# MAGNIE GIA

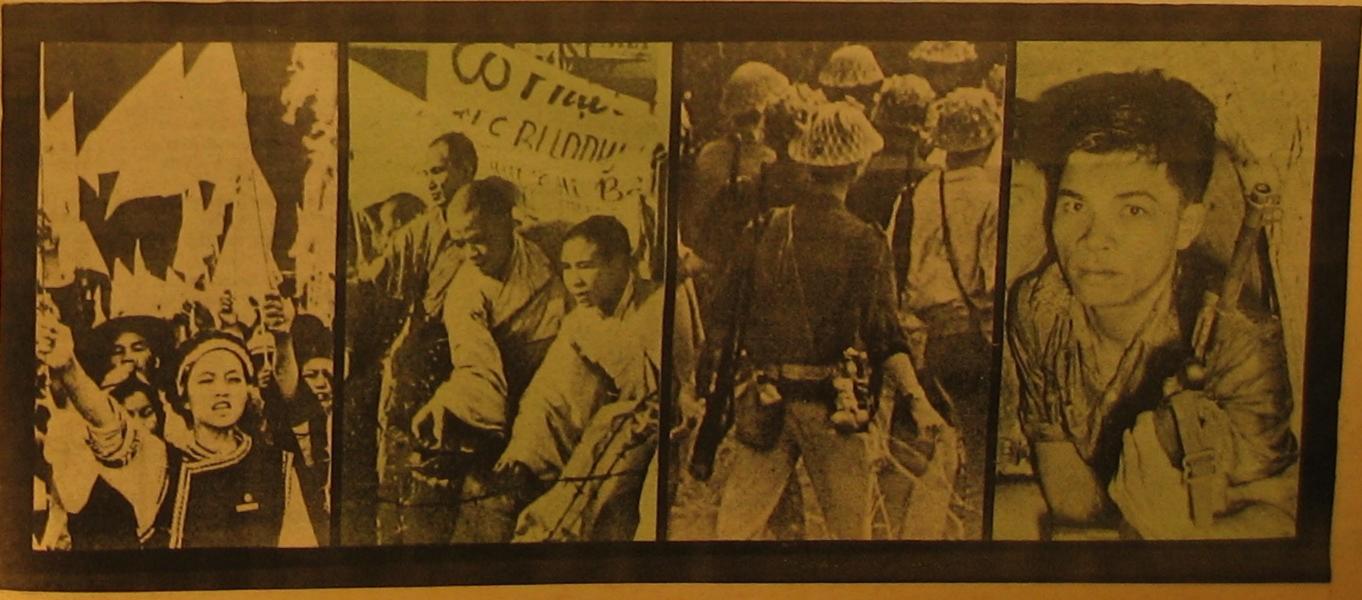
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Tired of marching...



.what if they were?



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### DEFEND THE MORATORIUM

#### JIM PERCY

As is usual in turning points in the political situation, debate about the nature of the anti-war movement intensifies to a point where misconceptions and mystifications abound. This is the case at present. In 1970 the movement against the Vietnam war in Australia reached its highest stage so far. In 1970 following Nixon's invasion of Cambodia, the massive protests that erupted meant that with a military defeat in Cambodia certain, N ixon still had to withdraw forces This process of gradual withdrawal of ground troops is a new tactic of the US ruling class to achieve their original aims - the economic and political domination of the region.

the war in South Vietnam where success is now seen in terms of massive saturation bombing of "enemy" territory, where the ability and desire of the ground troops to continue fighting is minimal.

On pages 5, 6, 7, we analyse these

The purpose of this article is to analyse the other major factor: the strength of the anti-war movement, both here and in the US, that has materially altered the balance of forces that the US rulers must take into account in assessing the prospects for imperialism.

In the past in Australia the antiwar movement has grown or diminished with the situation in the war and with the manoeuvres made by Johnson and Nixon. The worst defeat it suffered was when Johnson decided to open negotiations and stop the bombing. An anti-war movement that had been built around these dual aims slumped immediately and it took another 18 months to gain its former strength. So what we decide for our course in the next month can have an enormous effect on the sort of movement we can build.

Currently, doubts about the course of the movement to date are coming from two main directions. Firstly, the political content of the demands around which the Moratorium is organised are castigated as not being "anti-imperialist".

Another current says that mass anti-war marches are passe or at most only necessary once a year. What we need to do now is concentrate on local activity. It is claimed we no longer have the resources to pull off regular major actions.

Before refuting these views in detail, it is necessary to put forward the views and method of SYA in working out an overall anti-war strategy.

Firstly, the worldwide political context and the nature of the Indo-Chinese war must be examined. It is clear that we can agree with Che when he is assessing the struggle against imperialism that:

"There have been limited confrontations on all continents ... but obviously at the present moment contradictions are centred in the territory of the Indo-Uninese peninsula and neighbouring countries".

Central political importance of the Vietnam war shows internationalists the importance they should attach to it. In Australia, the issue is of course fundamen- to massive peace marches in the streets. tal because of the presence of Australian forces in Vietnam.

Vietnam and the rest of Indo-China, is the prime target of imperialism's attempt to stop the process of revolutionary change The Vietnamese revolution which has been partially successful over the course of the last thirty years, is continuing in spite of all because here the necessities of onstrated over and over again.

This new tactic was designed to correspond tween imperialism and national liberation. show. This publicity value of massive There is no long term middle course be-Democratic revolutions must be consolidated by advancing to a socialist stage population while the protests are still or they will be unsuccessful in attacking the prime goals of the initial stage of land reform, democratic procedures and freedom to move economically, independent at least to an extent, from imperialism. In Vietnam, the revolutionaries led by Ho i Minh were partially successful. But the treacherous behaviour of the US and

France meant that their battlefield gains were reduced by the manoeuvres around Diem. Inevitably, the freedom fighters who remained in the south found that they could either submit to Diem and his massive marches. imperialist backers, or take up arms again and continue the struggle for national independence, and of necessity for socialism.

In 1965 they were on the point of total victory. Only the massive US building of forces temporarily thwarted their success. At present they are still on the

once all US military forces, ground and air and sea, are withdrawn. This is our task. We can materially alter the balance of power by making it impossible for the imperialists to continue to wage war without the risk of a social revolution at home. We can best defend the gains of the Vietnamese revolution and work for its total success by doing all we can to remove the one remaining obstacle - the US and allied military forces of occupation. Our task is to help the victory of the Vietnamese revolution by getting our own troops out.

point of victory, only the US military

presence props up the Thieu regime. The

Vietnamese revolution will be victorious

Once we have decided on this political task, once we have examined what is at stake in Vietnam, we can proceed to determine the strategic formula that offers best chance of achieving our goals. The method that Marxists have chosen in the past is one which seeks to make the support of the masses of the people felt, that brings social forces into action. This mass action approach has also been the most effective method so far of limiting the powers of the imperialists to wage the Vietnam war. Also it is proved to be the best method of moving the new layers of radicalising youth from a liberal approach to the war to one which sees it as an imperialist war of aggression.

The anti-war movement to date has taken many forms. From the individual draftcard burning, through window smashing By now, there is plenty of evidence to show that it is the last form that has been really effective in curbing the power of imperialism and involving wider and wider layers in action.

The acts of defiance of conscription can be and are ignored. Window smashing can be attacked and political capital obtained. But a massive showing of struggle in the Third World are being dem- strength can't be treated the same way. You can't ignore hundreds of thousands and the government didn't, as the numbers has an effect on all layers of the predominantly youth and students, the size of the Melbourne marches showed that significant numbers of workers were bebecoming active. Of course in the final analysis it is the working class that will ions have shown the mselves as the best way of drawing this class into action. Workers are not attracted by window smashing or cop fighting or ultra-left rhetoric but as with the rest of the population, will turn up ir numbers to

> The second reason these massive marches are effective is because of their intrinsic nature. They step outside the bounds of usual parliamentary process. They, by example, urge that politics is more than voting. Direct action in the streets achieves more and raises the form of struggle. People on marches change their

outlook about the usual methods of parliamentary mystification. It is these marches that revolutionaries chance to attract others to their to explain that the war is not a r but simply part of imperialism, here that the Left has a chance to mass struggle outside the controls conservative bureaucracies. Du marches, it is the duty of the Lef raise the consciousness of the parti-The ruling class knows that by this serious opposition to their power wi arise. They fear action by the m most of all, especially action arou anti-imperialist demand of iate withdrawal, because this de has the possibility of being pushed layers of the society. Yet if it is i plemented, imperialism suffers an



Once we have determined that our overall central strategy towards the ar war movement should be one of build mass anti-war demonstrations around principled demand of immediate with drawal of all troops, we must deter ine the tactical and organisational me used to implement this policy.

The form that has proved most effects and the one argued for by socialists is united front coalition of all the forces who can agree on the central demand. This form of organisation allows all forces to help build the central rallie and marches of the movement. The Moratorium has been the widest coaliti yet erected and has shown that it can mobilise the largest numbers yet. ] single tendency could hope to pull ev a proportion of the numbers on to the street. The antiwar coalitions achieve momentum of their own and build the

The united front coalition will first a all be a coalition of left wing forces will also include from time to time forces such as the Australia Party, wh come to agree with the central deman of the campaign. It is not a role of the Left to exclude these forces who agree with all troops being withdrawn unconditionally. It is certainly our jos see that their political perspectives d not become the dominant ones in the coalition. On the other hand, their weight adds enormously to the possil for building really large actions.

In an appeal entitled "Everyone in the Streets April 24", the international executive committee of the Fourth International stated:

... it is the duty of all revolutionary organisations throughout the world to mount the broadest and most active aid possible to the anti-war movement in the United States, in this way aiding the Vietnamese revolution with concrete acts of solidarity.

The Fourth International appeals to the workers, students, poor farmers and progressive intellectuals of all countries throughout the world to organise powerful demonstrations on April 24 in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and the anti-war movement in the United States, through effective antiimperialist united fronts commensurate to the needs of each country".

so our position can be summed up simply in this way. Firstly, we look at the political context and conclude that we must defend the Vietnamese revolution by concretely forcing withdrawal of Australian and US troops.

Secondly, we argue that only a repeated massive showing of strength can have any effect in achieving our aims. Mass action is an overall strategic approach for social change and has shown its potency in the anti-war movement.

Thirdly, the largest mass action can be organised by means of a united front coalition of all the forces who can agree on the central anti-imperialist demand of immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all US and Australian troops. This is the position that we have consistently fought for in the movement.

This position has come under attack by some on the Left who claim that it is now time to escalate our slogans and to organise around a more "left-wing" slogan. n Adelaide and Hobart these people have thanged the aims of the Moratorium with his in mind. We argue that this is alse because it splits the coalition Adelaide) and so makes a less effective and smaller anti-imperialist movement. When people advocate this they are generally saying that they don't wish to work with people whose conceptions about the Vietnam war are not revolutionary.

Thus in Sydney, members of the "Anti-Imperialist Caucas" advocate this position and claim that what the Moratorium is now is a "popular front". We should not work with Cairns or a marty like the ALP ." Once before when his nonsense was put, in Germany in the 10's, fascism had a free run to power.

The other point of futility about this ine is that it fails to recognise that all hese revolutionaries themselves came nto the movement in "peace" marches one sort or another. Because they will limit the number of new people on marches, they will directly limit the number who move towards a socialist position. They're cutting their own broats, and the throat of the movement, all for the sake of some extra rhetoric.

The other main challenge to the Moratorum comes from the Right. In Melbourne a motion was adopted stating that there would be no mass action on April 30, only decentralised activity. Cairns, the C.P.A. and S.D.S. were all in favour of this. The SYA was the only tendency which spoke against this perspective. We will be the tendency that leads the fight against the concept that demonstrations are only necessary once a year. We do not reject ess than the centralised mass demonstrat-

There are often subjective reasons for this lack of interest in mass action. The sell out comes from the leaders of the Moratorium who rationalise their own tiredness into a political position. Because they have already organised demonstrations and still see the troops in Vietnam and get tired, or because they think that they might be withdrawn anyway, it does not seem so urgent to organise more actions. This idea springs from Talse perspectives about the war. If we are being successful now then let's put in the boot. Don't trust imperialism and don't get tired. If you're tired of marching, what about the Vietnamese!

or the victory of the Vietnamese revolut-

or the immediate and unconditional ithdrawal of Australian and American ops from Vietnam! huild the April 30 demonstration!

### S.Y.A. TO SPONSOR TOUR OF U.S. SOCIALIST

The Socialist Youth Alliance is sponsoring a national tour of Patricia Iiyama, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a candidate for Californian Secretary of State in the 1970 US elections. While in Australia, Patti will address meetings on the anti-war movement, women's liberation and Third World self-determination struggles.

Patti Iiyama is a 24-year old Japanese American who has been a student leader at the University of California, Berkeley since 1961. She first became politically active because of her anger at violations of civil liberties in the US. She joined SLATE, a radical campus party at UC, was elected to the Student Senate and was on the executive committee of the Free Speech Movement. She helped organise the first Vietnam Day teach-in in 1965, and in 1966 worked in Delano with the National Farm Workers! Association as an organiser of teenagers and Japanese workers.

In 1967, during Stop the Draft Week demonstrations, Patti liyama was charged for speaking over an "illegal" microphone and was arbitrarily suspended by the UC Administration. She was again suspended after leading a Movement Against Political Suspensions mill-in during December 1968.

Patti Iiyama was formerly a leading activist in the Peace and Freedom Party, and in 1968 was co-chairman of its Black and Brown Caucus. It was her disenchanting experience with the reformist politics of PFP that convinced her to join the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers' Party.

Patti's tour will begin in Sydney on February 17 where she will attend the

National Anti-War Conference and give a paper on "The Anti-War University" Her tour will include meetings both public and at universities, in Brisbane, Sydney, where she is speaking.

Canberra, Melbourne and Adelaide. Watch for further details and contact SYA (see back page) in your state to find out



forces of South East Asia.

Representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam have made several visits to Commonwealth countries including Britain, India and Canada and to most countries of Western Europe. They have had the opportunity in these countries to put their case directly to those citizens who are concerned enough to listen and form an independent judgment. Why is The basis of the Gorton Government's con- it that Australians cannot hear the PRG's side of the war when the very lives of our young men and of innumerable Vietnamese depend upon our judgment? Why is it that we must be protected by the arrogant paternalism of a myopic and reactionary government in Canberra?

### The Australian Embassy in Paris has re-

fused to issue visas to two members of the to the four other international guests Provisional Revolutionary Government of invited by the VMC. These are Philippe South Vietnam's delegation to the Paris Peace Talks who were invited to visit Australia for the Moratorium National Anti-War Conference in Sydney between February 17-21.

The two delegates, Mme. Nguyen Ngoc Dung and Dr. Le Van Loc, applied for visas at the Australian Embassy on Monday, January 18. They were advised yesterday that their applications had been refused on the basis of a ruling from the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs.

Peter Wiley (USA) and Bala Tampoe tinued involvement in America's war of aggression in Vietnam is apparently so tenuous that the government cannot afford to expose the Australian public to an uncensored telling of the Vietnamese peoples' point of view. Nothing would so threaten the inanities that are passed off for policy in Canberra as informed debate of Australia's involvement in Vietnam informed and this right has been conand our relations with the emerging

Devillers (France), Michael Uhl (USA),

The Australian people have a right to be tinually denied by the Gorton Government.

### Bala Tampoe to attend Anti-War Conference.

War Conference, February 17-21 will be the usefulness of locality organising but its Bala Tampoe, a leader of the Trotskyist a B. Sc degree in Botany from the movement in Ceylon. After the conference University of London as an external Tampoe will make a speaking tour of Australia on behalf of the V.M.C. Watch

Colombo, Ceylon He was subsequently appointed as a lecturer in Botany and Horticulture in the Ceylonese Department of Agriculture out in 1947 he was dismissed from this ost following his involvement in a trike of public employees for full trade

student at the University College of

nion and political rights.

1922, Bala tampoe graduated in 1943 with

1950 he was elected to the Central ommittee of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and entered the Ceylon Law College s an advocate student, being enrolled s an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Ceylon in 1953.

ince the early 1960's Tampoe has been nvolved in a number of campaigns in position to American involvement in ietnam, being a member of the Vietnam olidarity Committee in Ceylon

n 1964 when the Lanka Sama Samaja Party joined the Ceylonese Coalition Government, Tampoe was part of a inority group which broke away from the LSSP and established the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) of which he was elected Secretary

The Ceylon Mercantile Union of which Tampoe is General Secretary consists of over 33,000 members and represents workers in the import/export trade, in the seaports and airports, insurance, newspaper houses, shipping agencies, tea and rubber agencies, engineering establishments and various types of commercial and industrial establishments both state owned and private.

The union's membership includes workers of all categories such as clerical, technical, supervisory, scientific and manual workers. The Ceylon Mercantile Union has been engaged in solidarity actions such as meetings and demonstrations with other trade unions, organisations and political parties, against the military intervention of the United States and its allies in Vietnam.

The union has also been active in ensuring that no Ceylonese port or airport should be used for any purpose connected with imperialist armed intervention in



Bala Tampoe addressing Ceylonese workers.

### The Industrial Scene-1970 In Review

Sol Salby

1971 promises to be a year of workers' militancy in Australia. Not only are we being reassured of that by a long series of the labour movement's "friends" in the press, but empirical evidence is quite overwhelming.

The wave of strikes expected over the next twelve months follows a year in which more direct action was taken than any other year since the end of World War II. Last year also saw some of the most significant strikes in a long time, significant because of their political implications.

The first one that comes to mind was the nurses' strike in Canberra. Early in the year they left the local hospital for three weeks. This was the first time that industrial action was taken, by nurses. Their occupation was traditionally regarded as "professional" and as an "essential service". At the end of their three weeks' "unofficial leave" they discovered that direct action gained for them what years of appealing to the Arbitration Court couldn't. They got a substantial pay increase.

Other workers have also come to realise that refraining from taking strike action caused them to fall behind other sections of the working class. The employers for their part know too well that from now on they will find it more difficult to keep the wages of these sections down! That was the reason for the campaign they conducted against the nurses and why the press told the nurses that while their claims might be "justified", they should go to the Arbitration Court.

A second strike of major importance was the Builders' Labourers led by one of the most militant unions in the country. This was one of the longest and most involved strikes for years. It also involved intense scab labour. Partly completed buildings on which scab labour was being used were occupied by groups of workers who destroyed the work done by the scabs. The end results of the strike showed that results can be achieved if the workers act militantly.

Last year also saw industrial action taken over issues which were not purely bread and butter issues. Some unions "stopped work to stop the war" on the occasion of both Moratoriums on May 8 and September ditions. 18. Amongst them were the Seamen's Union and the Waterside Workers' Federation. The significance of industrial action against the war is obvious. It is action of this type taken on a sufficiently large scale that can force the government to withdraw the troops immediately.

The other strike of a similar nature was the budget strike in August when 750,000 workers went on strike for three hours. The strike showed that the working class is beginning to appreciate the power it has in withdrawing its labour and that they are prepared to use it to support the causes, they themselves support, whether they be higher pensions or opposition to the Vietnam war. The old red-baiting slogans such as "only commos believe in political strikes" seem to have less effect. The workers can see the enormous power wielded by the ruling class through control of the mass media, the education system etc. They can see no reason why their economic power can't be used to achieve their own

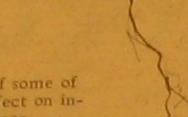
So far only experience of the last year has been considered. However, other factors contributing to the militancy should be considered. The two factors that will be considered here are the role of the ACTU leadership and the economic conditions.

Two years ago very few people knew who Albert Monk was but everyone these days knows that Bob Hawke is the president of the ACTU. The different way he approached his position and the way the bourgeois press built up his approach, made Hawke a household name. While it is obvious that he made an impact on the labour movement, a complete analysis of this impact will be premature as he has ly been president a short time. What

can be done is an assessment of some of his policies and their likely effect on industrial action in the coming year.

Hawke is ambitious and in the current struggle in the Victorian branch of the ALP has shown himself to be an opportunist. At the same time, the fact that he calls himself a socialist and advocates nationalisation of major industries, helps create a climate more susceptible to Lett, radical and genuine socialist view-

Perhaps because his ambition lies in the parliamentary-political sphere rather than the purely industrial wing of the labour movement, Hawke in both word and action reactionary, suggesting that workers in has been trying to bring the two wings of the movement closer together in such extra-parliamentary activities as the budget strike last year or proposed action together with ACSPA (Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations), the Public Service Associations and the Australian Union of Students on such subjects as pensions and education. Such action helps raise consciousness and encourages other forms of extraparliamentary action as well. They should tralian workers by GMH and the oil combe supported by the socialist Left.



Another aspect of Hawke's policies was revealed when he appeared before the Arbitration Court in the oil industry case. His demand for wages based upon 'capacity to pay' had a twofold aspect. One was better-off industries should be paid more than those in other industries. This can only lead to divisions in the working class and class collaboration. The other aspect is revolutionary and should be supported: that is the related demand that the accounting books be opened and the true state of affairs revealed.

Of course opening a company's books and exposure of the gross exploitation of Auspanies, are not going to compensate for

damage done in misleading the class to think that going to ar is preferable to industrial act can help socialists in putting aero ideas. Incidentally, very few poi be made in favour of Hawke to compete for the fact that he is now a director of purely capitalist enterprise (in the way is being run), Bourke's, the ACTU to

Unlike the Bonapartist role played by Hawke and the "Left unions" of the Ac executive, the role of the economic factor is much more clear cut. The of the long capitalist boom has arrived This end has been predicted by Mar economists such as Ernest Mandel for quite some time. Inflation is now sweeping most advanced capitalist countries, with Australia coping the worst of the lot. The figure of I.94 price rise per quarter of 1970, projects over this year, means an inflation r of nearly 8%!

Owing to the fact that the business cycle in advanced capitalist countries are more synchronised than ever before, the inflation instead of being accompanied) full employment is accompanied by the worst unemployment for a decade in both Britain and the US (a fact which Contradicts bourgeoil economic theory). figures show that over 45 million works are now worse off financially than the were a year ago owing to prices rising faster than wages to the tune of 2%. Australia the expected taxes in Gord projected mini budget are going to try and make the Australian working class pay for the inflation. The only way to workers can protect themselves is by taking militant action and making and that employers are not allowed to nix prices without also raising wages.

### Hugo Blanco Wins Freedom

Hugo Blanco's release came a little more than seven and one-half years after his arrest. He was held for more strikes in protest against the vile conthan three years in Arequipa in solitary confinement, before he was final- in solidarity with other prisoners ly brought to trial in Tacna.

After being sentenced, Hugo Blanco Frontón, notorious for its brutal con-

off triumphantly on their shoulders.

In both Arequipa and El Frontón, Hugo Blanco staged various hunger ditions under which he was held, or whose rights were violated.

Captured by the Peruvian military was taken to the prison island of El forces, who hunted him down as a guerrilla fighter in 1963, Blanco was twice threatened with judicial murder, his life being saved in each instance

HUGO BLANCO, interviewed in Lima after more than seven and a half years in prison,

reaffirms his revolutionary socialist convictions and his adherence to the Fourth Inter-

so suddenly and so unexpectedly that the Peruvian peasant leader was in a partial state

and for a campaign to release all the political prisoners. The cheering crowd bore him

only by a massive campaign of the national protest.

Hugo Blanco grew up in Curt where he saw at first hand the perate poverty of the oppressed dian masses who constitute the major ty of the Peruvian population. Fr his youth, he spoke Quechua, the dian language, as well as Spanish

In the early 1950s, Blanco went Argentina, where he studied agront and worked as an active union me ber in an American-owned meat-pate ing plant. When he returned to re he helped to organize the giant de onstrations at the time of the visit the then Vice-president Richard No in 1958. Forced to flee Lima, H Blanco returned to Cuzco, where and his comrades began to orsa

peasant unions. In the upsurge of the Latin-Ameri can revolution inspired by the estat lishment of a workers state in Cubi Hugo Blanco became a legendary la ure in Peru. Working among the lan less peasants of the valley of La Co vención in the Cuzco region, he ganized unions to defend the rig of the landless against the hace dos (big landowners).

Blanco translated the Trotsk program of mass struggle in dance with Peruvian conditions the winter of 1962 and spring of 19 the revolutionary peasant union by him engaged in large-scale perations" of lands illegally held the hacendados.

The landowners responded with my and police attacks, and in ensuing battles, several soldiers killed. Hunted by the military, B national. Reporters noted that his hair was now streaked with white. The amnesty came was hidden successfully by the ants from November 1962 unti of shock and said he felt "disoriented." Nevertheless, within a few days he addressed 30, 1963, when he was captured. a huge crowd of 10,000 persons. He appealed for a thoroughgoing agrarian reform

### VIETNAM: WAR & REVOLUTION

## 1. THE WAR

Dave Holmes

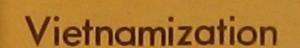
The Vietnamese war is not about to end, and it is certainly not "fading away".

On the contrary, the conflict has been stepped up and widened by the US imperialists and their client regimes in Saigon and elsewhere.

The Vietnamese war has developed into an Indo-Chinese war. Faced with defeat the US and their puppets have extended the conflict to Cambodia. They have stepped up the war in Laos. By these measures they hope to rescue their position in Vietnam

The intensity of the war is being increased desert and of the other 25 only 10 will The air war has reached near unpreceden- fight. A CIA report (Burchett, "Sunday ted heights. The Ho Chi Minh Trail has been under saturation bombing attack for months. The US has resumed bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Underlying the false idea of the "imminent" end of the Vietnamese war, is the question of US troop withdrawals. These withdrawals depend, as the US spokesmen make very clear, on the success of their "Vietnamisation" policy.



What is "Vietnamisation"? Why has it been adopted?

The Vietnamese war has intensified the class struggle in the imperialist mother country. The US ruling class is faced with a growing and militant anti-war movement; the huge war costs preclude reforms to head off the revolt of the black masses; the war-induced inflation is eroding the living conditions of the white proletariat driving them to struggle against their rulers.

The problem facing the US ruling class is thus to placate their domestic opposition, scale down the war costs and till suppress revolution in Indo-China. The DRV Foreign Minister succinctly characterised "Vietnamisation" as follows "Tribune" 16/9/70): "'Vietnamisation' boils down to strengthening the puppet army, stepping up pacification and withdrawing some of the US troops. They want to strengthen the puppet army, to use it with US air, naval and logistics support in place of US troops. So Vietnamisation does not mean ending ne war; rather it is intended to prolong the war with puppet and American troops, to maintain the US military occupation in South Vietnam. The purpose is to lessen the scale of the American commitment and to cut military expenditures to a level acceptable to the American

people" (our emphasis). The US hopes

to prolong the war and wear down the

resistance. Even if Nixon kept to his withdrawal schedules, over 250,000 US troops would remain by mid-1971.

#### Failure

The much-vaunted "Vietnamisation" plan fares no better than any of its predecessors. The reliability and will to fight of the puppet army is still very low. A South Vietnamese general was reported (Wilfred Burchett, "Sunday Observer, 8/11/70) as saying that out of every 100 recruits to the puppet army 75 Observer" 8/11/70) spoke of "30,000 communist agents" inside the puppet army and administrative apparatus. It pointed out that they could only exist with found their humanity - on the side of the the tacit complicity of the majority of South Vietnamese troops and police. What they are finding now, that the revolutiona comment on the support for the US in



South Vietnam; what a comment on the machine on which the US has lavished so much care and on which it has placed such hopes. Clearly, the sole barrier to the end of the war, to the victory of is the US military machine.

To secure their deteriorating position in South Vietnam, to save their "Vietnamis ation plan" the US imperialists have stepped up and widened the war. They engineered a coup in Cambodia and finally intervened there. They have intensified the war in Laos. The air war has been intensified over the last few

Yet the US position is worse now than before. Their intervention in Cambodia succeeded only in spreading civil war throughout Cambodia and in uniting the Cambodian masses behind the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese NLF. The Lon Nol regime survives only through US aid, especially aerial support. In Laos, the US and Vientiane troops were driven from the Plain of Jars in mid-1970. They are suffering defeats on the Bolovens Plateau of Southern Laos. The US hoped to establish Thailand as a huge base area for the war in Indo-China, yet even here popular resistance is growing: the Thai government has withdrawn its troops from South Vietnam to deal with insurgency" in its northern provinces.

#### Barbarism

Faced with the resistance of an entire people, their position continually leteriorating, the US and its client regimes fall ever more deeply into an paralleled barbarism.

By mid-1969, the constant bombing had produced in South Vietnam, originally a country of some 14 million, over 4 million refugees. 300,000 were cripples. (Jenner, "War and Revolution in Vietnam"). Since 1956 the imperialists are estimated ("Tribune," 5/5/70) to have killed 250,000 NLF fighters and almost half a million civilians. The air war on the DRV killed some 90,000 people.

The war has dehumanised masses of

soldiers. Death has become a way of life for many young Americans. The Melbourne "Herald" (13/1/71) reported that a US artillery regiment in Vietnam held a competition to see which unit could kill the most Vietnamese men, women and ... children. A scoreboard kept the count in their HQ. The same report quoted testimony from the Calley trial in the US that a soldier shot babies in their mothers' arms at My Lai in 1968 - he considered them his ... enemies. In Vietnam, face dialogue is impossible between the oppressed and their oppressors - exchange of information proceeds through the mediation of torture and terror.

However, if the war has dehumanised masses of people, it is no less true that in this frightful crucible, many have revolutionary masses. They have found, ary struggle is theirs too. In Vietnam the masses are united behind the NLF. Support for the NLF is growing everywhere, even in the US war machine. Unpopularity of the war and sympathy for the revolution are growing in the US army. The discussion within the US ruling class on ending the draft is a reflection of these sentiments - the trustworthiness of the imperial ists' counter-revolutionary instrument is no

On October 7 1970 Nixon put forward yet another "peace proposal". This was aimed primarily at public opinion in the US as the November congressional elections neared. It was rejected completely by the NLF/PRG. (see the "Australian" of 6/11/70, p. 6). In effect it called on the NLF to expose itself and be wiped out, thereby achieving what all the US pacification programmes, all the police tooth-comb operations and all the bombings have failed to do.

the Vietnamese Revolution led by the NLF The only programme for peace that can satisfy the long thwarted aspirations of the Vietnamese people is that of the NLF/ PRG. Point one of the 8 point peace programme (September 1970) demands that the US cease its war of aggression in Vietnam: it must withdraw all troops, material and aid. This demand recognises that US imperialism alone thwarts a just settlement of the war.



#### Tasks of the Left

In Vietnam the alternatives are clearly posed: imperialist barbarism or the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution.

The US ruling class will not accept defeat unless it has to. It will continue its war of aggression as long as it can. The troops will not be withdrawn, the aid will not cease, until it becomes clear to the American ruling class that the alternative to ending the war is the red flag flying over their White House. The task of the Left in America is to create a movement of such size and strength that the US bourgeoisie is compelled to end the war or face social revolution.

In Australia too, we must build a mass movement which adamantly demands that our government withdraw all its troops and cease all its aid to the counter-revolutionary regimes in Saigon, Pnom Penh and Vientiane. This would be a great boost for the NLF and would still further isolate American imperialism. Our bourgeoisie's commitment is of a different order to that of the Americans and their room for manoeuvre is greater. We must not be fooled - only a complete and total end to our participation is

We must settle for nothing less.



Camp" They used to be called

### 2. CAMBODIA

### John Ebel

On April 30 last year, the world was shocked by Nixon's announcement that the U.S. and Saigon troops had invaded Cambodia.

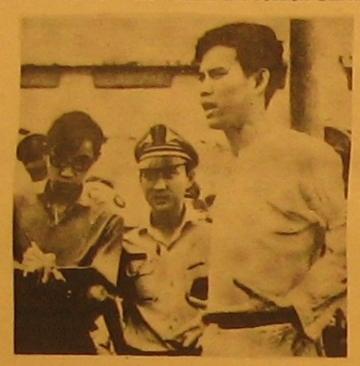
To revolutionary socialists this came as no surprise. Most had come to expect such manoeuvres from such experienced representatives of American imperialism as Nixon. The significance of this invasion was tremendous. Progressive people all over the world reacted by staging massive protests of unprecendented scale; protests called for an immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Vietnam. The United States alone, saw the biggest protests in its history with about five million students striking, as did Australia and numerous other countries.

To many people in the anti-war movement the Cambodian invasion represented a turning point in their political development. No longer could the aggression of the U.S. in Vietnam, and indeed now in the whole of Indochina, be described as "accidental". Now it could be more clearly seen for ever as following logically from the premises of the internal and external dynamics of American capitalism i.e. U.S. imperialism.

In this article we will try to examine the dynamic of the National Liberation struggle in Cambodia, and the tactics and strategy of U.S. imperialism there.

March 18, 1970 represents the date of an American-backed military coup, which overthrew the "neutralist" government of Narodom Sihanouk replacedhim by a puppet regime, which would make Cambodia a safe military and economic base for American imperialism. Sihanouk, a nationalist and a conservative in domestic policies, realized that an alliance with the U.S. would automatically lead Cambodia into the indochina war, and eventually to the all costs trying to prevent.

Sihanouk thus maintained a "neutralist" policy in foreign affairs. In 1941 Sihanouk became the king of Cambodia, appointed by the Vichy French who from the outset of World War 11 governed the country on behalf of the Japanese. In early 1945, after Vichy's defeat, the Japanese seized control of Indochina, made the right-wing nationalist Song Ngac Thanh premier, and pushed Sihanouk to declare Cambodia independent of French rule. Following the defeat of Japan, the French returned gaoling Song Ngoc Thanh and forcing Sihanouk to make Cambodia "an autonomous state within the French Union"



This resulted in the reestablishment of French military and economic control, and gave the French the use of Cambodia and Cambodian troops in their campaign to regain Vietnam for the Vietminh.

#### Khmer Isaarak.

In reaction to the French takeover, many of Son Ngoc Thanh's followers fled to Thailand, where they established a Cambodian independence "movement".

The new group, the Khmer Isaarak, a Popular Front formation, covered the political spectrum from right wing nationalists to communists as well as including native Vietnamese living in Cambodia. By 1953 the anti-French Khmer Isaarak working closely with the VietMinh controlled 3/5 of Cambodia.

Sihanouk now began his own "royal crusade for Independence". Capitalizing on French fear of Khmer Isaarak and the VietMinh he skilfully manoeuvred the French to back his crusade and in October 1953 declared the independence of Cambodia. Sihanouk's success undermined the nationalist position of the Khmer Isaarak. Song Ngoc Thanh and a few of his right-wing followers went into exile in Bangkok; the great majority of the Khmer Isaarak, including the left, accepted Sihanouk's offer of amnesty and laid down their arms. The falling apart of the Khmer Isaarak lay in the very nature of its formation - in the concept of the Popular Front. Conceived by Stalinism it forces revolutionary socialists into a complete subordination to the leadership of the national bourgeoisie. In such a Front revolutionary socialists have no independent organization, or if they have they don't function as if they had one, because they subordinate their socialist programme to a nationalbourgeois one. The Popular Front is directly opposed to a United Front, which represents a coalition of groups unified. in action, on a point-of-agreement programme, and with each organization maintaining its independence and programme.

The Cambodian 'revolutionary' left had thus become dormant, accepting the status-quo more or less until 1967. Sihanouk's political position in that time can be described as a conscious maintenance of the prevailing status-quo. Establishing a "Buddhist Socialist" Party which he tightly controlled, Sihanouk did not institute any major land reforms or industrialization.

The Khmer Rouge: Revolutionary Forces

Back in the spring of 1967 a left-wing rebellion broke out in Battambang Province, an area of right-wing terrorism and increasing pressure on the peasants by the landlords, government officials and

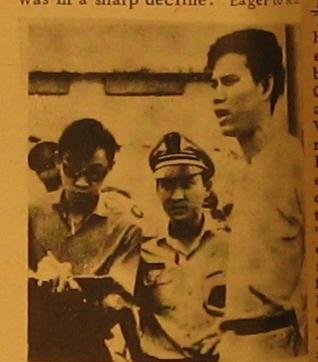
In response, General Lon Nol, a founder army chief whom Sihanouk had kicked upstairs to the post of Prime Minister,

Khmers (Cambodians) into the Rattankakizi, where the Khr situated. The government also to relocate the Khmer Loeu into "p hamlets" and Cambodianize the parcel out land - through which Loeu had wandered freely - to Ca "colonists" for the lowlands.

In 1968, the Khmer Loeu rebelled Deserting their villages and movi the forest, they organised and a apparently with the aid of about 50 cadres who speak their language. T at first simple defensive, was soon, merge with the Indochinese revolu-Though growing in strength the kin Rouge and Khmer Loeu did not yet an immediate revolutionary threat the government. However it did no

had financed and trained the Khmer is a whole people. a right-wing remnant of the old Khme Isaarac, still under the leadership of Se of Kampuchea.

The Sihanouk regime, a left-bonger political than racial reasons. The ethnic dictatorship, found less and less rocal Vietnamese in the border area and in the ber 1969, the right-wing began acr sympathy for the NLF. ed drive for power. In order to pay imports Cambodia was falling deeper deeper into debt and the domestic a



### 3. N.L.F. PROGRAM

TRODUCTION

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was founded on December 20, 1960. It is thus just 10 years' old. It was a government of national democratic formed as a response to the regime of terror instituted by Di em and his US backers. As the NLF Manifesto said, not for a day did the shots massacring their compatriots cease to sound. The NLF is a broad front embracing the Communists, Buddhists and so on. For its decade of existence it has held the world's greatest power at bay.

The Right - Khmer Seral and Khmer We print excerpts from this historic Ever since 1958 when the United State of the Provisional Revolutionary Governtired of Sihanouk's 'neutralism', the of the Provisional Revolutional had financed and trained to the ment supersedes it) which has mobilised

1. Overthrow the camouflaged colonial regime of the American imperialists and the dictatorial power of Ngo Dinh Diem, servant of the Americans, and institute union.

2. Institute a largely liberal and demo-

3. Establish an independent and sovereign economy, and improve the living conditions of the people.

4. Reduce land rent, implement agrarian reform with the aim of providing tween the zones, and prepare for the land to the tillers.

5. Develop a national and democratic culture and education.

6. Create a national army devoted to the defence of the Fatherland and the

7. Guarantee equality between the various minorities and between the two sexes; protect the legitimate interests of foreign citizens established in Vietnam and of Vietnamese citizens residing

8. Promote a foreign policy of peace and neutrality.

9. Re-establish normal relations bepeaceful reunification of the country.

10. Struggle against all aggressive war; actively defend universal peace.



### Ngoc Thanh. Shortly before last year's coup they had infiltrated the Cambodian Army to act as a Trojan horse for the Cambodian recruited mercenaries from South of the Cambodian million strong Cambodian minority.

which to manoeuvre. Finally, in la large Vietnamese community showed great

was in a sharp decline. Eager to an The Imperialist Strategy.

The theory behind the American strategy has been explained with great clarity and explicitness by one of the tacticians of the ourgeoisie, Professor Samuel Huntington hairman of the Government Department t Harvard. ... He explains that "the Viet Cong is a powerful force which cannot be dislodged from its constituency as long as that constituency continues to exist" The conclusions are obvious and he does not shrink from it. It can be ensured that the constituency ceases to exist by direct application of mechanical and conventional power, ... on such a massive cale as to produce a massive migration from the countryside to city "when the NIF constituency- the rural population-"refugee camps" and suburban slums round Saigon. "Technically" the process known as "urbanization" or "moderniztion". This is applied in Vietnam as well as in Cambodia and leads to massive bombing of the countryside.

The National United Front. (NUF) he struggle against US imperialism and he representatives of the comprador ourgeoisie like Lon Nol is waged mainly v the Khmer Rouge. NUF is composed Khmer Loeu, Khmer Rouge and Sihanouk For the revolution to be successful, it will ion (1959) the colonial revolution time, the bourgeoisie, led by Lon No who still has a great deal of appeal Sirik Matak pushed through the Natis amongst the traditionally-minded peasantry some socialist measures; like the socialis- lumumba in the Congo, the counter-Assembly, measures to denationalist but has no independant organizations. It ing and the import-export business, is the Khmer Rouge who are actually ing tax receipts directly into the gor leading the peasants and organizing the ment treasury instead of into the offe military struggle. The entire NUF is co-operating closely with the Laotian and aries.

Vietnamese revolutions. NUF's program is national bourgeois in character. It calls for the modernisation of the country, maintenance of a neutral foreign policy and the guarentee of freedom of speech, the right to vote, have religious freedom, sexual equality, and the rights of ownership of land and property. The program makes no mention of socialism, however NUF is not a popular front, since there is no dominant organized national bourgeoisie within it.

At the time of writing this article, Phomi Penh is an isolated city. It is surrounded by a revolutionary countryside. For the past week US forces have been landing 'secretly" as well as increasing "saturation bombing. However this seems to have little effect on the NUF forces, and victory now appears near.

Nixon is now faced with an unresolvable contradiction. He can take two roads both of which spell grave danger for US

revolution(in practice, however he might world revolution. A tiny people, acting at most forestall it,) or B) he can let the Cambodian revolution continue to its logical conclusion- the establishment of a workers' state in Cambodia. The second choice means the end of imperial- winning. Their resistance has inspired ism in Cambodia and probably all of Indo- the oppressed all over the world, and China, which the first prepares the prospect of a North American socialist revolution.

have to, after attaining state power, adopt suffered a series of reverses (the fall of will be forced to do so by the existing objective circumstances and by the experience of the Cambodian revolution-

4. VIETNAM & WORLD REVOLUTION

This brief article is largely adapted from the 1969 document of the Fourth International: "The New Rise of the World Revolution".

A) He can attempt to crush the Cambodian Today, Vietnam is the storm-centre of with indomitable courage and heroism, are withstanding the assault of the most "advanced" imperialist nation on earth. They are not only surviving, they are has deepened the crisis of imperialism, particularly US imperialism.

> After the victory of the Cuban Revolutrevolutionary victory in Indonesia etc.). There are two reasons for this. On the one hand, the ability of the pettybourgeois and nationalist regimes (Nkrumah, Nasser, Sukarno etc.) to lead the anti-imperialist struggle had ended. On the other hand, US imperialism had launched an offensive against the revolutionary movements. The formation of revolutionary Marxist vanguards was not rapid enough to defeat this offensive.

The Vietnamese war was the high-point of this imperialist offensive. It was also the turning-point. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese masses has weakened imperialism and enabled revolution to advance in other sectors.

US imperialism's escalation of its war of aggression in Vietnam had two objectives. Firstly, it wanted to block the advance of revolution in an economically and strategically important region. Secondly, it wanted, by the terror of the example, to deter revolutionary movements everywhere.

The resistance of the Vietnamese has prevented imperialism's success. They have thwarted the aggressors despite the inadequate military aid from the workers' states, principally the USSR; pressure from the despite the Kremlin and its agents for them to be less uncompromising; and despite the inadequacy of the international solidarity and anti-war movements. The 1968 Tet offensive showed the enormous reserves of the Vietnamese revolution and the deterioration of the imperialist

The US bourgeoisie is in a bad position on a world scale. Even their huge resources are insufficient to simultaneously finance the nuclear arms race with the USSR, the Vietnamese war, a world wide consolidation of capitalism and the reforms needed to defuse the rising social tensions in the US.

In the US, on the objective level the Vietnamese war has accelerated the inflation and has led to a cutback in programmes like the "war on poverty" which were intended to head off the revolt of the black masses. It has also forced the imperialists to reduce their "aid" to the colonial bourgeoisies.

On the subjective level, i.e., on the level of inspiration and example, the resistance of the Vietnamese revolution has encouraged the formation of a black and student vanguard in the US. More generally, this resistance has impelled the formation of a new youth vanguard in all of the imperialist countries.

The Vietnamese war through its objective and subjective effects has allowed a tremendous growth in the anti-war movement in the US and has contributed to the radicalisation of the black masses. The inflation constitutes a permanent assault on the living standards of the American masses; even the white proletariat, strangled by a reactionary labour bureaucracy, is thereby led to struggle against the bosses.

Thus, US imperialism is entrapped in a terrible contradiction. A retreat in Vietnam would be a colossal defeat and would boost revolution everywhere. On the other hand, if imperialism continues its aggression in Vietnam the class struggle in the US will greatly intensify.

Finally: no revolution can advance or win without colliding with imperialism. Internationalism is a necessity - only by extending the revolution internationally can imperial ism be compelled to disperse its forces. Che Guevara's final message to the Tricontinental was the call: 'Create two, three ... many Vietnams". The bourgeois International of Crime and Treason (Che) is already organised. We must build the revolutionary International.

### VIETNAM: WAR & REVOLUTIO

#### THE ROAD TO BEN HOA

Many times I have come and gone on the road that leads to Ben Hoa. I have known the dragon and the lizard on the road that leads to Ben Hoa.

Knives, Knives rifles boots rice blood tins meat fruit vegetables tea ammuniton mortar bombs and womens laughter all come and go again on the road that leads to Ben Hoa. Many days again they will pass to and fro when the clear and treacherous morning has crept up on us. Suns moons new seasons and the shoots of bamboo disfigured children and our own dead bodies black tides, white tides, oil and alcohol drifting and eddying around Ben Hoa.

(The poem was found on the body of a Viet Cong officer at Tay Ninh on the main road to Saigon, on the night of January 11, 1966)

#### THE SEASONS

Until the great monsoon of our people

blows at last along the road to Ben Hoa.

The sky holds a myriad burgeoning silver buds in store for us, in this new season of liquid fire and phoso liquid fire and phosphorous. A rain against nature will shrivel leaves and grass again, and my peasant's eyes see only still-born flowers in white fields of death. What hailstones the sky has in store for us, oh my people, what a seedtime lies behind us.

The poem was found on the body of a Viet Cong guerrilla in the Ben Cat district, Province of Thu Dau Mot on February 4, 1966).

used the Prince's absence from the country to send the army on a "searchand-destroy" mission against the Khmer Rouge. Sihanouk returned and fired Lon Nol. But to keep things in balance he attacked three National Assembly men as communists conspirators. The three the chief of State (Sihanouk). - Hu Nim, Khieu Samphar and Hou Youn - fled from the capital and went to join the Khmer Rouge.

From that time on, the Khmer Rouge launched guerilla action in most parts of the country. Along with peasants, the guerilla groups included students, teachers and former French-trained officers, largely expelled from Pnom Penh in 1967. They were led by Hou Youn and were active in 15 out of the 19 provinces.

The programme of the Khmer Rouge was particularly interesting in light of more recent events. Their statements strongly condemned Lon Nol and critized the army, police extortion and government corruption. Invariably Lon Nol and his friends were referred to as "American stooges", a distinction the Khmer Rouge never attributed to Sihanouk.

#### Khmer Loeu

During this same period, another insurgent group emerged, the Khmer Loeu. Hill tribesmen, numbering at most 60,000, the Khmer Loeu live in the remote province of Cambodia on the northeast border where Laos, Cambodia andSouth Vietnam meet. This area, formerly Laotian has never been actually under Pnom Penh control, and neither the Laotian nor the South Vietnamese puppets have been willing to

recognize Cambodia's claim to it. In

officials began in 1959 to move ethnic

The United States and the World joined in the push for denationaliz

The Coup d'etat.

The following month Sihanoutan France. Soon after, Lon Not sepper the already existing racist press can against the Vietnamese minority bodia. In March the army organi Vietnamese demonstrations in Sus province. Then, on March 11 19 soldiers in civilian dress, reported bers of the Khmer Serai, led 10,00 onstrators in an attack on the em the North Vietnamese and Provis olutionary Government.

The demonstration was hardly spe-Few of the students would have s had they not been ordered, and the doubtedly had no idea that the result of their demonstration wou ousting of Sihanouk." reported T man in the Far Eastern Economic

Trying to head off the impending pro-Sihanouk police tried on Mare arrest Lon Nol. They failed and 18 Lon Nol and the army took ov government. By earlyMay the massacred more than 5,000 Can Vietnamese, imprisoned nearly (60,000 of whom were shipped to Nam) and tried, unsuccessfully mobilize Khmer villagers for race order to establish their control, Cambodian against the remaining ethnic Vie The army launched these attacks



tuyen Van Troi, Vietnamese patriot executed in 1964 for "attempted terrorist s " declared moments before he was killed "I have committed no crime. It is e Americans who have come to committ aggression...who have come to soww eath. Long live Vietnam!"

#### Ray Slobodniuk

In an article in "Intercontinental Press", the American Marxist George Novack, discussed the underlying process which has led to the eruption of massive struggles for self-determination in all colonial countries. Novack states that "the apostles of capitalist progress maintain that all forward moving people would eventually step up from their benighted pre-capitalist state to the enlightenment of free competition, bourgeois liberalism, parliamentarism and their attendant institutions in the same order and much the same way as other capitalist nations had done".

As Novack goes on to point out, there is an obvious flaw in this reasoning, one which is a living contradiction of the philosophy espoused by capitalist ideologists. And it is that only in a small portion of this planet, Western Europe and the USA, has capitalism evolved in its classical form. A majority of humanity has either remained stuck or has been forcibly held back in more backward conditions by foreign exploiters.

It is in this inability to recognise how uneven historic development is and how each generation and society builds upon the preceding one that the failure of capitalism's colonial policy lies. A failure which is part and parcel of capitalism despite the rhetoric of "bourgeois apostles" who serve to justify the mutilation of life, both in the colonial and home countries.

In the guise of progress, shameless exploitation occurs, in an anarchic fashion, outside man's control, flowing from the inherent structure of the capitalist society. Bourgeois ideology never attempts to explain the great contradiction between what with as little cultural and historic rewe see and what we are told, it merely attempts to hide and dismiss it.

of our existence. In our schools, work places, in the press, in our relations with foreign powers, contradiction is dismissed, all imperialist powers, the aim of soor not even recognised. And it is this aspect of life, that we share in common blows of life, have learnt that what capitalism preaches is certainly not what it does. Here is the common bond which links all struggles for liberation and turns

them all spontaneously into a fight for socialist democracy and freedom.

This is the basis of our relationship with Papua and New Guinea, a colonial country dominated by world imperialism, a picture of savage exploitation which Australia is leading. An exploitation which can be eliminated only with socialist revolutions throughout the world.

The political turmoil now sweeping Papua and New Guinea has its origin in the note that has been forced upon the indigenes in the past 150 years. Throughout the period Papua/New Guinea has been a European colony of some type - a colonial possession of Australia till 1918, then a protectorate of Australia till World War II and since 1945 a mandate territory ruled by Australia with the "blessing" of UNO.

Australia's attitude towards Papua/New Guinea has always been territorial. The Canberra government has constantly disregarded basic rights, so much lauded here, when these have clashed with . Australia's interests in Papua/New Guinea. element of such an appraisal is the The plantation lands seized from the Germans (in North West New Guinea) in 1920 were handed out to Australia's returned soldiers, rather than being handed Papua/New Guinea is not an indigenous to the natives. This same attitude is again apparent in the struggle for land rights both on the Gazelle Peninsula and in Bougainville.

Economically and politically Australia's rule in Papua/New Guinea has been moulded by the idea that the region should be part of the Australian political and economic scheme. A Westminstertype parliamentary system has been sponsored and is being thrust onto a people victorious struggle for their political and lation to this governmental form as is possible to imagine. Using her own colonial past as a model, Australia has Innuendo and deceit permeate every aspect appointed a long series of legislative and formations are already groping towards a administrative councils to guard her interests in Papua/New Guinea. As with called political progress is to model an economically suitable system in the with colonial people, who under the cruel dependent country. This is done by retarding as far as possible, the political consciousness of the people and making them completely economically dependent black local council on the Gazelle upon the ruling country. Whatever



economic life there is in the country is controlled for the benefit of world imperialism, which as seen in Papua/ New Guinea, "owns" all significant industrial and mining ventures and which supports an expatriate caste to create, with force if need be, a climate suitable for its exploitation of both colonial people and their land.

An exact and thorough understanding of the political economy in Papua/New Guinea is crucial if any realistic programme of development in this region is to be envisaged. One important change taking place from an agrarian to an industrially dominated economy. This industrial and mining penetration of one, but is based on a combination of Australian and overseas capitalist interests, and as such will be of the utmost significance. Cheap labour and good resources combine to make Papua/New Guinea a lucrative area for foreign capital. Industrialisation creates a working class and this creates the possibility of a mass, revolutionary party; led by the workers, uniting the various portions of Papua/New Guinea in a economic independence.

is a reality, as a number of indigenous revolutionary solution to the agrarian and national problems which have beset their

Probably the most significant of these is the Mataungan Association. This completely indigenous organisation developed as a result of the replacement of an all-Peninsula (New Britain) by a multi-racial

reaction of any section of Papua/New their country. Guinean society to the Administration blatant and dictatorial control over The significance of the corporation is the political life in that country.

John Kaputin, one of the Mataungan Association. Association's leaders, has often made this clear:

"Today we are very far removed from being proprietors and operators of our economy ... Today we provide no ma than a pool of cheap labour for the Caucasions and Asiatics living in this country"

And:

"In this country we have an alternation It will be necessary to socialise the w. economy self-government will mean nothing.

The transfer of power from Canberra more than the transfer of power from area of colonial rule to another".

The feeling expressed by Kaputin has translated itself into a courageous 25 systematic resistance to the enemy

if the struggle is successful.

Over the last few years the bureauc

has been engaged in a strong camp

against all opposition. Workers,

lectuals and other diss idents who d

oppose it were immediately arrested

Their offences included demonstrate

threatening to go on strike and spea

ment didn't hesitate to resort to the

of anti-Semitism as in the case of

trial of Kuron and Modzelewski,

about democratic socialism. The s

bureaucracy.

Tolai face. It has led to a form of ction and protest that poses a real ternative to the social structures which estern imperialism has constructed Isewhere in Asia.

he crucial nexus between economics nd politics has been grasped and forms ne of the mainstays of the Tolai's rogramme.

heir essential objective in the economic phere has been to build a counter strucure to the foreign economic system in New those of the other two major groups in ritain, and to gain the experience ecessary for the eventual expropriation of reign capital in Papua/New Guinea. oth these objectives have found fruition a corporation which is in the process of stablishment. The most significant spects of this venture are that all Tolai ave shares; that only Papua/New nineans can hold shares; and that the corporation will "invest" approximately 4 million which at present the Tolais one. This was probably the first positionave in foreign ventures operating in

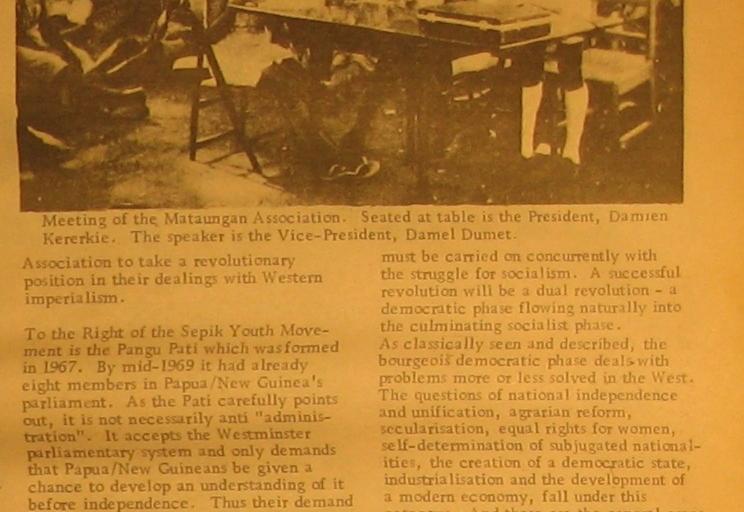
aim behind it and the general situation in which it is made. For any progressive Since 1969 it has grown both in size an indigenous activity in Paupa/New Guinea sophistication. Today it embracede must be viewed in the light of the ingreat majority of Tolais in a moment dustrialisation which is just commencing. which has at its core the political and The rise of a working class which can give economic freedom of the Tolai is direction and consciousness to the disforeign domination. In politics, content of other natives is the necessary economics, national unity, agraria basis for giving critical support to any problems, culture. education and movement in Papua/New Guinea. Any the Mataungan Association has found; movement which poses socialism as an common factor which it sees as prevalternative must be supported against the full development of the Tolai - imperialist domination, and the most foreign industrialists and plantation on likely movement in Papua/New Guinea to take such a course is the Mataungan

This assumption is strengthened by the position which the Mataungan Association has taken on the land problem, the national movement, education and racism. Their attitude is a natural extension of their economic insights and shows that the Mataungan Association has potential for undergoing a socialist transformation.

In the short term, a major consequence of the appearance of the Mataungan Association is that a model for opposition to foreign domination has now beenlaid A model which differs significantly from Papua/New Guinea - both of which are dominated by "Western" tradition and ideals. The more progressive of the latter two, would be the Sepik Youth Movement. It was formed in 1969 around a programme which demanded self-government by 1972 and independence by 1976. To lead the struggle for the fulfilment of these aims, steps to the formation of a Papua/New Guinea Labor Party and a National Workers' Union have been taken.

Basing itself on the wretched plantation workers, the movement sees the chains of Western imperialism being broken by parliamentary means. It appears as it the leaders in the Sepik area, perhaps because it is less economically developed than the Gazelle Peninsula, have failed to grasp the essence of the relationship between Papua/New Guinea and Australian capital. They cling to the false doctrine that capitalism will reform itself, and nowhere in their programme do they verge on the socialist alternative.

Their approach is diametrically opposed to that of the Mataungan Association, and having chosen to work within the institutions of capitalism they will certainly find it much harder than the Mataungan



work appears to vary significantly. of multi-racial society" that Whitlam has As already pointed out, a successful revolution will be a socialist revolution The Pangu Pati is not unique, but typical with the abolition of capitalist private of many pro-capitalist Afro-Asian property, collectivisation of agricut movements which thrust their countries the creation of a planned economy with a into disaster and near-destruction. The state monopoly on foreign trade and the blind refusal to look back into their own

the appropriate conclusions, condemns the Pangu Pati as surely as history condemns the Sukamos of the world. likely to do so. Such a conclusion is which have struggled for independence based not only on the attitude of the and freedom, none which followed Mataungan Association but also on its Western imperialism have kept what little liberty they managed to glean Being in the most economically and initially. They all succumbed to the brutalization of profit and have all fallen politically developed region of that as Western needs deemed intimately connected with economics as independence is.

If Papua/New Guinea is to escape this fate, then the struggle for independence

for immediate Home Rule, without any

The platform of the Pangu Pati revolves

of their own country and themselves. It

is for this, plus the fact that they "dream

around independence, nationalism and

participation in Western exploitation

reference to independence.

given them support.

culture and history of the West and draw the development of socialist democracy. Although none of these major groups in Papua/New Guinea has openly proclaimed socialism as the answer, the Mataungan unique position in Papua/New Guinea, country one would naturally expect it to be in the vanguard of any movement so

category. And these are the general areas

in which the Mataungan Association, the

Sepik Youth Movement, and Pangu Pati-

evaluate the nature of the intervention

by these various groups, for even though

all three have seen what needs to be done

work. However, it is important to

the general perspective in which they

In the words of the programme of the is well known: police militia and even Polish opposition, written by Kuron tanks were used against the "anti-state" Modzelewski:

is the principal source of the enslavement of other classes and social layers; in in Eastern Europe, Russia and China, and iberating itself, the working class liberates all of society. democracy in these countries. We con-

with the political police, thereby liberating society from dictatorship and fear.

\* it must do away with the regular army, thereby liberating soldiers from the

\* it must institute the plurality of parties, thereby giving political freedom to all

\* it must eliminate preventive censor-

\* it must subject the administrative apparatus to constant control by, and permanent responsibility to its demo-

cupy the most ungratifying position. That is why the working class more than any other class in society needs democracy: any denial of democracy rebounds first against the workers. Workers' democracy is socially the broadest form of government and creates the best conditions for the full development of

the chief bureaucrats like Premier (V?) Cyrankiewicz realising the m. port for the movement and the spo of the uprising didn't talk about "The Polish bureaucracy like all others in plotters" or "counter-revolutionary Eastern Europe, has also mismanaged the conomy by depriving the working class elements". Instead he preferred of control of the economy and the making to talk about "adventurists I arbitrary decisions often unrelated to "anarchists" and the "hooligans" fig e real needs of the Polish people. It the forces of "law and order". B plunged the country into economic the same terms the bureaucracy of denigrate the revolutionary worker hopelessness. students of France in May, 1965

he effect of both the social character of It is no wonder that Cyrankiewicz job the Polish economy andthe important contradiction between agriculture and Agnew, Askin and co., in calling for "law and order". He knows that his industry in Poland is evident in recent privileged position will be endanger events. Polish agriculture like its counterparts in the rest of Eastern Europe always gged behind industry. Not having the Capitalism was abolished in Poland benefit of planning that industry has, the 20 years ago. It is not however a bunglings of the economy by the ruling socialist state or a workers' democration nonsensical production criteria, caused It is yet to achieve the institution of democratically centralised worker food shortages and pressure on prices. The management in opposition to the men "solution" they came up with was simple: raise food prices substantially, on average privileges and the monopoly of police 20%. To compensate for these rises the and economic power wielded by the

by the Mataungan Association.

ices of other industrial goods was to be wered. These were however, luxury pods: television sets, washing machines, efrigerators etc. The bureaucrats were uite happy with their decision. The omic problem was solved, at least imporarily, without hurting anyone as rice decreases matched rises. What they oreot the workers remembered: most of e workers' income is spent on food - they n't afford the luxury goods, the only es who could afford these luxuries were bureaucrats themselves. With their centive themes for managers, their come is far above that of skilled workers.

teaching assistants at Warsaw University who published an analysis of the Po

ness of working through the Communist Party. Starting with a sit-down by 600 workers and students in the main street of Gdansk, thousands of workers went on strike, took to the streets and demonstrated The Socialist Youth Alliance has as one for their demands including the immediate of its aims opposition to the bureaucracies repeal of the price increases. The bureaucracy for good reasons felt itself threatened. This was something far more menacing than the student upsuige over the previous two years, which, while putting forward advanced political demands against the bureaucracy for greater support of the Vietnamese revolution and revolutionary struggles in advanced capitalist countries, did not involve masses of workers. The workers usually supported

The sign indicates the communal market which has been set up by

sider the current upsurge of the Polish working class to be a part of the struggle. The replacement of Gomulka and other members of the Politbureau by other, perhaps more liberal technocrats, is not going to solve Poland's problem. Nor does the solution lie in going back to

supports the struggle for socialist

the student demands but didn't go any to leave the entire city of Warsaw without well that prices rise rapidly in capitalist bread unless they were permitted to deliver a truckload of bread to the students agriculture is not collectivised but was there such political ferment in Poland the Polish people has been shown by occupying the university. Not since 1956 particularly the strike action, unheard of in Eastern European states. This shows the importance of the struggle in the workers knew quite well the ineffective- workers' view. The bureaucrats' reaction

capitalism. This is clearly not part of the workers' intentions. They know quite In the process of production, workers ocprivately owned. The way forward for Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski of the Polish opposition. It lies in political revolution not only in Poland but in the rest of Eastern Europe as well.

### The Revolutionary Struggle for Socialist Democracy in Poland

On December 16, Sydney branch of the Socialist Youth Alliance took the initiative in organising a demonstration against the repression in Poland. Representatives of the Communist Party, the Anti-Imperialist Caucus and Liberation Manly also helped picket the Polish Consulate. Below is the text of a leaflet distributed by SYA on the occasion and presented to the Polish

Today the Socialist Youth Alliance is demonstrating in support of the struggle for socialist democracy currently being waged by the workers and students of Poland.

This struggle is clearly revolutionary. The Polish workers while rebelling against the bureaucratic caste which rules the country, have no wish to return to capitalism. On the contrary, they are interested in making Poland a better

socialist state. Just one example indicating their revolutionary attitude was the singing of the Internationale while

burning the headquarters of the Communist Party. One could hardly imagine the CIA being behind such an act. Even



Szczecin: Communist Party headquarters burn to the strain of workers singing the Internationale.

The enslavement of the working class

In order to liberate itself, it must do away

brutalisation of barrack life;

cratic organisations ...

\* it must guarantee the peasantry control over its production and economic, social and political autonomy . . .

### **Direct Action**

### Interviews: GEORGE CRAWFORD

### WHO & WHAT ARE THE 'REBEL U

(George Crawford is the Victorian Plumbers and Gas-Fitters General Secretary and is State President of the usurped Victorian ALP Executive).

The "rebel" 27 unions of Victoria, have, in the recent past, introduced a militant, more audacious spirit into the labour movement.

The victorious struggle against the application of penal powers, increasing concern with the anti-war movement and lately the campaign against Bolte's "law and order" legislation are three

active.

For newcomers to the working class movement, the spectacle of two trade union centres may be difficult to understand - we hope that our questions and comrade Crawford's replies will provide some clarity.

As revolutionary socialists, SYA members would work for more than trade union consciousness. We see the development of a revolutionary party as central to the problems of Australian workers. We do however, support the stand of the rebel 27 as a welcome and progressive step with ramifications extending beyond the trade union movement.

trades. In other words, it is not so much the numerical or financial terms that count - but that none of the battling unions are on the other side.

Q. What is the desirable outcome of the split? What are the long term perspectives? gone through.

A. It is most desirable that the THC be so It was, then, against this background re-structured and set up as to be effective organisationally in uniting and leading the trade union movement in all its struggles. It that is not attainable, there is nothing to prevent the continuing development of unions outside the THC in the campaigns and forms of work they have initiated. Unity is desirable, but we are not going to sacrifice our position to attain it. We

George Crawford at the Moratorium



Q. As conditions differ from state to state, could you give us a short description of the rights and duties of members of the Trades Hall Council (i.e., before the split)?

A. The first thing for the uninitiated to know is that the THC is an organisation of organisations. A council meeting consists of delegates of affiliated unions. The major role of the THC is to handle disputes and other matters affecting more than one union, within the area covered by the THC. The major concept of the THC is that by gathering the unions together to tackle a mutual problem, the strength of the movement is enhanced when applied to that problem. Nobody could argue against that concept. The idea comes unstuck when the THC no longer acts as a rallying point to give strength by collectively winning issues; it falls down when the authority of the Trades Hall Council is used to discipline affiliates, when the Council is concerned with settling rather than winning dis-putes and claims.

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Q. A-la-Jordan! Getting the blokes back to work, in other words?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there an imbalance in representation and voting rights

Yes - this was one of the central matters of the dispute. The dispute was largely fought around the question of the formula for representation.

Q. Is your group financially healthy? How does it compare in this respect with

A. In terms of relative financial strength - both groups are healthy in terms of members and finances. It is not weighted very heavily one way or theother. They also have some big unions - the AWU, the Clerks, the Ironworkers, the ASE. We don't mind because they don't matter. The 27 have the unions that matter in the industrial sense - the fighting unions. those that get out and battle. In the building trades we have the Painters, the Builders Labourers and the Plumbers, in the metal trades the AEU, the Boilermakers and the ARU. In transport the unions that count are in the 27 - the Waterside Workers, the Seamen, the trammies and in manufacturing - the Butchers, Clothing trades and Liquor

are not going to sell out our Left position to right-wing dominance. Of course, federal intervention in the ALP has been a source of concern in this regard - it has certainly lessened the possibility of solving the THC situation. We are very concerned with Advisory Council negotiations with the THC.

Under this formula, big unions like the Plumbers' Union only had four delegates, as did unions like the AEU and the ARU. There was the anomaly of fringe unions around the waterfront having more delegates than the major waterfront unions like the Waterside Workers' Federation. This tends to perpetuate small unions, for example, the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths amalgamated and immediately lost delegates on the THC. This mitigates against the amalgamation of unions, particularly the small rightwing unions which continue to operate as political fronts.

The Fuel and Fodder Workers' Union is a prime example of this. These unions are preserved like a mummy with a mechanical hand to put up at voting time.

The first occurrence in the sequence of events around the split was the suspension of the Metal Trades Unions over margins claims. With the death of Stout, there were all sorts of political manoeuvres taking place, which resulted in Jordan getting the support of the centre and the

Then came the Metal Trades II campaign in support of claims for creased margins - these claims ly resulted in a \$7.40 flow on to other trades. A half day stoppage members was called, and the THO ordered the Metal Trades to call the

The unions refused to call the stone off and maintained that the THO is a state body, had no right to inthem on a federal matter, and that were entitled to call a meeting of men to instruct them on federal matter vin to their members.

The campaign resulted in an increase ethos (mateship) then it will take much \$7.40 for every tradesman - a great breakthrough on margins. But for their advancing wave upon wave. But most of trouble the Metal Trades got their del gates suspended from the THC.

suspended, the THC Executive, in a ve can afford the luxury of historical mishigh-minded manner, railroaded throug understanding. their proposition to double delegation payments. Had the suspended delegat been present, the proposal wouldn't

that the 27 unions refused to accept the what needs to be done to alter the decision or to make payments until future. History is not on our side. The matter was settled in a proper and past belongs to the enemy. We must principled way.

Q. Paying affiliation dues to the Lab According to McQueen the past belongs to Party has for long been the only politi the enemy; in the "Australian legend" as activity which most unions have partic described by Russel Ward, Geoffrey Serle, ated in; now that it has become obvia Ian Turner and to a lesser extent Robin that the interests of union members he Gollan and Brian Fitzpatrick, 19th century with intervention in more than just radicalism and nationalism in Australia industrial matters, how does the press are transmuted into socialism and anti-THC shape up?

A. Firstly, what has flowed from the for all that is politically democratic, stand of the 27 unions is that it demon socially egalitarian and economically no strated to other unions that they didn't competitive whilst our national ism is have to rely on the THC to get support. anti-imperialist and anti-militarist. There

Secondly, freed from the restrictions, tretching from the convicts to the antithe 27 have been able to engage in campaigns in support of broad sections and the Barcaldine shearers". community projects - e.g., the banning The past belongs to the enemy. McQueen of pipelines under Port Phillip Bay, sup ir gues that there is no native Australian port for local residents in Carlton, Fitzroy and South Melbourne, and in the Fitzroy and South Melbourne, and in impire loyalist. The book is a negation Botanical Gardens dispute. This has no of the Australian past and tradition: nothing resulted in the point of view that they in it is worthwhile. should not go back to the old THC setup, but would be prepared to constant? The convicts, like most criminals (most look at proposals that would lead to convere transported for economic crimes) solidation with a THC that genuinely had virtually no solidarity amongst them-reflected and acted upon all points of selves. The typical convict revolt was view in the trade union movement, the betrayed before it even began by a convict is, not a right-wing THC but one that seeking some perk from the authorities. accurately reflected the left-wing . The diggers who came for gold in the 1850's nature of the trade union movement, were self-seeking - to whom Australia

Q. Some people, including not a fer house of industrial England. Free selecthe Left, express concern that the dir tors and middle class urban radicals were unity caused by the split is worse than likewise petit bourgeois in consciousness. the situation of working with a weak Even the strikes of the early 1890's - the Trades Hall Council. What do you s

A. I don't agree, quite frankly. has been able to demonstrate to me a particular trade union or workers generally have been adversely and the situation.

On the other hand, we have demonstrand the ALP, though as the book ends at that that decision has led to some victa about 1914, it does not contain any ob-by workers in the trade union movember servations on these bodies in their later on the basis of campaigns that they be levelopment. fought and won.

They have engaged in real, princip unity and won. Who wants false w with the Right? That's not unity, it agreeing to be shackled by the Right doing it voluntarily, leading good, sincere people to agree with their shackling, their own impotence.

Q. Would you say that the 27 union stable: the Eureka rebellion would not have a better relationship with the have amounted to a good riot in France. collar unions than the THC?

A. There is a better basis for a rela-

ship, though we probably haven't p one in the formal sense. Those wh collar unions that want to do someth achieve something, are highly critic the THC. The example of the 2 has shown what can be done by the want to do something. The white co people worked with us in Carlton on pipeline campaigns, and in the ma and demonstrations against the law order bill. This has led to the 27 h a better basis for a relationship with white collar people than is possible

REVIEW BY IAN McDOUGALL

### BRITANNIA

Pelican Books \$1.50 by Humphrey McQueen

for progress. The past may belong to the If socialists are ever to realise that enemy, but in that past the enemy is Australia is a capital ist society and is busy preparing the way for his own desnot possessed by some natural socialist truction. McQueen states in the book that his next great task is to describe the more than my efforts. It will mean development of the Australian proletariat. This is an admirable objective, and I for all it will involve the honesty which can one am looking forward to it. It will, come only from the recognition of how necessarily, have to deal with the provital the achi evement of socialism is. gressive developments - of the working For while revolutionaries in power have While the Metal Trades delegates were suspended, the THC Executive in a revolutionary movement seeking power vis a vis the bourgeoisie - if it is to be any good.

> Nor can revolutionary history be reduced It is a pity in some ways that this work did not precede A New Britannia. Really to the usable past. Revolutionaries must the whole rubbishing of Ward and the old y tify our present stance. Accepting the left historians depends on an issue which dialectical unity of past and future we is covered very superficially by McQueen, must examine the past for a guide to yet is central to the entire thesis: namely to what extent did the shearers and other bush workers own or aspire to own their own properties? To what extent was the rural population in fact a proletariat? To understand it in order to end it." p. 12. what extent was it reconciled to the idea that there was no real hope for a man to

strategic points by the Eureka Stockade

cialist tradition. It is petit bourgeon

vere broken easily by a superabundance of volunteer labour. There were at least

stwo volunteers ready to take the place of

Similarly, according to McQueen, a

ocialist must write off the trade unions

is not hard to discover that the populat-

is is reflected well enough in the work

on was racist almost to the last man,

veman and child in the last century -

of popular literary figures including

wson and Paterson. Nor that it was

oves from city, town and bush to join

e first AIF in 1914. That did not speak

ell for their international class solidarity

that the 19th century was politically

he virtue of McQueen's book is that it

points out pretty clearly those forces at

york in Australian society which tended

minimise class consciousness amongst

e workers. It is also one of the most

adable and witty history books around.

t because it is a put down, not only of

xically it claims to be the last - but

o of the 19th century masses, it gives

o picture at all of those forces making

old left" histories - of which, para-

yal to imperialism: they came in

every striking unionist.

squattocracy by thrift, hard work etc. r Here comparison with the United States really pays off. The history of both the IS and Australia is that of a predominantly Anglo-Saxon population building a new imperialism. "Nineteenth century Ausnation in a frontier situation, passing from tralia is seen as a vast spawning ground a rural to an urban phase. Of course the development of the two societies is not parallel in all respects. But there are striking similarities and equally important differences for the student of class an arch of Australian rebelliousness consciousness. inhibitions and prohibitions of the THC, conscription victories of 1916-1917, buttressed In the United States the urban working

rise from helow into the ranks of the

class developed before the Australian, but trade unionism came comparatively later and a working class political party of a mass character not at all. At the close of the last century America nad craft unionism and a mass agrarian party - the a consciousness, racist, militarist and Populists - of an extreme petit bourgeois outlook. The rise of populism was due in the final analysis to the worsening situation of the smallholders vis a vis big capital. In Australia, by contrast, there was industrial unionism, the greatest head-on confrontation between capital and labour yet seen and the rise of a trade union political party which in 1913 had achieved the mass base necessary to form a federal government and by 1921 was adopting a socialist objective. (This is of course, not to deny that the ffered hope of freedom from the charnel unions and the ALP were, from a socialist viewpoint, subject to strong corrupting influences. None the less, the marked difference between Australia and the United States, which is one at heart of

> The explanation I believe is to be found in the old left histories - particularly of Fitzpatrick and Ward.

class consciousness, needs explanation).

The American frontier was, as the historian Frederick Jackson Turner showed, the cradle of the American "national character". It was a small man's frontier: on it a man could carve himself a farm out of the wilderness. Smallholders dominated 19th century American agriculture and are still strong and viable: as is the American small town by comparison with its Australian counterpart. On the American frontier the individualist outlook, petit bourgeois values and the self made myth took hold and readily infected the entire population. The log cabin to White House story - the Henry Ford saga - came to be regarded as realisable by a great part of the population. The United States remains a society literally polluted with individualism - though recent events on the youth scene show a reversal of this picture beginning.

In Australia the frontier was closed early: the typical sheep station was a large affair employing a work force of itinerant labourers - shearers, stockmen etc. The smallholder typically was a "battler" - depicted well by Steele Rudd, Lawson and others, and easily wiped out in hard times. Here the cry was not "protect the farmer" but "unlock the lands". For good reason: the lands were locked.

As Marx said, it is the being, the living condition of men that determines their consciousness. Here was the cradle of mateship, the Australian legend, and the class consciousness of the Australian worker, such as it was - all none the less despised by McQueen.

The Australian "national character" as described and accounted for by the old left historians - the knocking of tall poppies, "scabs", "pimps", coppers, affectations and the rest of it: the "mateship" and solidarity which has always been the antithesis of petit bourgeois individualism and competitiveness: this is real. I know, because I grew up with it in a Sydney suburb. It has to be accounted for somehow by the social historian and the historian of the proletariat.

As to the tactics to be employed to-

wards the unions and the ALP at the present time. McQueen draws no concausions. This is a bit of a pity as one conclusion possible from this book is that as they are not true socialist organisations, they are not worth anything and should therefore be spurned by the Left. McQueen holds the O'Shea events in very high regard, as we all should, but fails to point out that the victory in that struggle was brought about because of a traditional trade union solidarity going right back into the history of the working class, and that it was organised largely by precisely the same types of non-socialist unionists he depicts as being typical of an earlier period.

It was the victimisation of O'Shea the unionist, not O'Shea the Maoist that brought a million workers out on a strike.

In so far as A New Britannia provokes discussion and clarification of 19th century labour history it will serve a useful revolutionary purpose. In so far as it becomes a bible for sectarians it will be yet another obstacle to be overcome. This whole question of course is still

Finally, it is a pity that McQueen has to be so bloody rude to those old left historians with whom he disagrees. There is an arch of arrogance stretching from his otherwise excellent Labor History article on the convicts to this book. buttressed on the way by his tour de force at the 1970 Socialist Scholars Conference in Sydney. One can disagree with another leftist without getting smart and

I say this because this arrogance towards the old left and others, this competitiveness, upstaging and one-upmanship as displayed in the past by McQueen and his Maoist friends is itself a symptom of the petit bourgeois outlook. People infected with this can have a lot of fun one-upping each other at Left conferences, but they can never build a fraternal revolutionary organisation. That sort of outlook just doesn't fit.

To build a revolutionary organisation, even in 1970, you have to square off with the Australian legend.



Wake Australia! Wake! A cartoon published in the Boomerang edited by William Lane (later editor of The Worker ) in 1888.

War! What For? Front page of the IWW newspaper in August 1914. Caption reads: For the workers and their dependents: Death, starvation, poverty and untold misery. For the capitalist class: Gold, stained with blood of millions, riotous luxury, banquets of jubilation over the graves of their dupes and slaves. War is Hell! Send the capitalists to hell and wars are impossible.

(Both illustrations from The Bitter Fight, by Joe Harris.)

as No Root, No Dobtel Give the Employer a Chance To Show HIS Patriotics.



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**National Anti-war** 

SYDNEY, 17 - 21 FEBRUARY, 1971

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The purpose of the Conference is to bring together anti-war activists from all states and all sections of the movement, and a number of guests from the anti-war movement overseas, to examine three central themes around which the Conference will

THEME ONE: "AUSTRALIA AND THE WORLD", A Survey of the Contemporary International Situation. Wed. 17 Afternoon/Evening. Thurs.18 Morning/Afternoon.

- Australia's role within the context of United States foreign policy with particular reference to Southeast Asia.
- The Australian-American alliance
- The Pacific Triangle Complex (U.S.-Australia-Japan)
- Imperialism
- Australia's relation to National Liberation Movements in Indo-China and else-
- \* The development and current state of the war in Indo-China.

THEME TWO: "THE AUSTRALIAN ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT", The Political Context THEME TWO: THE AUSTRALIAN ARTH-WAR MOVEMENT, The Political Confe, of, and Ideological Positions in, the Anti-war Movement. Thurs, 18 Evening, Fri, 19 Morning/Afternoon.

- Electoral impact and effect on the major political parties.
- Its influence on and relationship with the Labor Movement.
  The anti-war movement and the mass media.
- The growth of political repression in Australia.
- Anti-conscription struggles in Australia.
- The anti-war movement and revolutionary social change.
- Australia and the international anti-war/anti-imperialist movement.

THEME THREE: "STRATEGIES AND TACTICS", The Directions of the Anti-war Movement. Sat. 20 Morning/Afternoon, Sun. 21 Morning/Afternoon.

- \* The role and effects of mass mobilization
- \* Developing resistance tactics.
- The power of non-violence.
- Reformism vs Revolution.
- Parliamentarism and the anti-war movement.
- The development of an extra-parliamentary movement.
  The nature of the anti-war coalition.
- The political strike.
- The anti-war university
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#### HOW TO CONTACT THE CONFERENCE ORGANISING COMMITTEE

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Further details on the Conference or the Moratorium Campaign may be obtained from local Moratorium Secretaries.

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