tanzania began identifying the invaders as a force led by Ugandan exiles loyal to former President Milton Obote, who was ousted by General Amin's coup in January 1971.

Since he came to power General Amin has exhibited sharp changes in opinion and policy as to what countries are the main culprits in supposedly plotting against him. At the same time the imperialist powers appear to be building up a propaganda campaign against Amin by widely publicising his more extravagant statements such as his support for Hitler's extermination of the Jews. The ultimate aim in this appears to be to make the imperialists' task of getting rid of Amin easier if it is found that he cannot adequately contain current unrest.

Amin's latest and much publicised move is the expelling of Uganda's Asians, most mostly of Pakistani and Indian descent, of whom there are 80,000 in Uganda. The reason behind this move would seem to aim at bolstering his popularity at the expense of the Asian "foreigners", who are now undergoing persecution like that

suffered by so many non-European, semi-privileged national and ethnic groups in jects with all the supposed concurrent the colonial world in the wake of stunted national liberation struggles waged by the most oppressed sectors of the populat-

The outcry about this in the world bourgeois press appears somewhat hypocritical centration camps in the country in given the fact that Canada (grossly under- which they have lived for decades. populated), and India were the only countries to accept the refugees, and even then in comparatively small number numbers. The anomaly is even more glaring, given the fact that two-thirds of tic measures.

Thus, on November 8, thousands of Asians who ten years ago put their trust in the British ruling class may find themselves stateless persons interned in con-

And should maintenance of the camps become a nuisance, Amin, the admirer of Hitler, may well consider more dras-



Palestinians Demand Return of Villages

BY TONY THOMAS Despite statements by defenders of Zionism that Israel is not a settler-colonialist state, the controversy that has arisen in Israel over the expulsion of the Arabs of the villages of Bira'am and Ikrit

exposes this to be a myth. During the 1948 Arab-Israeli was, the inhabitants of these villages - all Maronite Catholic Arabs who supported Israel against the Arab peoples - were expelled from their villages. The villages are on the border of Lebanon - a location that the Zionists claimed would make them vulnerable to infiltration by Arab liber-

The villagers were told that they could return in 15 days. But they have been exiled from their homes ever since on the basis of Israeli "security needs." In 1952, in the interests of this "security," both villages were razed to the ground by Israeli troops,

In the last few months the exiled villagers have mounted a campaign to be allowed to return. According to the Aug. 28 "Christian Science Monitor", more than 2,000 villagers now want to return. They petitioned the Israeli government - which most of them still support - for their right to resettle. On July 23 the government turned down their request.

On Aug. 7, according to the Aug. 9 "New York Times", "Policemen forcibly ejected about 300 Arabs and their sympathisers from the ruins of Bira'am . . .

the ruined houses. Several Arabs and policemen were slightly wounded. A priest said that he had been roughed up, and 18 arrests were made."

On Aug. 8, Archbishop Joseph Raya met with Israeli Premier Golda Meir, who turned down his demands. The "Times" reported that "about 100 leftists" demonstrated in support of the villagers outside Meir's offices.

According to the "Times", the Arabs have that are now predominantly Jewish." won support from "New Leftists," the Communist Party of Israel, and other radicals. This incident has also caused broader segments of Israeli society to question Israel's "security" policies. This sentiment is so strong that Israeli Deputy Premier Yigal Allon has tried to demagogically identify himself with this opposition.

Twenty well-known Israeli writers, including Amos Elon, Abba Kovner, Amos Oz, Haim Hefer, and Yoram Kaniuk, appealed to Meir to allow the villagers to return. The opposition to the Bira'am and Exrit

Henry Kamm, writing from Jerusalem in the Aug. 20 "New York Times", explained and Israeli supporters of the villagers that Meir's attitude was that resettlement marched through the streets of Jerusalem. of these villagers would "expose Israel to so grave a threat to her internal balance that any thought of it must be rejected until a peace agreement for the Middle East has been concluded (that is, until all threats to Zionism from the Arab rev-

The Arabs had tried to reoccupy some of Kamm reported that "The Government is worried that the return of the expelled Arabs to Bira'am and Ikrit - they would be the first displaced Arabs to be allowed to resettle - would set off a chain of "thousands and thousands" of demands from other Arabs who lost their villages

> "' And not just villages, a ranking (Israeli) official said, 'Think of such towns as Lydda, Ramie and Jaffa. They are among the originally Arab towns

The problem for the Israelis is not, however, limited just to these specific towns. All of Israel was "originally Arab" but is now "predominantly Jewish" because of the expulsion of Arabs. The Israeli state is built on denial of the right of the majority of three million Palestinians to live in their homeland. This question has gained added impact since Israel occupied additional Arab territories in the 1967 war with the Arab

expulsions reached a high point on Aug. 23 when a demonstration of 3,000 Arab The demonstrators were led by Archbishop Raya, Israel liberal Uri Avnery, and by representatives of the Moslem Arabs. The demonstrators carried signs saying "Justice for Arabs as well as Jews in Israel," and "We don't want to be

H.S. Upsurge in Antigua

Antigua, a small West Indian island recently witnessed an enormous high school student upsurge. On this island, whose economy is totally subordinated to the imperialist world market, the nationalist movement has had its deepest roots amongst the high school students. The role of the vanguard in the recent nationalist struggle has been taken by the Antigua Student Union (ASU) backed up by every high school on the island. The government has recognised this leadership role, and has immediately embarked on a severe

Two radical headmasters were removed from their posts and transferred to the Education Department. These removals sparked immediate strikes in the schools affected. The strikers clashed violently with the police. Later one of the headmasters was arrested, and the five acknowledged leaders of the ASU were expelled. Another strike was immediately called. The government closed the schools, and a re-enrollment date was set on the same day as the strike. A huge majority of the students were involved in the strike. In effect, then, the schools have been closed to the striking students.

repression. Sri Lanka Protest

to participate in a hunger strike that has been set for October 18 to protest the continuing repression in the republic of

The action is sponsored by the Human and Democratic Rights Organisation, the Ceylon Mercantile Union, the Ceylon Teas Estates Staff Union, the Central Council of the Ceylon Trade Union, the Ceylon Workers Congress, and the Joint Front of Trade Unions in the Ceylon Electricity Board, Many other individuals and organisations have also pledged to take part. Several public meetings have been scheduled, specifically at places where the April 19 1971 youth revolt occurred and where actual mass repression was carried out. It is not yet certain whether the government will attempt to prevent the rallies from occurring.

The hunger strike is being organised for the following reasons: 1. The regime has indicated no intention to end the state of emergency that

was proclaimed on March 16, 1971 under which 11,000 persons are still being held in prisons and concentration camps. 2. The suppression of democratic rights and civil liberties under the emergency

financial measures resulting in increas-ed economic hardships for the people. 3. The government is expanding the police and the armed forces, supplying them all types of arms and equipment, as well as accepting military aid from

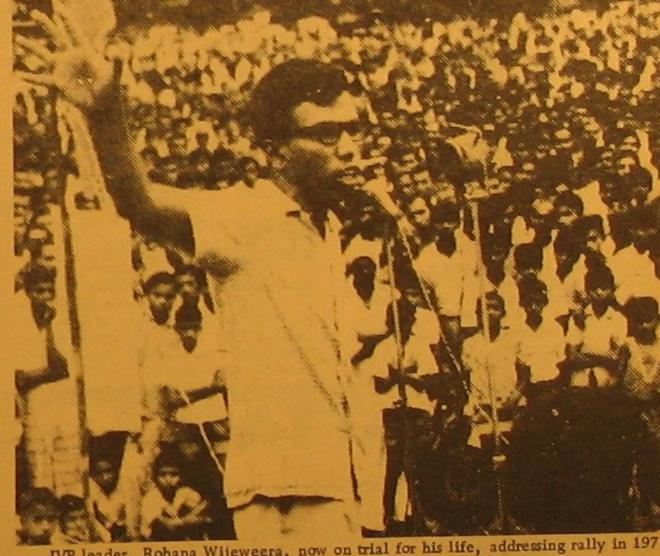
imperialist powers. 4. The Bandaranaike regime has made strikes illegal under the Emergency Laws, thus seriously handicapping trade unions in bargaining with employers on matters affecting wages and conditions of employ-

5. The cost of living has continued to

6. The enactment of the Criminal Justice Commissions Act has given the government power, to keep thousands of persons in custody indefinitely without trial, even should the state of emergency be ended.

7. The government has proposed totalitarian measures to suppress freedom of the press.

The form of protest scheduled for October 18 is one that can be implemented on a nationwide basis under present conditions. It can help to initiate a serious political discussion of any movement against the repressive measures taken by the regime.



JVP leader, Rohana Wijeweera, now on trial for his life, addressing rally in 1971

Oct 18

Public Meetings to Protest Repression in Sri Lanka

Adelaide Melbourne

139 St John's Rd Glebe NSW

8 pm Wed Oct 18 140 Queensberry St Carlton Vic

8 pm Wed Oct 18 287 Rundle St Adelaide SA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR TO THE EDITOR

PETERSEN AGAIN

Regarding your question to me how I voted in State Parliament on the Munich resolution, I walked into Parliament late on the day in question when Pat Hills was speaking on the resolution, To be frank I was confused on what was happening and did not know what the vote was about until after it had taken place. I might mention that when a resolution on the subject came up at the State A.L.P. Administration Committee I opposed a one sided formulation condemning the Arabs and successfully moved an addendum calling for a "peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict based on the legitimate aspirations of the Palestine Arabs and the Israeli peoples".

Looking at the resolution now I am not at all happy with the amendment, but it was the best I could do on the spur of the moment.

It was no fit of pique that induced me to leave the New South Wales Socialist Left after your group got control. It was sheer physical exhaustion caused by the necessity to travel sixty miles to a meeting after engaging in all the other activities of a busy life - particularly when the meetings had deteriorated into interminable dogfights on matters irrelevant to work in the ALP and when most of the people who were active in the ALP were browned off by the exercises in Marxist exegesis and had voted with their feet.

My doing the same was an individual decision and not a conscious boycott decided in agreement with my "mates". I regarded all members of the Socialist Left as "mates" and my chief criticism of your organisation is that you failed to do the same. You did not want it to be an "umbrella" organisation in which socialists of various tendencies could co-operate in advancing socialist policies within the ALP. Instead you saw it as merely an expansion of your own group in which every ideological "t" had to be correctly crossed.

I found it particularly frustrating coming to SL meetings prepared to compromise on formulations based on mutual discussion and then to find your group playing the old numbers game and pushing through your own previously decided formulations without any concern for the points of view of others.

I think comrades that some selfcriticism is called for on your part. Why did the SL in N. S. W. collapse once Roger Barnes' policy document was adopted? Why could you not continue the organisation? Did it have something to do with the fact that very few of you were ALP activists and that your methods of work had driven out most of the ALP activists? How much work do your mem-

ARABS

bativity demonstrated by the Lebanese

army: "Evidently the Lebanese Army de-

They fired on us, so we had to fire back.

"It was not our purpose to take ground and

hold it. There are between 300 and 400

terrorists in the central area and our aim

was to capture as many as we could and

Chaim Herzog, a military commentator

and former chief of army intelligence,

of the month award by explaining to

even deeper raids in the future.

tember 18 New York Times

threw his hat in the ring for the chutzpah

people" whether there would be further,

The resistance of the Lebanese army,

sive in face of Israeli invasions, was

which hitherto has been thoroughly pas-

described by Terence Smith in the Sep-

destroy as much of their equipment as

bers do in the ALP now?

At least the Victorian Socialist Left has continued in existence. I don't agree with everything they have done but I strongly suggest to you that your criticisms of their policies would carry a great deal more weight if you could show how your actions in the ALP had been a little more effective in winning support for your policies.

George Petersen

D.A.REPLIES AGAIN

We stress again George, our group did not get control of the NSW Socialist Left. On the "dogfighting" we would point out that the first fierce fights were Gould and Petersen and Co. versus supporters of the International group. Look back carefully and see just what you did to maintain your domination of the SL, George. We, on arrival were treated as intruders for being inexperienced etc. No,-the "dogfights" already were in full swing.

Perhaps we use "comrades", where you use "mates" George but the point we were getting at was the clique around yourself and Gould based on personal, family and employment associations etc.

Certainly we fell for the atmosphere of "dogfighting" but your friends were as much involved in the theoretical discussions which you think are irrelevant. The mistake we all made was to avoid adopting as common ground a basic set of demands around which to unite and struggle. But remember again, there were Writing "The High School Movement enormous differences even on this level.

It is not our intention to say what we do in the ALP in the past, present or future. The question is demagogy as George knows we are not speaking privately in DIRECT ACTION.

It's also good to see that George's tone has changed and that he now recognises our right to comment on the Socialist Left, It's a truism of course that the more you do - the more you'll be listened to. We don't expect it to be otherwise nor are we sideline critics. We wouldn't be here if we were. But George since you obviously think of yourself as being well integrated in the Labor movement, won't you add your voice to ours and actually criticise the attitude expressed in Hartley's statement that struggle for socialist policies should be suspended during the

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8.

The officer seemed surprised at the com- it was evident that unexpectedly heavy

Israeli citizenry that it was now "up to the The official explanation for the invasion

cided it had to put up some sort of a show. forced a change in their plans ...

ISRAEL ATTACKS

I read with interest the article by Greg Adamson in D.A. of Sept. 14 entitled "The High School Movement -History and Perspectives", but felt that I had to make some comment.

resistance, particularly from the Leban-

Two American reporters who served as

a pool for the foreign press said in Tel

the unit they accompanied had been

attacked and ambushed repeatedly".

Aviv this afternoon (September 17) that

The correspondents said the Israeli unit

had to "fight its way out" of the village

commandos and regular Lebanese troops.

given by government leaders may be dis-

counted as nonsense. Before September

15,000 combatants under arms and were

conducting regular raids on Israeli border

patrols, inflicting an uncomfortably high

1970, when the fedayeen had at least

rate of casualties for a country with a

population of only about three million,

the Zionist government insisted that the

fedayeen were an insignificant military

clique, an isolated band of maniac

extremists constituting no more than a

of Jouya, which was defended by both

ese Army, had slowed the Israelis and

I wish to direct my criticism not against the article in particular, but rather against the whole concept of High School Radicalisation.

In my opinion, any such program Mundey criticised Judge Head for racism suffers from a basic and crippling fault which is that it misinterprets the structure and role of the education system within a capitalist society such as ours. The High School Movement appears to recognize the vast social injustices perpetrated by the education system, but fails to recognize their significance.

The machinery of capitalism runs on the blood of the socially mistreated, Capitalism relies on inequalities and role-playing for its existence, but further than this, relies on its education system for the laying of the foundations: the "moulding" so to speak. To survive, capitalism needs to grasp children in their formative years, and firmly implant the rigid values and distinctions of its make-up.

My point is this: if equality is introduced into a capitalist education system it means the end of capital ism within a generation. However, capitalism is not stupid; it too realises this, and therefore will never allow such reform.

Capitalism will never be smashed from the bottom up, i.e. through the education system, but must be attacked at the top. Changes in the system as envisaged by the High School Movement, because they are progressive and democratic, will never be achieved during the lifetime of capitalism.

Yours sincerely,

History and Perspectives" I started from

the assumption that while students can

gain some concessions within the school

system, the role and basic character of

the school will remain unchanged under

capitalism. I agree whole-heartedly with

the need to smash capitalism to liberate

education. But Greg Spiker himself

of the present system. The students'

Capitalism will be smashed from the

because N. S. W. Attorney-General

N. S. W. Secretary of the Builders'

McCaw has initiated a prosecution for

contempt of court against Jack Mundey,

Laborers' Federation. The charge arises

from a case tried in the N.S.W. Supreme

Court last August 22. (Two opponents of

the 1971 South African apartheid Rugby

tour, one the President of the Builders'

of many advance tremors.

considers the fight for student equality

and democratic rights to pass the bounds

struggles bring them to a questioning of

basic institutions of capitalist society.

bottom up - when all oppressed layers

of society unite to defeat their oppress-

ors. On September 20 Australia felt one

We are writing to you

D.A. REPLIES

Thus the High School Radicalisation Program is self-defeating in its aim to eradicate the social injustices of the present system.

by decision of the NSW Government, We call upon Attorney-General McCaw to withdraw this prosecution before the case commences on October 12, and appeal for public support for this demand and for the rights of free speech

> and public criticism. WE INVITE all those who wish to do so to associate themselves publicly with this appeal, and to join a "Jack Mundey Defence Committee" which we propose to form immediately.

\$500 and put on bonds of \$1,000 for

a goal post at the Cricket Ground.

three years for attempting to saw down

stated his belief that the trial was a mis-

carriage of justice and that the two mer

who attempted to saw down the Cricket

following statement publicly, and ask

whether you are willing to join with us

BELIEVING in the rights to freedom of

speech, expression and criticism of all

institutions and individuals, whatever

HOLDING that the charge of contempt of

court laid against Jack Mundey by N.S.W

Attorney-General McCaw is motivated by

intent to punish him for exercising these

suppression of these rights to all citizens:

RECOGNISING that racism is prevalent

apartheid in South Aftica and racism in

Australia is in the best interests of human

in our society and that opposition to

AND BELIEVING that actions taken by

the Builders' Laborers' Federation and

hostility in influential circles:

Jack Mundey as its secretary to preserve

the environment against activities of big

property developers have aroused political

WE THE UNDERSIGNED declare our belief

that this is a political prosecution launched

rights, and therefore is an attempted

of workers at the Court.

in so doing.

their position;

ity and the nation;

Ground goal posts would have been jailed but for industrial actions and attendance

We propose to issue the

The contempt charge alleges

If you agree with the statement and want to assist in one or more of the following ways, please indicate below and return to the above address -. URGENTLY.

You are invited to attend a meeting of the Defence Committee at Room 8, Trades Hall, at 7.30 p.m. on Wednesday, 4th October.

Yours sincerely,

Pat Miller, Murray Geddes, R. Pringle, Frank Hardy, J. S. Baker, Isi Wyner, Don Meisenhelter, Evan Phillips, Laurie Carmichael, Meredith Burgman, Ken McLeod, Ron Page, Ted Noffs, Henry McCarthy, Peter Galvin, Ian Davis, D. Bhattacharya, Gloria Garton,

ED. We urge all our readers to support the Defence Committee, Contact may be made at and donations sent to: Room 28, Trades Hall, Goulburn St., Sydney 2000.

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

nuisance to the Israeli state.

to be a threat to the holy land,

Laborers' Federation, were each fined

Today, after a series of severe defeats for the Palestinians, at a time when even Paradoxically, the modest but significthe Israeli general staff admits that only 300 to 400 fedayeen were located in the invaded sector, open war is declared by

The Israeli regime's rhetoric about reprisals for "terrorist"operations is a transparently spurious pretext. The fact is that as long as the Zionist state exists, in the absence of a comprehensive "peace" settlement imposed at the expense of the Palestinian people and guaranteed by the "great powers" and strong, repressive Arab regimes, Israeli military . assaults on neighbouring Arab states designed to terrorise the civilian population and humiliate the Arab world will

The target country, in this case Lebanon, is selected according to the correlation of forces in the region, Israeli public opinion, and Zionist diplomatic activity. Since negotiations with the Jordanian regime are under way, the opportunity of discussions with Egypt has opened up, and Soviet troops have been removed from Egypt - which is thus militarily weaker and also has an excuse for standing idly by while other Arab states are attacked - the logical

target is Lebanon, the country least able to defend itself.

ant resistance offered by the Lebanese army may increase Israeli determination to attack again, perhaps this time perthe Zionist leaders against the Palestinian manently occupying a slice of southern commandos, who are suddenly discovered Lebanon on grounds of military security.

There has been, so far, no comment from the US government on the September 16 invasion. After the September 8 air raids however, influential Times, the Washington Post, the New York York Post, which while not a newspaper of national stature is significant in this situation because of its mostly Jewish readership) cautioned Israeli leaders not to upset the imminent peace negotiations and forfeit the sympathy accruing to them in the wake of the Munich events.

But in an election year, particularly with George McGovern strenuously trying to outbid Nixon in appealing for the Jewish vote, the US government is scarcely likely to impose restraint on Tel Aviv.

More and perhaps increasingly severe Israeli attacks, probably against Lebanon and perhaps against Syria as well, can thus be expected.

IN BIRLIE OBY STEVE PAINTER

OLLUTION

xperimental seedlings at Sydney Uniersity are now being raised in filtered ir. This became necessary after it was on homosexuality he replied that the ound that plants grown in glasshouses without filters were being damaged by

NSW GOVERNMENT CONTINUES ITS TTACK ON PUBLIC TRANSPORT.

Ising the excuse that Sydney's Government bus services have suffered a heavy Aborigines who work as trackers for the fall in patronage since 1970, the NSW Government Transport Commissioner S.B. Berry recently announced that bus services would be cut again. Berry mitted to mention possible causes for the fall in patronage-the 50% fare rise in early 1971 or the cutbacks in services. Queensland accumulated \$8,000 each after the bus strike late last year. At the under such a scheme, but they are time of the fare rises NSW Premier Askin permitted to withdraw only \$80 at a commenting on the outraged public reac- time, tion to the rises said "let them walk". Direct Action commented at the time of the bus strike that it was more likely that what Askin meant was "let them drive" (see D.A.12). The motor vehicle industry is an important link in the chain of Australian capitalism and it has been evident for some time that the Government is determined to promote expensive and inefficient motor cars as an alternative to public transport. This is what leads the Government to decimate whole suburbs for the construction of expressways and to make public transport expensive and unattractive.

MOVES FOR CONSCRIPTION IN NEW

Church leaders and members of the right wing United Party have begun to press for conscription for non military purposes in Papua-New Guinea, Union leaders are opposed to the scheme.

NOT NEWS?

Recently the Australian press carried news of letter bombs posted to diplomats in this country, including one posted from Rabaul in New Guinea. The press failed to follow up the story of the Rabaul "bomb". The New Guinea "Post Courier" of September 27th reveals that the "bomb" was really a photograph for a passport. The local press failed to pick the story up, could it be that that would not have fitted in with their anti Arab campaign of "anti-terrorist" hysteria?

AMNESIA.

The September issue of SPA, newspaper of the Moscow line Socialist Party of Australia carries an article outlining at some length the atrocities committed by the reactionary Irgun and the Stern Gang against the Palestinian Arabs in April 1948. The article omits to mention however that in May 1948 the state of .I srael was recognised by the Soviet Union.

GO ACTION.....

Announcing an inquiry into allegations of drug use, bashings and attempted micides in the Army, Minister for the Army Katter is reported by the Sydney Morning Herald of September 28 to have said:"The true state of a person's intelligence might not become apparent until he was subjected to the presswes of an institution such as the Army" the idiots like it?

Since the revelations of attempted uicides among conscripts at Puckapunyal Army camp in Victoria, it has also come to light that three conscripts at Kapooka Army camp in NSW have been driven to a similar course by the

YES IVOR: ITS TIME

When the Attorney-General Senator Greenwood visited UNSW some unexpected things happened. The students were not at all interested in hearing vor speaking on the Trade Practices ict. They showed amazingly little concern for the Government attempts o make capitalism work better. Instead they kept asking questions about the Ustasha, Conscription and

Gay Liberation. The largest applause Ivor got was when he used the word "time". "Yes Ivor; its time" cried one of the students. When asked his views legalisation of this "unnatural" act is going to lead to moral degeneration. On November 25 Ivor and friends will find out just how "unnatural" their views are.

RACISM IN QUEENSLAND

Queensland police force are allowed access to only \$20 of their wages each week, Another \$19 is banked for them in an account to which they do not have access until after their retirement Two retired trackers at Coen in North

Lionel Brockman, the West Australian Aborigine who was the subject of a \$50,000 man hunt last year after he allegedly stole food for his family, was the subject of several hysterical press reports recently. The reports stemmed from the fact that he had escaped from custody only 9 days before he was eligible for parole. The reports said that Brockman had been paid to escape by a black power group from the Eastern states; black militant Bobbi Sykes was named as being implicated in the affair. Naturally it did not take long for the truth to emerge; Brockman had escaped for personal reasons and the money in his bank account had been donated by various student groups, trade unions and the organised black movement, but it had been to pay for the living costs of his family while he

was in gaol, not because some mysterious group wanted him to escape in order to publicise the black movement.

Lionel Brockman should never have been gaoled, if he had been white his offence would not have produced a gaol sentence. The ALP government in West Australia should release Brockman immediately and provide compensation for the time he has served in gaol.

RECEIVED WITH STUNNED AMAZE -

Northern Territory Legislative Council states that health services for Northern Terrritory aborigines are ineffective and paternalistic. Tomorrow a report will be tabled in the NT Legislative Assembly stating that the sky is blue (in some areas at least.)

SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The Queensland Government plans to include a nuclear shelter 30 feet below ground level, in projected extensions to the Queensland Parliament House. The shelter will be equipped with food and bedding to support the Queensland Cabinet in the event of a nuclear war. Presumably the fossils in the Queensland On August 19, 300 people demonst-Cabinet think that they will be of some curiosity value to whatever is left after a nuclear war.

ONE NOT RECALLED

The \$9,600 Cadillac given to Brezhnev by Nixon will not be recalled according to reports in the U.S. press. It came off the production line before the other 37,000 Cadillacs which had to be recalled recently because of a brake

SECONDARY STUDENTS STRIKE IN W.A. SCHOOL

Recently over 100 students struck at Kalamunda High School, 20 miles from Perth. The students were demanding abolition of corporal punishment, abolition of compulsory sport, improved canteen facilities and improved communication between staff and students.

RESIDENTS ORGANISE AGAINST DMR EVICTIONS IN GLEBE.

The activities of the NSW Department of Main Roads in attempting to acquire A 229 page report recently tabled in the land in Glebe for the proposed expressway are meeting with organised resistance. Miserable offers for land, threats of compulsory acquisition, the prospect of people having to move to the outer suburbs - 20 or 30 miles from their place of work and the prospect of Glebe being turned into a network of roads are provoking an angry reaction among

> Responding to a petition from local residents, the Builders. Labourers Federation has agreed to place a black ban on further demolition work in Glebe and the Australian Workers! Union has stated that any demolition work in the area must be carried out by the BLF. rated against the expressway and began to build an adventure playground on land already acquired by the DMR. Former members of the State Planning Authority have spoken out against the expressway scheme. Residents are planning further action including regular meetings to coordinate activities.

LEADERSHIP STRUGGLE IN SYDNEY UNIVERSITY COMMUNIST CLUB?

Recent issues of the SUCC Newsletter "Red Letter" have contained several articles obviously indebted for the formation contained to the Trotskyist journal "Intercontinental Press". Also they have been authorised by a number of revolutionary activists, including L.D. Tro tsky, Rosa Luxemburg and Che Guevara (all from overseas). The latest "Red Letter" however is authorised by one Brian McGahen and contains a vigorous polemic claiming that the CPA rejects "all overseas 'lines'" including that of the Trotskyist Fourth International. The article goes on to claim that only now, after more than 50 years of existence is the CPA "in the process of making a realistic analysis and forming a viable strategy for Australian conditions."

BLACKS BARRED FROM HOTELS IN NOWRA

Several hotels in Nowra on the NSW South Coast refused to serve aborigines others will allow aborigines to drink only in certain sections. A group of black people and white supporters of the black movement from Canberra recently visited several hotels in the town and suggested that a union black ban on services to their premises might lead them to reassess their attitudes.

Ernest Mandel has finally lost his protracted legal battle to enter the United States. The Belgian economist and prominent member of the Fourth International was refused a visa to fulfil invitations to speak at universities and schools in 1969, and he and a number of presence or absence of a need to alter prominent U.S. academics have fought or displace it," clearly rendered the the government through the courts since action of the U.S. Justice Department that time.

The first suit resulted in a three-judge federal district court ruling that the provisions of the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act under which Mandel was excluded were unconstitutional. The The government was unwilling to allow relevant sections of the Act prohibit entry into the United States of persons who advocate or publish "the economic, international and governmental doctrines of world communism".

The court had ruled that the requirements of the First Amendment to the

U.S. Constitution, which guaranteed "to the people as sovereign" their right to "an open and wide-ranging debate, publication and assembly, to review the government they have created, the adequacy of its functioning and the in banning Mandel unconstitutional, because it violated the free-speech rights of those who had invited Mandel to speak, and of the U.S. public in

the matter to rest here, however, and appealed the ruling to the Supreme Court in April of this year.

There wasn't much doubt as to the outcome though: the lower-court decision was reversed on the majority vote of four certainly be extended to Dr. Mandel Nixon appointees, Justices Burger,

Blackmun, Powell, and Rehnquist against a dissenting vote of Justices Douglas, Marshall and Brennan.

In his dissent, Justice Marshall, joined by Justice Brennan said: "I too am stunned to learn that a country with our proud heritage has refused Dr. Mandel temporary admission. . . There can be no doubt that by denying. . . access to Dr. Mandel, government has directly prevent ed the free exchage of ideas guaranteed by the First Amendment.

Up to this date, Mandel has been now banned by the governments of France, Switzerland, the United States, West Germany, and, of course, Australia. With attention now focussed on the forthcoming Federal elections in Australia, it is opportune to consider the possibilities of a Federal Labor government's attitude towards the invitation that will almost next year.

"Although military authorities here (Jerusalem) were unwilling to admit it,

possible".

WHY SOCIALISTS SHOULD SUPPORT THE LABOR PARTY WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE ELECTION POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

BY JOHN PERCY

In a recent issue of "Tribune", the Communist Party of Australia published a 4 page section setting out its policies for the coming Federal elections. As in previous years, they are running their own candidates in a handful of electorates, and also as in previous years, they are displaying the basic inadequacies of their political programme, especially as regards the Labor Party and the present political consciousness and likely future development of the Australian working class.

Throughout its history, through the many twists and turns of its political line, the CPA has failed to understand the nature of the Australian Labor Party - its dual nature; on the one hand its working class base and its direct links with the unions marking it as a historically progressive step forward for the Australian working class in the direction of independent political action, and on the other hand its reactionary, bourgeois leadership and reformist policies, which are obstacles on the road to the construction of a mass, revolutionary party that will be essential for the victory of socialism in Australia.

A failure to recognise these basic facts, central to an understanding of the Australia of the Australia political scene, means that any subsequent analysis will inevitably be faulty. As its slogans for the elections, the CPA puts forward - "Vote CPA for Action and Social Change" and "Vote to End Liberal-CP Regime". Unchanged from previous years, these slogans are of course the natural consequences of the CPA's incorrect analysis and method, and indicate that whether the claims of some CPA members that the CPA is breaking from its Stalinist past are true or not, one thing is certain and that is that they aren't evolving in a revolutionary Marxist direction.

It is essential that socialists give unconditional support to the Labor Party as against the capitalist parties in this election, not merely urge a vote against the present government. The working class, in its vast majority seeing the Labor Party as its party, will not take kindly to such obvious sleight of hand tricks from the CPA. As for voting for the CPA, all seven candidates will of course once again lose their deposits, and even the effects on the most advanced sections of the working class are likely to be negative in response to CPA candidates, it will certainly be the case for anyou with a memory of the 1961 election where the preferences of a CPA candidate "drifted" to the bourgeois candidate and lost the seat for the AIP, saving the Liberal County Party government!

As well as refusing to support the labor Party against the capitalist parties, a result of the CPA's blindness to the first aspect of the AIP, its working class base, the CPA also cops out of the struggle arising from the second aspect of the AIP, its reactionary leadership. They refuse to carry out the fight inside the Labor Party for socialist policies, against the present right-wing leadership that will be tray the interests of the workers. The CPA's present policy cuts them off from the masses of workers who still have illusions in that leadership, and things a are not going to be altered by standing laurie Aarons and half a dozen others in the election against Labor candidates.

What could be the reasons behind this policy on the part of the CPA? Could it to that they're just muddled? This explanation shouldn't be dismissed out of hand as just a joke. A good case could be made out for it. The disunity, uncertainty, and lack of a political line on the part of the CPA becomes more obvious week by week. Having rejected the yalidity of an international organisation,

they seem to be moving in the direction of rejecting a united organisation on a national level as well, with their different policy, often contradictory, Similarly, their newspaper "Tribune" seems lost for a line, with no guarantee that what they say in one issue will not be contradicted in the next issue or even on the next page. Their Sydney University group one week carries an authorisation by Trotsky, another week carries a weak smear against 400 different brands of "Trotskyites".

brands of "Trotskyites".

However, for all this, the causes of their rotten political line go deeper. Basically, they are unable to apply the Marxist method in analysing society and political phenomena. When the Australian CPA was bound to the CPSU they had no need of an independent political analysis of society - their line was merely handed down from abroad and automatically accepted. Having cut themselves adrift organisationally from the CPSU after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, they have been wandering around without a rudder, but inertia has kept them on their previous course in this case, standing their own candidates. Here is a real example of organisational sectarianism, with the CPA pushing itself forward against the interests of the working class.

The CPA election statement uses their

The CPA election statement urges their supporters to give second preferences to either the ALP or the Australia Party, making no distinction at all between them. The Australia Party of course is a thoroughly bourgeois party, and in no circumstances should socialists support them electorally, either on their own, or in any sort of electoral

broke with the Fourth International, however, this tendency has degenerated in a sectarian direction on a whole number of other political questions as well as in relation to the AIP. In a pamphlet published by the Fourth International in 1967, "Marxism vs. Ultraleftism", by Ernest Germaine, the mode of operation of the British Healyites is described as follows:-

"The Healy tendency started out with a clearcut conception about the way to build a revolutionary mass left wing in the Labor Party. Today, it has tacitly abandoned this conception, without self-criticism, and without replacing it openly by another one. It shouts all the more stridently about the need to build a revolutionary leadership, the more it appears to ignore the concrete ways and means of building such a leadership,

"The absence of any fresh, clearly stated concept of how to build a revolutionary mass party in Britain does not mean, however, that no concept exists around which activity is carried out, activity pragmatically expressing a view that is neither clearly formulated nor fully thought out. In actual fact, the SLL acts as though it were expressing the famous concept of "third period" Stalinism; i, e., that it is possible to build a revolutionary leadership not from within the Labor. Party but from without by systematically intervening from the outside, by participating in working-class struggles and picking up militant workers who have become distillusioned with the official leadership (which is fully justified) and with the official organisation (which is much less justified, as long as 95 percent of the

a very peculiar emphasis. Since they can only have one point for A, they cant treat both Aborigines and Abortion - since Z is a rather rare letter they end up supporting the reactionary Zero Population Growth line, and so on.

More fundamental than this, however, is that they fail to put forward transitional demands, on such important issues as use employment, for example where it is essential to advance slogans for a sliding scale of hours, i.e. all the work to be divided up equally amongst the whole working class, with no loss of pay, and a sliding scale of wages, i.e. all wages to be adjusted automatically to any rise in the cost of living.

On top of this, their programme is almost wholly restricted in its horizons to Austrila No internationalist perspectives are put forward, questions of foreign policy are treated very cursorily. Vietnam does not rate a separate mention, and no mention at all is made of the CPA's position in regard to the workers' states of China, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe etc. and its attitude to the bureaucracles there.

Their programme also makes much of the foreign takeover of Australian companies, Although not taken to the about length of our local Maoists, this attitude must be thoroughly condemned by socialist. The Australian working class has no interests whatsoever in protecting our local capitalists. If it is the duy of socialists to encourage the international solidarity of the working class of the world, and to fight any chauvinist sentiments that are fostered by our local capitalist class and believed all too readily by many workers. With Australia as an imperialist and colonialist country in its own right, this task becomes all the more important.

task becomes all the more important.

Before concluding this brief survey of the CPA's policy for the coming election, a final note on their emphasis on "action".

"Vote CPA for Action and Social Change", runs their slogan, and continually through their programme they stress "action", "peoples action", "action for really radical changes" etc. Unfortunately there is a real discrepancy between their verbal desire for "action" and their actual practice in many cases, especially when their organisational sectarianism shines through. A recent example of this was the national secondary students strike on September 20, where over 5000 students demonstrated around Australia, surely an example of action around real issues, Yet the CPA gave very little support to this action, attacked it in one article in "Tribune", and practically ignored it in their press even after it was a huge success. In fact, it was obvious prior to the action that word was circulating in CPA circles at less amongst the leadership, that the strike was merely "an SYA front", "outside intevention" etc. that hopefully would fall,

word was circulating in CPA circles at issue amongst the leadership, that the strike was merely "an SYA front", "outside intevention" etc. that hopefully would fail.

Thus in such a politically important time as an election period, the CPA is exposed as not only theoretically bankrupt, and politically incorrect on a whole range of questions, but lacking in the field of action also, where verbally it is trying to put so much emphasis.

For the rudderless CPA to chart a correct course in future, it will have to adopt a revolutionary Marxist programme, a programme that the Fourth International has left intact and developed since the time of Lenin and Trotsky, and it will have to break completely the ties with its Stalinist past. We don't think that will be possible for the CPA - the ballast of past crimes and mistakes is too heavy, and the dead weight of an inactive and politically burnt out membership cannot be jettisoned. However, hopefully, some of the comrades in the CPA will be able to break loose in a revolutionary direction and for them we hope that our criticism above will be seen as fraternal.



Union prisoners during 1891 shearers' strike.

bloc. The CPA's inability to make a class analysis of these parties has led them to this position.

The same causes have led the Marxists and many ultra-left groupings to make the same mistake. In fact in some cases it was not merely a question of equating the ALP and the Australia Party, of regarding them both as capitalist parties, but of actually supporting the Australia Party against the ALP!

On the other hand, the Healyite grouping, the SocialistLabourLeague, around the paperLabourPress, while being formally correct in their recognition of the dual nature of the AIP and the necessity to urge the working class to yote Labor are very inconsistent and unsure in the application of this understanding in practice, in fact, this political tendency had its origin in Britain 2 decades ago in a struggle for a correct attitude to the British Labor Party in opposition to a policy of sectarian abstention. Since they

This strike gave impetus to the formation of the Labor Party.

Workers continue to adhere to the organisation),"

After initial confusion, and an orientation for a time towards the ALP, the local Healyttes have settled into the method of operations described above. Their actual practice is in contradiction with their analysis of the ALP and their slogan of Labor to Power. Their sectarianism prevents them from struggling to build an alternative class struggle left wing in the Labour movement. Their precondition for any united action is that you support their weird political fantasies.

Thus both the CPA and the Healyites have this in common, a sectarian attempt to project themselves as an alternative leadership of the working class from outside the Labor Party rather than inside.

As well as being wrong on the crucial question of the Labor Party, the CPA is also wrong on many of the particular policy points it puts forward. Its gimmicky attempt to have a point for every letter of the alphabet gives their platform.

LABOR TO POWER! FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST POLICIES