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NTERVIEW WITH JOHN LENNON

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AUSTRALIA: THE PIED

n the anti-war strategy document dopted by the SYA National Conference ublished in the last issue of Direct ction) we made the point that the Ausralian movement bears a considerable esemblance to the U.S. movement. This is because, by and large, Australians nd North Americans find themselves beet by the same dilemma caused by the eroic resistance of the peoples of Indo-China. We also argued that the two ontinents are faced with the same soluion to the problem: total and immediate eithdrawal of all Imperialist forces from ndo-China.

s a result of these similarities, and ecause it is obvious that the American lovement is more advanced than ours, is inevitable that our movement should ok to the Americans for guidance and spiration. By this means we can emuate the successes of the more advanced movement and avoid its defeats or set-

cial history we should all hope to nieve. By learning from the successes d failures of other revolutionary movenents, we are then able to devise our own strategies in a more scientific way.

The Australian movement has evolved a series of strategic approaches towards tself and the rest of society in almost a direct parallel of the American situation. Thus we find different sections of the Australian movement looking to different ections of the American movement for

Ve recall, for instance, the premature enthusiasm of moratorium leading lights or the initial proposals of the American lelegation to the Stockholm conference n Vietnam. The leader of the American delegation, a representative of the eople's Coalition For Peace and Justice PCPJ), made a grandstanding speech lining the "American movement's" ans for large anti-war actions on April May 30, and June 30. Nowhere did mention the mobilisations called by National Peace Action Coalition NPAC), to be held in Washington and an Francisco on April 24.

On the recommendation of the Australians who attended the conference, the Australian moratorium campaign decided to embark upon the programme outlined by he PCPJ, on the assumption that similar actions would take place in the U.S. and other world centres on April 30, May 30, and June 30.

The rest is almost history. In the U.S., he call by NPAC for massive peaceful emonstrations involving all sections of ociety on April 24 met with an incredole response. Nothin more was heard if the original PCPJ proposals. In the face of widespread popular support for April 24, PCPJ was forced, after initially attempting to get an opposition May 8 action off the ground, to offer nominal upport to NPAC.

On April 24, 500,000 people marched in ashington and 300,000 in San Francisco. milar actions were held in Copenhagen 0,000 people), Montreal, Quebec City, stowa, Paris, London, Rome, Lusaka, ind Beirut.

The Australian states, as we have said, ad planned their actions for April 30,

to coincide with the "international" protests on that day. The international actions, however, had taken place six

In New Zealand the movement there set April 30 as the date for mass actions, one of the reasons for this being the proposed actions in Australia on April 30.

In the event central rallies were organized for Sydney, Adelaide and Canberra. These were comparatively small affairs but this is not to say that these actions were without value. The Sydney march in particula served the vitally urgent purpose of remobilising the movement for further action. And, under the present circumstances, a march is better than no march at all, especially since the latter alternative was very much in the minds of many moratorium leaders. In fact, it was only as a result of a recision motion by the Sydney University delegate that Sydney had a march at all.

his is the understanding of contemporary Melbourne had no central demonstration on the April 30 moratorium day due to the unholy alliance of the Communist Party, SDS, pacifists et al who favoured "decentralisation" for that day. Ironically, (or is it predictably) these proponents of decentralisation weren't very much in evidence at what suburban actions were organised. Consequently, April 30 was a pretty small

> A central demonstration of some sort at least has been projected for June 30. However, no mass meeting to prepare for this has been scheduled until three weeks before the date, this in spite of a specific resolution at the previous mass meeting that are to be held between April 30 and May 30.

As a formula for defusing the mass movement, decentralisation and no mass meetings are ideal, but in spite of these attempts, the potential for a massive outpouring of anti-war sentiment on June 30 is still excellent.

We are all aware of the final episode in the Washington story. On May Day, at the instigation of the PCPJ and various other "people's representatives", 15,000 people set out to "stop the Government". No one was really surprised when they didn't. Despite the valiant assault of Dr Spock and 500 followers on a key strategic bridge and other acts of mock heroism, business went on as usual, and 10,500 people went to gaol, contributing something like \$105,000 to the U.S. Treasury.

Space does not allow a comprehensive comparison of the PCPJ and NPAC strategie One important yardstick can, however, be applied briefly: the people. 800,000 of them marched on April 24 and 15,000 on May Day. One action sought to involve th people, the other to perform for the people

As we go to press, we learn of the return to Australia of Dr J.F. Cairns from a Worl Peace Council meeting in Budapest, and of the proposals by the Victorian Moratorium Campaign (or are they merely from Dr Caims?) for a "five-stage plan to blockade the city of Melbourne" over the next mont In an interview on ABC television, Dr Caims referred to the inspiration offered by the May Day actions in Washington, where 15,000 people set out to stop the Government of the United States.

Some people never learn.

35,000 in New Zealand March Against the War

By George Fyson

Wellington

The April 30 New Zealand-wide antiwar demonstrations involved far greater numbers than ever before in active opposition to the Indochina war. Protests took place in every major city and many smaller towns.

In comparison with the July 17, 1970, mobilisation, previously the most successful protest, which drew 4,300 people across the country, on April 30 more then 35,000 marched in the streets. This included a giant crowd in Auckland, estimated by the organisers to be close to 17,000. Auckland is New Zealand's largest city, with a population of 600,000.

The central demand of the mobilisation was for the immediate withdrawal of all New Zealand, United States, and allied armed forces from Indochina.

Figures from other centres include 8,000 marching in Christchurch, 5,000 in Wellington, 2,200 in Dunedin, and 2,200 in Palmerston North -which is a town of 50,000 persons. A total of twelve cities and towns held antiwar marches, some places seeing their first protest ever. And everywhere the numbers exceeded the most optimistic predictions of the organisers.

Support for this mobilisation came from a broad range of forces, and one of the noticeable new features in the weeks leading up to April 30 was the appearance of leaflets, articles, and other material supporting the mobilisation, issued by all sorts of groups.

University students still made up the highest percentage of marchers, but the proportion was less than in the past. High-school students have begun organising, and they formed antiwar committees and high-school students associations in many parts of the country where no such things had ever existed before. Dozens of high-school groups issued their own leaflets and posters for the mobilisa-

Several trade unions and prominent unionists endorsed the mobilisation, and the New Zealand Seamen's Union held a national strike in support of the demonstrations. This is the first time such action against the war has been taken by trade unionists in New Zealand, although the Federation of Labour policy calls for the immediate withdrawal of N.Z. troops from Vietnam. In the future other militant unions can be expected to take similar action. The Wellington Trades Council issued a national leaflet building the mobilisation.

Support from the Labour party was the best for any antiwar demonstration yet. Although the party itself did not officially endorse the mobilisation, it said that members were free to participate, and several Labour Members of Parliament and branches endorsed the action. Labour M.P.s, along with prominent trade unionists and church leaders, spoke at many rallies followng the marches.

The mobilisation was launched at he highly successful National Antiwar

Conference of more than 600 person in Wellington March 13-14. [See Inter continental Press, April 12, page 332 In many centres, including Aucklan entirely new coalitions were built aft the conference to organise the mobil

Auckland is the stronghold of th Maoist N. Z. Communist party, while refused to support either the confeence or the mobilisation. In their wea ly paper, People's Voice, they ran se eral articles attacking the mobilisation organisers as "counterrevolutional

In the view of the CP, the slogt calling for immediate withdrawal N. Z. and U. S. troops was insufficie Instead, they proposed "anti-imperi ist" slogans such as "Victory to N. L. F.," "Smash imperialism," "Turn the imperialist war into a ci

When they saw at the last min how big the mobilisation was been ing, they tried to pretend they supply ed it, while still distancing themsel from the organisers. In the mare they carried a few placards with t own slogans, but their influence anybody at all was negligible. CP's pitiful display over this mo sation was a heavy blow to their p

Apart from the Communist par the antiwar movement was strong united behind the mobilisation. In p ticular, the N.Z. Trotskyists, the cialist Action League, played a m important role in building the mob sation, both on a national level s in Auckland, Wellington, and Chr church. On April 30 a record 3,0 copies of the League's paper, Soci ist Action, were sold.

Two days before the mobilisation the prime minister, Sir Keith yoake, announced at the Souths Asia Treaty Organization confere in London that it was possible the information gathered at the ference might form the basis for si cision to withdraw all New Zeals troops from Vietnam. At the conference, the U.S. Secretary of William Rogers said that the po of Vietnamization was working. 1965 the New Zealand governm sent a few hundred troops to Vietn to give political support to the and in the same way today it is n ing tiny withdrawals and talk about the approach of total withdr al in order to lend credibility to on's "Vietnamization" and "withdr al" propaganda.

The April 30 mobilisation was fitting answer to Holyoake. It clear that increasing numbers of Zealanders, are not satisfied with withdrawal of one artillery bal and its redeployment in Malaya. Zealanders are coming to reject idea of "forward defence," which in reality part of a plan for the tinued exploitation of Southeast A

Future mass mobilisations age New Zealand's involvement in So east Asia and its support of the Up States war in Indochina look like ing even more successful than 30, which to most participants just a beginning.

April 24 Shows Growing Power of Antiwar Forces

By Allen Myers

In the most massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment since the May 1970 demonstrations that followed the invasion of Cambodia, hundreds of thousands of protesters marched through the streets of Washington and San Francisco April 24, to demand immediate U.S. withdrawal from Indochina.

In Washington, more than five hours after the first contingents had started down Pennsylvania Avenue, the broad street was still filled with protesters. Thousands of additional demonstrators did not march, but were delivered directly to the rally on the grounds of the Capitol building by their buses.

Renners and posters identified marchers who had traveled hundreds of miles to participate. They came from large cities like Chicago and from small towns all over the eastern United States: Parma, Ohio; Hampton, New Hampshire; East Bloomington, Indiana; Lakeland, New Jersey; and hundreds more.

Washington police, who normally belittle antiwar demonstrations and who predicted that fewer than 100,000 would participate, estimated the crowd at 200,000 - a figure given to the press at noon, when tens of thousands of persons were still en route. The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), which organized the demonstrations, estimated that more than 500,000 participated in Washington.

NPAC organizers in San Francisco put the demonstration there at 300,-000. That was the capacity of the field where the rally was held, as stated by the police in advance, and the entire area was packed solid, with more contingents trying to enter after marching seven miles across the city.

The day had been officially designated "a day of public determination to end the war in Vietnam" by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, and the breadth of participation showed that broader layers of the American public than ever before were determined to force Nixon to withdraw from Indochina.

Besides the students, ranging from the university level right down to the grade schools, huge contingents of adults participated. Most significantly, some 10,000 Vietnam veterans marched and behind them came tens of thousands of union members. A big delegation of construction workers carried banners, and the appearance of these "hard hats" was not lost on the spectators. They drew cheers and applause as they marched along.

Longshoremen, who once actively opposed the students in their efforts against the war, were out in force, and some even acted as monitors.

The same sort of breadth was evident in Washington. In a brief section of the march, one could see banners identifying such varied groups as: Madison, Wisconsin, Hospital Workers Local 150; National Welfare Rights Organization; Third World Task Force; Federal Employees for Peace; Gay Feminists; Indiana University Student Mobilization Committee; Cleaners and Dyers Joint Board, American Federation of Labor-Con-

gress of Industrial Organizations; Western Massachusetts Women Against the War; Farm Workers for Peace and Justice; District of Columbia Statehood party; Northwestern University Gay Liberation; Engineers for Peace; Cleveland State University Women's Contingent; and locals of the United Electrical Workers, United Automobile Workers, and Amalgamated Clothing

Workers. The amount of support for April 24 from other movements-feminist, labor, gay liberation, GIs and veterans, etc. - was unprecedented. It was living proof of the growing realization that Johnson's war-now converted by Nixon into his own war-stands in the way of achieving a whole range of goals vital to the people of the United States.

The enormous mass of demonstrators marched in full awareness that they were acting as representatives of the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the American people. This was expressed in hand-lettered posters carrying variations on the theme, "The majority is not silent - Nixon is deaf," and in a giant banner that read, "On April 6, 1971, two out of three voters in Madison, Wisconsin, demanded immediate and total withdrawal."

The success of NPAC's strategy of mobilizing hundreds of thousands in the streets behind the demand for immediate withdrawal contrasted in the most dramatic way with the pathetic efforts of ultraleftists to organize a separate demonstration in Washington around a hodgepodge of demands proclaimed to be more "revolutionary" than opposition to American imperialism's aggression in Indochina.

800,000 Say Out Now!'

Faced by the growth of a massive, independent antiwar movement, many congressional liberals feel compelled to dissociate themselves from the war and the atrocities it entails. Eight senators and twenty-three members of the House of Representatives endorsed the April 24 protest, despite the fact that the demonstrations were organized around the demand for complete and immediate U.S. withdrawal, a position with which all but one of these congres-

sional endorsers expressly disagrees. The lone exception, Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana, who spoke at the rally in support of immediate withdrawal, is likely to be the forerunner of other congressional liberals as it becomes increasingly plain that promises to end the war by 1972 or 1973 are not enough to defuse the antiwar movement.

The contradictory position of calling the entire war a "war crime" and then saying it should be ended by 1972 - as did Congresswoman Bella Abzug of New York - cannot satisfy the huge crowd that heard her remarks.

Andrew Pulley, who spoke to the rally on behalf of the Socialist Work-

ers party, pointed out that members of Congress, unlike most Americans, have known all along of the atrocities being committed in Indochina. Their belated willingness to speak against the war, he said, cannot deflect the movement into supporting the liberals' call for Nixon to "set a date" for withdrawal:

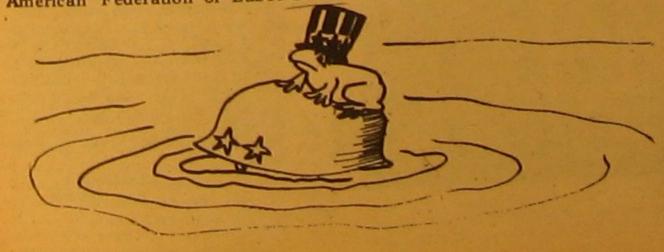
"Our date for withdrawal is now!"

Another guarantee for the continued independence of the antiwar movement was the large student contingents in the demonstrations. Debbie Bustin, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Con mittee (SMC), pointed cut the error of those who had proclaimed the death of the student movement, which has traditionally been the militant left wing of the antiwar forces.

She went on to emphasize that the April 24 demonstrations were not an end but only a part of a continuing spring offensive against the war. On May 5, the SMC, the Association of Student Governments, and the National Student Association are sponsoring an antiwar moratorium on the anniversary of the Cambodia invasion and the murder of protesting students at Kent State University and Jackson State College.

This will be followed on May 16 (Armed Forces Day) by solidarity actions with antiwar GIs.

The 800,000 persons who marched in Washington and San Francisco to indict Nixon and his accomplices as war criminals went home after the demonstration-but they are not going away.



MELBOURNE UNI. LOCK-IN Dave Flowers & Jim McIroy

On Thursday April 8th, a meeting of over 300 students, called for by the SRC, asked all student representatives to resign from cil committees.

A subsequent meeting (the largest oncampus meeting held so far this year) decided to take direct action against the against the undemocratic, political manoeurvre by the Administration was met with mass support on campus by the students and staff.

On Thursday, May 6th, the lock-in at the Administration building highlighted the long campaign against the admission regulation 3.3.18. This regulation is directed at people from other tertiary institutions who are currently excluded from those institutions.

The fundamental question is: Who should be admitted to university and who should be excluded? What criteria should be used real and meaningful worker-student allito determine this question? If 3.3.18 is finally accepted the situation will be that those who satisfy what are called "academic requirements" are admitted, but those amongst these who seem very likely to be "trouble makers" - in effect, from there on, radical political activists (plus a few psycotics) will be excluded. The lack of any definition of what classes of people can be excluded gives maximum discretion to a committee, and most centrally the Vice Chancellor, to discriminate. The fact that this question only arose out of the Langer case demonstrates clearly that the university authorities are extremely concerned over the dangers to Melbourne Universities much valued tranquility and that whatever their protestations, it is the political question which is at the heart of the matter.

For this reason alone, regulation 3.3.18 must be strongly opposed by all those who value the concept of the university as an open institution concerned with the values of freedom and truth. Further to this, acceptance of 3.3.18 pushes this university further along the path towards "onedimensionality", towards an institution designed merely to serve the interests of a capitalist society by mass producing technicians and professionals and propagating ruling class ideologies, an institution fully integrated as the top sector of an educational bureaucracy, designed to teach conformity and quiescence and to grind critical thought down to an easily manageable level.

It is in this context that the original question about who is to enter university must be seen. For in the long run there are more severe selection processes in operation than regulation 3.3.18. The idea of "academic requirements" conceals, through an apparently objective and equalitarian standard, the system by which an elite is selected for university training and hence for positions of power and prestige in the ruling bureaucracies of contemporary capitalism. The university is an instrument of class rule. A system of social selection which operates throughout the education system results in an overwhelmingly middleclass populated university, and through the internalisation of bourgeois ideology by this elite of students in the perpetuation of the system.

Thus, we must begin asking basic questions about the university on two interrelated levels:

(1) Its role as a defender and propagator of capitalist ideology. (2) Its role as a means of social selection.

On the first level, this ideology must consistently be challenged inside the university. This ideology includes the false notion of an "ivory tower" concerned with "value free" studies, and conversely, the even more dangerous notion of the "need

for relevance to our technological society" (which means, in fact, the conversion of the university into merely another instruthe Professorial Board and University Coun- ment in the capitalist productive apparatus - as a processor of "human capital".

In an article in the Sunday Australian page 10, May 16 1971, Graham Williams says, "Five businessmen told me last week newly created admission clause. This move that students must be curbed and 'disciplined'. But the businessmen also said universities were essential because they produced highly skilled labor for the workforce"

> "They view universities as mammoth training institutions - another arm of the

On the second level, new conceptions of the universities functions must be worked out to eliminate its elitist nature and open up the prospect of wider education for all. The rigid distinction between work and study must be broken down, establishing a

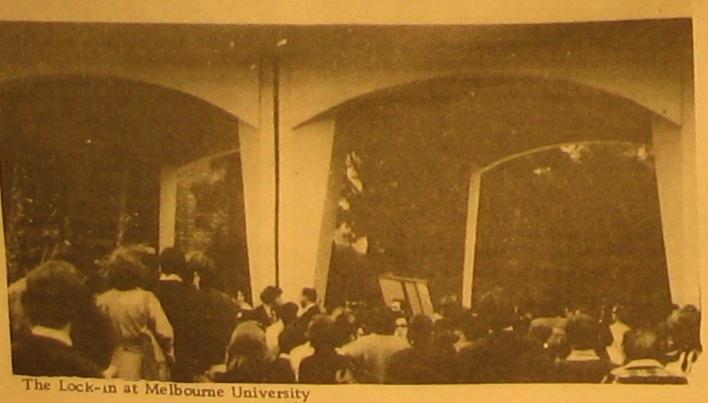
ance. For instance the university should be an open forum whose facilities are available to any and all workers. The rigidities of academic and administrative hierarchies must be replaced by a more flexible structure which involves democratic participation in decision making and in the learning process by staff and students (assuming a much reduced distinction between the two roles).

In the long run, exclusion of students involves not only, or even primarily, the removal of "dangerous radicals", but the systematic exclusion of the largest section of the population - the working-class from the potential benefits of education.

Meanwhile, we must work to keep the university as open as possible, rejecting all attempts to impose political restrictions such as regulation 3.3.18, and in the long run, we must work towards a society and a university, which will provide maximum opportunity for the development of human potentialities for everybody.







SOMCEARO

Peramuna (JVP) began on the night of April, with an attack on a police statist in the south-east of Ceylon, where the is considerable jungle. The next day t are said to have been simultaneous att on many police stations, in the souther central, north-central and north-wester provinces, which took the police and t Government by surprise. This was beca State of Emergency had been declare throughout the island from 16th March. after Rohan Wijeweera and Mahinda Vijesekera, two leaders of the JVP, hat already been arrested and remanded, as following nearly three weeks of an inter sive drive by the police to arrest adhere of the JVP and to break up their organis tion, using the special powers given to the police for arrest, interrogation, and had already been reported to have been arrested, and considerable quantities of hand-bombs and explosives were aid to have been found by the police when the

The uprising led by the Janatha Vimula

The Government claims to have obtain ocuments and confessions that show the the uprising was planned over a long pe of time. There is no doubt now that the JVP had made preparations for an arme struggle sooner or later, on a scale that hardly believed possible; but we think the repressive actions of the police aga the IVP from the time that it announce ts intention to hold its first public me on 10th August 1970, followed by the out repression that was launched again by the Government from 16th March, the "Emergency", really left it with a Iternative but to fight back with all

uprising began.

Letters are welcome on all topics but keep them short (300 words) and state whether your name should be published

Dear Comrade,

In extension of Dianne Feeley's ve fine article "Women in the Paris Com une" (D.A. No.6, May 1971) here are some quotes from an eyewitness account of the last week of the Commune. The are from "My Adventures in the Comp une" written in 1914 by a very middleclass Englishman, Ernest Alfred Vijete who, as a boy of nineteen had lived in Paris throughout the seventy-three day of the Commune's existence. He ide fied for the most part with the govern exiled at Versailles; but his account of events from day to day is painstaking objective. And the image of the war at the barricades which emerges from these passages is, I think, electrifyin "There were a good many armed wor among them. In fact, there was one small force composed entirely of won wearing short skirts . Jezierski's critic of these Amazons, whom he saw fight was that they were hardy and daring, at the last moment they shrank from " The Rev. R. Ussher of Westbury ... tells me that he was particularly structhe awful expression which he noticed the faces of the women of the Commi It was indeed, for the most part some unnatural, a compound of savagery, revengefulness, despair and ecstatic l

"Many of them were now sheer furie" but it was war, with all its horrors, losses, its privations, its bloodthirstyn which had made them such."

The war referred to, is of course the or ten months of war against the Prus which immediately preceded the est lishing of the Commune. And this w only a part of the thing which was to ing them into sheer furies. That "th being the social reality which was ie turning in the wake of the governme troops.

Fraternally, Ken Whisson. had. In the circumstances, even though the armed struggle already appears to have been reduced to a form of rural guerilla struggle, confined more and more to jungle areas, it has far exceeded all estimates of what the JVP was considered capable of doing in that respect.

The politically most disturbing feature of the uprising, for the Government, is that it has been confined almost entirely to those parts of the country where the Sinhala-Buddhist rural masses predominate, and in which the main party in the United Front Government, the Sri Lanka - Freedom Party, won sweeping electoral victories in the general election on 27th May last year. It is thus in the nature of a revolt of the educated and unemployed youth who contributed decisively to the victory of the United Front, in the expectation of radical social change, which it promised, but which it soon proved to be unwilling to effect.

The scale on which the armed revolt has taken place, and its initial successes in many areas, resulting even in temporary control of certain areas by the insurgents, has had a deep and ineradicable effect on mass consciousness already, which will undoubtedly have revolutionary repercus-

The conditions of a police state prevail here at present. There are signs that the anti-"terrorist" hysteria that prevailed in Government circles has abated with the receding of the miliarty danger from the insurgents, but it is still too early to expect any relaxation of the State of Emergency, as far as civil liberties and democratic rights are concerned.

Even though the plantation workers and the urban working-class have not been involved in the uprising, almost the entirety of the rganised working class has been deprived of its fundamental democratic rights of assembly, publication, and strike. All public meetings and processions, distribution of any leaflet or pamphlet amongst the public, and pasting of any poster in any public place are prohibited, unless express- have used their monopoly of the commuly permitted by the police. All publications nication media to lie about the JVP, misare subject to censorship, and any printing press can be sealed or newspaper banned by the censor, by a mere administrative order. government has not dared to inform the Several student newspapers, including the JVP newspapers have already been banned, probably because the universities are regarded as the centres from which the leadership of the uprising came. No printer will now risk publishing any Left newspaper. Korean diplomats from Ceylon.

On 25th April 1971, the Prime Minister, in a broadcast to the nation, stated that there seemed to have been no basis for believing that arms, supplies or moral support were given to the insurgents by any foreign government. She added as follows:

"In the case of one foreign Embassy (presumably the North Korean Embassy) I had occasion to point out to them some time ago, that the effect of certain activities carried on by them was giving strength and support to these terrorists, who were then preparing themselves for their nefarious tasks, and that they should desist from these activities.

On Thursday, May 13th, SYA Melbourne organized a demonstration under the demand: NO AUSTRALIAN ARMS TO CEYLON! 30-40 people turned up at the Melbourne City Square and from our numbers we distributed leaflets and harangued the homegoing crowd. Our main emphasis was on the features the Ceylon uprising shared in common with those of Vietnam in Diem's period. Ceylon- was it to be another Vietnam? Since the time of the demonstration a coalition has been formed to plan and execute further activities around the same demand.

"As they did not do so, in accordance with my request, I had to ask the Ambassador to close the Embassy and leave the

All we know is that the North Korean Embassy published the biography of Kim Il Sung in English and Sinhala, and various propaganda pamphlets about North Korean achievements, and also showed films on the same subject.

The Prime Minister's statement only confirms our view that the uprising is an essentially Ceylonese manifestation of the worldwide radicalisation of the youth, in the context of the decay of the capitalist system and the development of the colonial revolution in Asia.



Rohan Wijeweera addressing a rally in Ceylon

SOLIDARITY WITH THE CEYLON REVOLUTION

The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International April 19.1

The government of Ceylon has declared a state of emergency and imposed a curfew throughout the island; they have suspended all democratic rights, imposed a strict press censorship, and arrested hundreds of militants of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (the People's Liberation Front-JVP). They have proscribed the JVP and have started shooting prisoners without trial.

The leaders of the coalition government representing them as a "fascist" and rightwing organization. At the same time the public that it has sought and received aid from the imperialist governments of the United States and Britain; that it is using Indian and Pakistani gunboats and helicopters; that it has expelled the North

The Bandaranaike popular front government came to power in May 1970 by promising the masses that it would usher in a "new era" and build a socialist Ceylon. One pro-Moscow Stalinist and three renegades of the reformist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP) were included in the cabinet in order to bolster up the "socialist" image. However, despite all the rhetoric, the coalition government has demonstrated that its real role is to maintain capitalist property relations and preserve the imperialist stranglehold on the

Ceylonese economy. During its ten months in power, the coalition government increased the police force by 55 percent and set up an antirevolutionary committee in the army. "Socialism" of the Bandaranaike variety means the denial of such basic democratic rights as joining or forming a trade union, as shown in the cases of the Velona factory, Dawasa Publishing House, and the Norwood Tea Estate. Workers who resort to strike action in struggling for union rights face bullets from the "people's" police.

The first budget of the coalition government submitted by N. M. Perera offered precious little to the masses. The budget demonstrated to the local and foreign capitalists that they need not have any fears or anxieties about the Bandaranaike government or its "Marxist" ministers. Of course they explained that they had not forgotten about socialism, but right now it was not "practical" and socialism had to wait. Neither the "Save the country fund" nor the autumn budget could help the government avert the deep financial crisis it faced. Ceylon already owed the World Bank more than \$50,000,000 and has been unable even to pay the interest on it. And yet it desperately needed more hard currency to pay for even the most

essential imports. The World Bank would not grant any further loans until the government agreed to follow a course of "austerity." This meant the imposition of further burdens on the masses, such as withdrawal of the rice subsidy, pruning of social services, and the imposition of a wage freeze. The coalition government accepted the strictures. These developments have confirmed the position of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) [LSSP(R)] that the coalition led by the Sri Lanka Freedom party |SLFP| is a capitalist government dependent on imperialism for its

survival. Under these conditions the government had no alternative but to impose more and more burdens on the masses. The masses rapidly became disillusioned with the coalition government. The government had failed even to project any solutions to the problems of rising prices and constant erosion of the masses' living standards. Unfortunately for the coalition leaders, they now had to contend with another factor: the emergence of a revolutionary united front between the JVP and the LSSP(R), the Ceylon section of the Fourth International, and the newly formed revolutionary nucleus in the tea plantations, the Young Socialist Front. This united front rapidly gathered momentum, and the disillusioned masses were attracted to it. The Bandaranaike regime realized that the movement stood in the way of their "austerity" course.

On February 6, 10,000 people held a rally in Colombo sponsored by the JVP, the LSSP(R), and the Ceylon Mercantile Union [CMU], the most important trade union of the Ceylonese urban working class. The gathering condemned setting up a U.S. imperialist base in the Indian Ocean, called for Ceylon to immediately leave the British Commonwealth, demanded nationalization of the banks, plantations, and foreign trade, and appealed for defense of the masses' standard of living by an all-out war on unemployment and rising prices.

Faced with this situation, the government decided to try to isolate this political movement and to destroy it before the masses mobilized. The immediate aim was to destroy the JVP. After alerting the army and the police, the government staged a provocation on March 6. This provocation was a petrol bomb attack on the U.S. embassy by an unknown organization called the "Mao Youtn Front." The government attributed this action to the JVP despite its denial of responsibility, and invoked special powers under the Public Security Act. The government then imposed emergency regulations, and began to arrest all known

militants and leaders of the JVP. The JVP realized that they were faced with a critical situation. Rather than being decimated without a fight, they decided to resist the government repression. The clashes that followed between the JVP

and the security forces were thus the direct consequence of the government action. The government miscalculated. They did not expect the JVP to resist. They did not realize that the JVP and its allies would have such solid mass support.

The Fourth International recognizes

that the struggle broke out before all the sections of the oppressed masses, particularly the urban and plantation workers and the Tamil minority, had become politically united so that they were in a position to meet the bourgeois government's provocation adequately and settle accounts with the capitalist state and class. The Fourth International calls upon revolutionists everywhere to break the conspiracy of silence covering the repression in Ceylon. It declares its full support to the repressed and persecuted Ceylon revolutionary militants. It calls upon the international working class, all workingclass and anti-imperialist organizations to do everything possible to block the shipment of military supplies, and all workers states to immediately stop sending military aid and equipment to the Ceylon government, which is used only to murder and terrorize its own people. It calls upon the international working class not to be taken in by the left pretenses of the Bandaranaike government, and to recognize the basic capitalist nature of the regime and proimperialist nature of its repression. The state of emergency proclamation was approved by all parties in parliament, including the reactionary United National party [UNP] The Bandaranaike government opened Ceylon's airfields to the use of the Pakistani government in transporting troops and supplies to suppress the rising of the peoples of East Bengal. Lieutenant Colonel Ranatunga of the Ceylon army, in a press conference April 18, justified the execution of JVP prisoners without a trial by saying: "We have learnt too many lessons from Vietnam and Malaysia. We must destroy them completely." (The London Times, April 19, 1971.)

Indian workers and anti-imperialist militants: oppose Indira Gandhi's shameful pact with the butcher Yahya Khan and the British and U.S. imperialists in support of the Bandaranaike regime's civil war against the Ceylon working class, peasant, and student youth!

Down with the traitorous Keunemans, N. M. Pereras, Colvin R. de Silvas, and Leslie Goonewardenes, who, like their forerunner Noske, now arm reaction, let a bourgeois army murder revolutionists, support the murders or participate in the suppression of the masses of their country, and help suppress all democratic free-

doms for the workers. Freedom for Rohan Wijeweera and all the other arrested JVP and revolutionary

leaders! Not one dollar, not one sun to the bourgeois army and state of Ceylon! Long live the Ceylon socialist revolu-

LESSONS OF THE CANBERRA EVENTS

IAN MACDOUGALL

The giant Aquarius Arts Festival which was held at the Australian National University in the week May 16-23 provided students from most Australian Universities with an opportunity to stage the biggest anti-Apartheid demonstration yet seen in this country.

At a mass meeting held in the grounds of the university, it was decided to stage a march on the South African embassy on Wednesday 19. At 3.30pm the march set off, without the formality of police permits and marched on the road from the north (university) to the south (S. African embassy) side of Canberra, blocking all lanes of traffic on one of the two arterial highways of the city.

When the march arrived at the South African embassy we found almost the entire ACT police force assembled inside the grounds to block people getting into the grounds. There were a few halfhearted attempts to storm the gates, but only five or six people actually invaded the grounds- the bulk of the demonstrators (and the bulk of the ultra-leftists egging them on to this action) having no desire to get arrested, stayed outside. As soon as the first people were arrested for invading the grounds and brought out into the police yans, the demonstrators then became preoccupied with blocking their path so that they could not get away. This led to more scuffles with the police, more arrests, more boob trucks to block

So the demonstration continued- a crowd of 3,000 being exhorted to all storm the embassy together, nobody doing anything, crackers and epithets being flung at the police, police vans being blocked off Finally the demonstrators gave up confronting the police and with a few particularly bloody clashes, down to about half their original strength(the rest having drifted off)moved back to the university, again blocking all traffic going from south to north on the Commonwealth Avenue bridge across the lake. The news media subsequently concentrated on the spectacular clashes with the police, the numbers arrested(28) and gave no mention to apartheid. The inconvenience to motorists was also blown

There were two strategic lines put to this meeting by opposing speakers: a) that the demonstration should march to the offices of the Department of Labour and National Service, the headquarters of the Liberal and Country Parties, Parliament House and the US and South African embassies.

out of all proportion.

b) that the march should go to the De-

Embassy on Wednesday 19th May

partment of Labour and National Service and then on into the centre of the city for a lunch-hour mass rally. Associated arguments in favour of these respective lines were:

a) that the power structure housed in these buildings must be confronted, the buildings invaded and occupied where possible, and the police obstructions pushed aside

b) that the demonstration was not about confronting the police but the Vietnam war; that most people as shown by the Wednesday demonstration would not be in a storming of the barricades and occupation of buildings; that its object should be to bring the issue of Vietnam and its demands before the largest possible number injured on both sides, including one cop of people.

This second viewpoint prevailed and the vote was for a city centre rally.

The demonstration planned for Friday, May 21 was to be over Vietnam and the National Service Act, and the mass meeting before it was notably smaller, due, probably, to the continuation of decline in interest at the festival and some demoralisation arising out of the Wednesday demonstration.

The march set off through the city(no permit required) getting a good response and 'V' signs from public servants in the city buildings, and had a ten minute sitdown demonstration with street theatre outside the Department of Labour and National Service. It then moved to the city centre, morale fairly high, where an another sit-down was staged. The police then moved in arresting those sitting down pretty indiscriminately, and a confrontation began. About 60 people were arrested, and then everybody got up and marched off to the south side of town for a tour of the embassies.

Appeals from some demonstrators to keep the public on side by keeping one lane of the expressway free for traffic were result that the ultraleftists at the front of the demonstration spread all the way across the road while the bulk kept to two Commonwealth, we still have students of the three lanes.

The demonstrators were well received by public servants in the Treasury buildingthe less, for handing out jelly beans to passers by- and then marched on to Par'iament house- more arrests there of leaders, and then round the Administration block and the Department of Foreign Affairs (a surprisingly large number of 'V' signs from public servants there) and then back to the centre of the city.

There was a meeting of about 500 students outside the police station in support of those arrested. After they had been there fifteen minutes a senior cop read out the Public Order Bill and ordered them to disperse. When they refused arrests begana window of the cop station got marked when someone threw a rock at a cop photographing the demonstration, finally the cops got out of control, and in violation of the orders shouted out by their superiors, chased the students down the street to the university. There was a general melee of flying rocks and soft drink cans, and more arrests.

Casualties: 187 arrested. A small number admitted to hospital with a fractured skull. Quite a number of observations can be made and lessons drawn from this. 1) Ultraleft 'leaders' in student demonstrations in favouring confrontation-occupation style tactics rather than massive mobilisations aimed at influencing the masses show a lack of faith in the masses (often expressed as open contempt) and a desire to substitute the student movement for the masses in actions which can in fact only be carried out by a revolutionary working class- smashing the bourgeois

Nobody need have any illusions about the effect of student occupation of a few government buildings(if these could be pulled off now- which they can't) in dislocating the bourgeois state and forcing it out of

2) The majority of the students are conscious of the dangers inherent in a sectarian attitude to the masses, and show a desire to influence the public whenever possible while avoiding unnecessary public inconvenience which can be used by reactionaries against them. 3) that some students are painfully unaware

of what it is like to be a white and blue collar worker Despite the fact that 30% of the cars going past the South African embassy toot their horns to show support met with support by most people, with the of the anti-apartheid demonstration, and despite the fact that Canberra records the biggest anti-government vote in the displaying hostility because the masses are not as 'militant' as they. Hence the blocking of all lanes of traffic, making the masses, not the government, the tarthe cops arresting a few people there, none get of the demonstration. Hence cries of 'Hypocrites- show you care and come and join us!" when public servants stop work in the office and give the demonstrators the 'V' sign through the windows! 4. that way the ultraleft 'leaders' urge the demonstrators to do things they are not prepared to do themselves- storm gov-

ernment buildings etc.

5. that whenever violence breaks out the object of the demonstration gets lost and the bourgeois press blows it up out of all proportion. The battling with the police became the central issue of the demonstration and the real attitudes of the demonstrators got lost.

The conclusions I would draw from the history of demonstrations so far and thou in particular for organizing demonstration

1) The most important single question is "What is the target of the demonstration? "How are we going to hit that target?" The answer is generally: the target is the government. We hit the target by appealing to and helping build mass antigovernment sentiment. We do not substitute ourselves for the masses and try to bring down the government by invading its buildings.

All recent history(including, most importantly the French events of 1968) shows that students do not constitute a revolutionary army and cannot defeat the police by their own wars of violent confrontation. Only the mobilised working class can do that (as they one to small incidents in Australia during the O'Shea events)

2) Take account of the existing levels of mass consciousness. Remember that the bourgeois press is the best indication of where the weak spots are in student-water er relations. When for example, the reactionary 'Canberra Times' says in its editorial "the disorderly and purposeless taking to the streets by a privileged minority kept at the university by the Australian taxpayers is an exercise in arrogance "They are appealing to the wellestablished anti-student prejudice of the workers- through the workers' own alienation within the rotten system that that newspaper's class hold so dear. Students with no experience in a sterile job from which there is no prospect of exit, do not appreciate how so many workers(rightly) regard them as a privileged bunch of middle-class kids out on a spree.

So this means- don't alienate the massesthey are not the target. Don't let the cops and the press say we are out to cause maximum discomfort to the people

Remember that most older workers and a good many young ones find obscenities offensive.

3) But at the same time don't underestimate the masses. According to polls and election statistics the majority are anti-war and anti-government. The bigger the demonstrations get, the more they will actively support them. And as the government's mainstay is mass apathy, once that is gone they have nothing.

4) Turn the systems own values against itself. Stress to people that they are not free to say what they like- that bureaucracies and corporations control their lives. One police trainee in Canberra announced his resignation from the force at one of the student meetings at the Aquarius festival. Amongst other things, what finally did it for him, he said, was a girl at the South African embassy demonstration telling her friends "don't talk to him- he isn't allowed to talk to you!

The alienation felt by the workers is a potent force. When workers start defying the system and its regulations it gives the oligarchy the horrors.

5) Consequently, build the biggest possible demonstrations with the greatest possible rapport with the people. Take the demonstrations to the people-lunchhour crowds, office buildings etc- rather than to sterile symbols like embassies and headquarters of government- especially when these centres have nobody worth influencing.

6) Make sure the end of the demonstration is planned and understood by everybody as well as the beginning. It should end in an agreed way, not fizzle out, if morale is to be kept high for the sake of future ones.

7) The target is the power structure, and the cannon and cannonball are the mass of which the young radicals are only a small part. They might be part of the change. They might even be the fuse that sets the whole thing off. But the system will be destroyed by the masses themselves.

Discussion of this article welcome.

SOCIALIST LEFT VICTORY

MARGARET ROTHSTEIN

With the election of the office bearers for the reconstructed Victorian branch of the A.L.P. on the weekend 16-17 May, the interregnum control of the federally appointed Advisory Council came to an end. What has the intervention achieved?

As far as Whitlam is concerned the results were more or less a slap in the face for him. He will undoubtedly do a lot of talking from now on about the broadly based nature of the Victorian A.L.P., the fact that control does not rest solely with the Socialist Left as was the case prior to intervention, yet the basic federal objective of intervention has not come about. This was to give the pro-Whitlamites much more control in the branch in order to extend to Victoria the moderate image of bourgeois respectability that Whitlam has been pushing in order to attract disenchanted Liberal supporters. The soft pedalling of major issues, especially the issue of troop withdrawal from Vietnam will gain very little support in Victoria despite intervention just as the old Victorian Executive refused to compromise on certain basic socialist issues. For all the criticism of the old Executive, it always came out in support of the Moratorium and maintained its stand on State Aid despite the pressure placed on it by the parliamentary wing of the Victorian branch and also by the federal politicians.

For the left, federal intervention has brought about a situation where they are no longer caught up in the bureaucratic structure of the old party machine and have been forced to organise themselves at a grass roots level and to defend their ideological position in regard to the A.L.P. The formation of the Socialist Left should be seen as a big step forward for socialists within the A.L.P. They have the

support of approximately 38% of the conference delegates, yet owing to the superiority of their organisation and the disciplined vote of their supporters they were able to pull off the top position at the conference, that of chairman which was won by George Crawford, the president of the old State executive. The election of Bill Hartley, the former State Secretary, as one of the two delegates to federal executive and the election of seven Socialist Left candidates as against eleven non-Socialist Left candidates to the administrative committee gives the Socialist Left quite a strong position. At the conference they were getting up to 40% of the vote owing to the mismanagement and lack of planning by the non-Socialist Left groups - the centre-left group of Innes-Hawke, and the right. In the future the non-Socialist Left groups are not likely to make the same mistakes that they made this time, largely as a result of their arrogant self-confidence. Compared with the non-Socialist Left groups, the Socialist Left has a well defined set of policies, it has regular meetings where issues are thrashed out and it has the backing of the large militant left-wing unions. Therefore in future it is inevitable that it will be the Socialist Left that will initiate policy in the Victorian A.L.P. The non-Socialist Left groups will be forced to define themselves in relation to the Socialist Left and on certain basic issues the Socialist Left is likely to win quite a bit of support from the centre-left group.

Owing to the failure of federal intervention in Victoria it is very unlikely that there will be much federal interference in the internal structures of other state branches. Tom Burns has reason to feel that the Queensland branch of the A.L.P. will be much safer owing to this. There the left has more control than



Whitlam would find desirable.

As revolutionary socialists our relation to the A.L.P. is fairly clear. We have no illusions about the Socialist Left with regard to it being a revolutionary vanguard grouping. It is the closest thing to one that has existed within the A.L.P. for some time, and as such is a reflection of the general radicalisation that is going on within the community. Many of its supporters still have vague illusions about the efficacy of parliamentary government. The Socialist Left is a quite markedly heterogeneous group consisting of people with basically different conceptions of socialism and how it is to be brought about. Many of the Socialist Left supporters believe socialism means nationalisation of industry and the 'welfare state'. For us, however, socialism

is basically workers' control of industry that will lead on to the development of a classless society. While recognising the growing militancy of the working class the Socialist Left shows lack of confidence in the ability of the workers to overthrow capitalism. Many of these issues will have to be resolved within the Socialist Left and there can be little doubt that the Socialist Left is headed for a period of great fermentation of ideas. We support the Socialist Left as a very important development within the A.L.P. while at the same time asserting that it is necessary to build a revolutionary party that is capable of leading the working class to challenge the basis of capitalism itself and institute a socialist society where all forms of oppression and exploitation can be eliminated.

Although the recent building workers' strike has shown the value of taking direct action as a means of achieving gains not otherwise obtainable, it has also shown up some back-pedalling by leftwing union officials, and even treachery by right-wing union officials. The Building Workers' industrial Union led eight other unions of building tradesmen in a strike to get quick action on a \$6 per week wage increase, as well as a demand for full pay when off work while injured. A few days later they were joined by the Australian Building and Construction Workers' Union (formerly

The abnormally high accident rate in the building industry is the main cause of the

known as the Builders Labourers' Feder-

state's 38,000 building workers can expect to be off work due to injuries caused while working. A leaflet published by the unions included the following comments:

"This dispute commenced on April 20, and led to a complete closedown of the industry in NSW on May 7, following over three months of frustrating and fruitless negotiations with the employers. Record mass meetings of Building Tradesmen in Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong endorsed strike action on May 3, and builders labourers joined the strike on

"The strike follows the Master Builders' Association's decision to dishonour an earlier assurance that if the Unions could obtain an insurance scheme for accident pay, the main barrier to their opposition would be overcome. When the Unions

per week per worker to the employer, they refused to enter into an agreement saying it was a matter for the government." "Every year, approximately 23 in every 100 building workers loose over \$834,000 through accidents. Building workers demand that when off injured, they are still entitled to live- which means no loss of pay."

The unions have pointed out that a high percentage of accidents are caused by the employers' failure to observe safety regulations. Further, they argue: Why should the workers carry the economic burden of accidents, which are a feature of the industry?

During the strike, the building workers marched in the streets and also organized labour was employed. The march proceeded down City Road after a large mass

meeting at Wentworth Park.

However, as the strike proceeded into its third week, some union officials began to retreat on their position. They suggested a return to work to "let the courts decide the matter". This took the pressure off Mr Justice Sheehy, who was to decide the matter. But the Sydney workers were fed up with the courts. Militant workers spoke out during a mass meeting on Thursday, May 20. They argued that the courts had never been on their side and that the strike should continue. But they were in a minority. A majority of city workers wanted the strike to continue, but we're outvoted by country workers. The backpedalling of the union leaders (with the exception of the builders labourers' officials) and the sloppy voting methods employed in country centres angered rank-and-file builders labourers so much

Attempts were made by the right-wing to implicate the builders labourers' secretary, Jack Mundy in the brawl. Mundy's union was suspended from the TLC pending an inquiry into the violence. An investigation committee was set up by the TLC, and the builders labourers have set up one of their own as well.

that a fight broke out at the Trades and

Labour Council meeting that evening.

On Friday, May 21, Mr Justice Sheehy handed down a judgement granting an extra loading of 80c per week for the building workers, to cover full pay while off work due to injury. But the \$6 claim has still not been resolved.

A combined meeting of all job delegates was supposed to have been held. But the union officials were reluctant to hold one because the rank-and -file wanted further strike action. The rank-and-file were in fact to the left of the bureaucrats.

Certainly the leaders of the other unions involved want no further contact with the Building and Construction Workers' Union which has, so far taken the most militant and principled approach to the strike. Meanwhile, the employers have appealed against the 80c loading, and are appearing to be using the courts to once more attempt to block the gains made by the workers in militant action.

vigilante groups to visit sites where scab obtained such a scheme at a cost of 75c dispute. This year, over 8,000 of the OUR JUST CLAIM.

Building Workers demonstrate for their claims.

We reprint below a slightly abridged version of a document presented to the Second National Conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance held in Melbourne last April 10-11. It was presented to the Conference by Nita Keig on behalf of the National Executive and adopted unanimously by the delegates.

In the last issue of Direct Action we reprinted the Antiwar and Labour Movement documents adopted by the Conference. In coming issues we will reproduce our other documents on the Youth Radicalisation and the role of S.Y.A. and one on the International Revolutionary movement.

Below are some greetings sent to the Conference by fraternal organisations

The fact that we are witnessing an explosive growth in the women's liberation movement today is very real evidence that women are largely frustrated and dissatisfied with their present role in society. The government has managed to grant women formal equality and at the same time preserve their functions as an unpaid labour force in the home and a cheaper source of labour in industry. It denies women the right to make decisions about when and whether they wish to bear children, by denying them the right to free abortion and by making effective contraceptive devices expensive and often inaccesible, and when children are born, providing totally inadequate childcare services, the existence of which could enable women to pursue other careers and interests. Motherhood and housework are held up as being the only real source of fulfillment for women and are invstified into life-consuming occupations, and enshrouded in myths, in order to justify one half of the population being tied to a life of trivial, monotonous and mind-numbing tasks.

From early childhood women are trained for their roles. The toys they are given are concerned with housework and childminding as distinct from the creative, more scientific toys given to male children. The education system is similarly geared to preparing the sexes for their two distinct roles, girls being channelled into sewing and domestic "science" courses etc It is deemed more worthwhile to educate a boy as girls "only get married". Women are even actively discouraged from pursuing certain careers such as law and science, as women are meant to be, by nature unscientific, illogical and emotional. As a substitute they are bestowed with powers of "intuition" and feelings of kindness and humanity stemming from their maternal role. We are told, for example that men and women aren't equal or unequal - they're "different"!

All this is done in order to reinforce and maintain the institution of the family, the essential unit of capitalist society. The role of the family, objectively, is a very insidious one. It poses each family unit against the next, competing to furnish its members with food, clothing, housing and other necessities It puts such social functions as caring for childen, the aged and the sick in the hands of each individual family, thus saving state expense. It acts as an agent for the transmission of private property from one generation to the next, thus keeping wealth in the hands of a few. The same process works in reverse for the working class. Through an accident of birth a child is born into a wealthy family or a poor family and, as a general rule, he or she will not cross class barriers. Because of cultural and educational



advantages derived from its wealth the bourgeoisie monopolizes high income and professional careers in the same way that the ruling class keeps its enormous wealth in its corporate family structures, while members of working class families tend to remain in working class jobs. In this way class society perpetuates itself.

The family is also essential for inculcating children with bourgeois ideology and morality, and for teaching them to respect the authority of their parents as preparation for accepting the authority of the state. In the family male and female children learn their roles. Many women in the women's liberation movement, although supporting the need for releasing women from the home, are defensive about the family. This is understandable. Most women regard their own families with affection and tend to remember the happier, personal aspects of their own family life and thus react subjectively feeling a loyalty to the institution. All our lives we are told how essential the family is in our society. We are told that without the family as it stands, providing a stable, secure environment for children, that the society will be ridden with psychiatric disorders. In actual fact the family is probably responsible for more mental illness than any other social factor. The nuclear family is not the only possible source of security for children. The actual function of the family must be carefully explained to women in order that they may abandon their long-standing, guilt-ridden loyalty to it The endless possible alternatives to it must be shown.

That the family is already in decay is evident. The advent of the Pill or oral contraceptive, freeing women from the fear of pregnancy outside marrieage, has seperated sexual relationships from the child-bearing process and left open alternatives to monogamous relationships. The rapidly rising divorce rate (70% in the US) illustrates the irrelevance and unsatisfactory nature of marriage as we know it. The growing tendency of youth to have communal living arrangements is a further indication that people are experimenting with new living patterns and alternatives to the nuclear family. Despite social pressures, more and more married women are working, and seeking a financial independence, alife and first-hand experiences of their own, outside the home. All these factors are undoubtedly contributing to the rising consciousness and growth of the present movement.

Women, however, are still psychologically enslaved to their role as sex object. Appearance is all-important and the key to popularity and social success. Fashion and the whole "beauty industry" plays a crucial role in the capitalist economy. In order to maximise selling potential, new standards of beauty and modernity are created every day, and thousands of dollars are spent in advertising and putting across these ever-changing images to the public. All women, whether they are conscious of the falseness and irrationality of fashion or not, are influenced by it and subject to quite considerable psychological to arise and consolidate power over the pressure to conform to it and reflect to some degree these images which appear throughout newspapers and magazines every day. They have been successfully taught to equate happiness and success with the latest fashions, and loneliness, Women have been taught to orient themselves according to the reactions of men ie to make themselves appealing to men. They assume the status of a possession, along with a car, a house etc. These will be difficult attitudes eradicate in both men and women, because their conditioning in this respect has been so complete. It is just another aspect of women's oppression, under capitalism

NEW ZEALAND Socialist Action League

Dear Comrades, The Socialist Action League sends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the second national conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance. It is with great regret that we are unable to send a delegate to your conference.

The growth and development of the SYA, and particularly of your magazine Direct Action, has impressed us greatly. We wish you every success in building the revolutionary socialist youth organisation and combat party that will lead the revolution in Australia to victory. Long live the Socialist Youth Alliance! Long live the Fourth International!

> Russell Johnson Vational Secretary,

U.S.A

Comrades, the Young Socialist Alliance sends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the second national conference of the Socialist Youth Affiance being held in Melbourne, Australia April 10 and 11. We regret being not able personally to deliver our greetings.

The growth of the Socialist Youth Alliance, your ability to attract youth to your programe of revolutionary socialism, is an indication of the correctness of your program and of your leadership role in the struggles of Australian youth. We of the YSA stand with you in your common struggle to create a socialist world and a socialist Australia. Long live the Socialist Youth Alliance! Young Socialist Alliance

CANADA

Canadian revolutionary students hail your conference as sign of rising international youth radicalisation. Together we will win.

> Executive Council, Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

For women to free themselves they must organize together. The need for women to organize themselves independently of men is very important. They must raise their consciousness as a group and act as a group. Only women can have an intimate understanding of the many physical andpychological problems which they face, and having such a broad, united movement of women is the only way they can gain the confidence to fight and overcome these.

women into the movement there will always be a need for women to organize independently. The movement as a whole will never arrive at a state of being sufficiently confident to no longer need this. As revolutionary socialists we see the struggle for women's liberation as an integral part of the struggle for socialism. We see them as inseperable. Only socialism can provide the material basis for the liberation of women, as the oppression of women as a sex is deeply rooted in the institutions of class society. Therefore, the history and tradition of women's oppression is a very long one and one not easily overthrown. The struggle of women for their full freedom and equality must be one which carries well into the future, past the time when these institutions which oppress women are broken up and the material conditions for the liberation of women laid down.

Because of the constant influx of new

Some women point to the reactionary attitude of the Soviet Union toward women as proof that what they identify as socialism is not the answer to the oppression of women. It must be explained what happened in the Soviet Union. After the Russian revolution, the Soviet state instituted measures to legalize abortions, liberalize marriage and divorce laws so that women would have equal rights with men. The material backwardness of the Soviet Union and the isolation of the revolution enabled a privileged bureaucracy Soviet state This Stalinist bureaucracy reversed the gains made by women in the early days of the revolution as part of its strategy for staying in power. The state did not have the resources to immediately free women from the oppressrejection and failure with out-dated clothes. ion of the family, but rather than admit this and proceed to develop these resources as fast as possible, Stalin restored the family as a sacred social unit and a "progressive" force, using the authoritarian family as a prop of the authoritarian rule necessary to uphold the Stalinist bureaucracy. The example of what occured in the Soviet Union further points to the necessity for a continuing

In the meantime, our tasks as revolutionary socialists within the movement should be to press for a massive independent movement, around demands which we consider to be transitional, which will challenge the government and further build the movement, and to raise the level of consciousness of women as to the origins of their oppression and the nature of the enemy which they must fight. The dynamics of the movement are such that women cannot but help see the contradictions between the existing society and the form of society which could fulfill their needs. However, this process must be hastened and the many possible diversions circumvented where

Man-hating is probably the chief diversion in the movement. Although it is natural response of women when they first become aware of their oppression, the identity of the enemy must not be confused. However, we must endeavour to raise this consciousness to a higher level of understanding so that they become aware of the need to fight the real enemy - class society. Men, at the same time must be encouraged to familiarize themselves with the problems facing women and to curb chauvinistic tendencies in their own behaviour. Men can be a vital ally in the struggle and must be won over to the cause, no made antagonistic to it and kept They are also victims of their cond ing and suffer, although differently, from the same distortion of human relationships

as women, under capitalism. Other tendencies on the left frequently make criticisms of the women's liberation movement, saying that it is not a revolutionary movement because it does not take up the struggle against imperialism, that it poses middle class or reformist demands and that it divides the working class. They argue, in fact, that women should get behind their men in time of strike action etc or work solely within unions. They say that there is no place for women to organize independently as women, because women are too divided to unite ie that the needs and demands of middle class women have no relevance to working class women.

This is not true. Although middle class women would obviously often have more loyalties to their class than to their sex, this is frequently not the case. It is possible for sex lines to cut across class lines, as all women are victims of oppression as a sex. Although the needs of working class women would obviously

be more urgent, in they do not have the money to pay for abortions, childcare etc at the exorbitant prices at which they are available in this society, demands for such things are also relevant to missire class women, who must also be a part of the movement. (The movement up to date has mainly been initiated and supported by middle class Women, following the pattern of the youth radicalization, but this compositi is changing as the movement grows.)
As for the denial that women have the
tight to organize independently - the necessity for this has already been explained. Women must organize themselves into their own movement If they are to wage a successful struggle against their oppression and to raise the consciousness of the rest of society about it.

When it comes to the question offighting imperialism in the women's movement he same arguments apply as to those against bringing, for example antiapartheid slogans into the aims of the Moratorium. To try to made a movement a multi-issue movement is to, of necessity, limit its six and capacity to be effective in achieving specific demands. If women are brought to an anti-capitalist position through the struggle for their liberation, then they will have also been brought to an antiimperialist position. Any movement which strikes at capitalism is a movement which unites the overall revolution ary movement and strengthens, and raises the consciousness of the working class.

Another tendency within the movement is that which attempts to channel women's demands into parliamentary struggles and leave the movement open for co-option by bourgeois politicians. These forces are usually against mass street demonstrations which take struggles out of the realm of government control. Although we agree that parliamentary and election campaigns can be useful in furthering the aims of the movement, and all opportunities should be taken in order to do this, we must fight to preserve the independence of the movement and not allow the demands to be modified until they are worthless as weapons in the struggle.

A tendency which has some influence within the movement is that which rejects the need for mass action and thinks that it is enough to build complexes of small "consciousnessraising" groups to discuss the problems ofwomen. Such people believe that individual solutions can be found when people have raised their consciousness to a sufficiently high level. These petty-bourgeois elements tend to intellectualize the movement and sidetrack it into ineffective channels. Mass actions, they say, can't hope to get across to people the multiplicity of ways in which women are oppressed. This attitude is basically an elitist attitude, geared to keeping the movement small. We should be seeking to spread the movement to all women, and the quickest, most effective way of reaching new layers of women is via mass action. We should be trying to build the biggest, broadest movement possible, as mass actions can mobil ize large numbers of women against the system. This form of action, that of bringing large numbers of people into the street around specific demands and putting direct pressure on the government, is a strategy of ready proven correct in the anti-war movement, where the powers of the government have been substantially limited. It also plays an important role in unifying the movement, emphasising

the solidarity of women and spreading

its aims to wider circles of women.

giving them confidence in the rea isation that their problems are shared by large numbers of other women. It is, in itself, a form of consciousness-raising.

Such forms of action are in no way to be seen as being incontradictions with small-group organizing. Both areas of work are essential to the growth and success of the movement. The chief function of the small consciousnessraising group is to educate, to help women to gain confidence in their own abilities as speakers, writers etc. and to raise their consciousness about their oppression. Being able to formulate and articulate one's ideas is an important part of this process. Another practica' and important function of the small group is to print and distribute educational literature to interested people, especially women. These groups can also play an important role by organizing public forums and debates around the question. These serve to educate others (particularly men who are usually excluded from women's liberation meetings), to discuss differences within the movement and to help break down prejudices resulting from misunderstanding, distorted media publicity etc | Small groups can also wage small-scale campaigns around discrimination issues.

However, the capacities of individua groups are limited when it comes to organizing for mass action. For this, a broad coalition of all women's groupings needed. Such a coalition may include not only Women's Liberation groups from local areas, universities etc., but groups who campaign around specific issues of concern to women, e.g. abortion law reform groups, as well as women not attached to any organization or group-

In order to achieve unity within such a broad spectrum of women it is necessary to formulate basic, central demands around which everyone can agree -These must be carefully chosen. Firstly, they must be actual demands and not merely slogans. Concrete demands have a much greater impact and bear greater political pressure than vague sloganizing. Secondly, they must be popular and relevant to women's needs such as those of abortion on demand, 24 hour childcare centres, equal pay and equal opportunity and so forth. Thirdly, they should be the sorts of demands around which most groups can agree, regardless of political differences.

A coalition built on this basis must be non-exclusionary. No woman should be excluded on grounds of class, politics or membership of an organization considered to be "male-dominated" Apart from the fact that all organizations of mixed membership are male-dominated (and therefore 99% of women come under t this category), this attitude is, in fact, a negation of the whole concept of women's liberation. Women should be encouraged to take a more active part in other fields of work. To condemn a woman for participating in other organizations is to suggest that she is incapable of doing so.

The broad coalition must have a mechanism for democratic decision-making and for delegating responisbility for organizational tasks. Many women oppose the application of such elementary procedures as electing a chairwoman, having an agenda and taking votes. As any who have attended meetings with no organization will be aware, the meetings are usually dominated by two or three more articulate individuals whose consensus is usually found to be the consensus of the meeting. This does not guarantee everyone the greatest

decision-making power but ensures that decisions are made in the most undemocratic fashion, with no-one being responsible for their implementation. The woman whoscreams loudest against having a chairwoman usually ends up being the de-facto chairwoman herself. However, such debates on meeting procedure will become less frequent and less relevant as the movement grows and encompasses more women who hold the perspective of

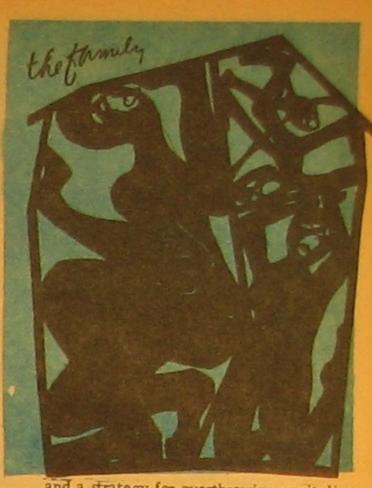
building a mass movement. There is enormous scope for women to organize themselves in universities, schools, factories and offices - in fact inall places where women come together in large numbers. Women can be introduced to the concept of women's liberation and made aware of the ways in which they are oppressed by pointing out, in each case, the areas in which they are discriminated against, e g. education, wages, double work load, fields of work closed to women . Housewives, though often harder to reach, can also be involved. The boring, repetitive nature of their work, their loneliness and economic dependence, and limitations imposed on them by lack of childcare facilities, often make them the most ardent supporters.

At universities, where women are fr equently the most conscious of their second-class role, campaigns can be waged around university-financed child-care facilities, a curriculum of women's studies, and an end to all forms of sex-discrimination on campus. High school students can also make up a large section of the movement. The problems concerned with coping with sexual needs and a more adult social life while living at home and attending schools where they are treated as children, cause a great deal of conflict. Girls are frequently expelled from schools because they are pregnant, for example. It is already apparent that high schools are another important area of the youth radicalization.

The forms that the women's liberation movement can take are many, from the consciousness-raising group to the public forum to the coalition organizing large street demonstrations. All these have their place. Clearly, however, if we are to have any effect in achieving the demands of women we must ensure that our underlying strategy is one which aims at involving the largest number of women in conscious action to end their oppression.

The Socialist Youth Alliance in Australia has, so far been the only revolutionary organization to recognize the right and need for an independent, mass political movement of women, and to put forward a comprehensive, cogent analysis of the origins of women's oppression in our society. We also provide a clear strategy of action for the liberation of women.

The women's liberation movement has, in many ways modelled itself on the anti-war and student movements. Its newness has meant that there have been no officially recognized, established leaderships and organizations to be bypassed, and this, in turn, has meant that the forms of organization and action hab have been independent and radical. But, being like the student movement, it reflects the same weaknesses. In Australia, to date, it has been a largely middle-class movement, initiated main by people who are members, or had passed through left-wing organizations. The movement has spread in university circles, and has a basically anti-capitalist consciousness, but, like such student organizations as SDS, it lacks a perspective



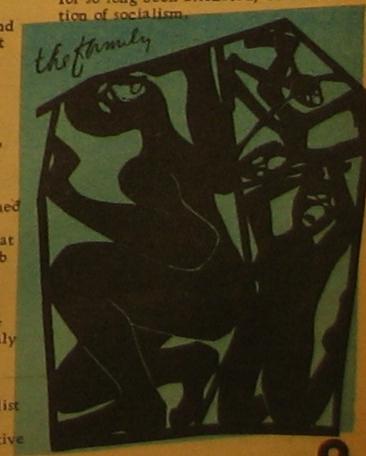
and a strategy for overthrowing capitalism Our task, as an organization which has this perspective, is to educate and try' to take this consciousness on to its logical conclusions.

From our experiences in the anti-war movement we can expect to have to combat the forces within the movement which attempt to divert it into less effective forms of struggle. For example the setting up of community-run childcare centres can be useful stop-gap measures, but we should make women realize that these are not sufficient. Apart from the fact that individuals can't hope to organize enough of these services, they only attack one aspect of women's problems. Such activity should not be counterposed to mass political action of an independent nature.

We must press for building broad representative coalitions to organize united actions, and to formulate the central demands of the movement. We must fight for democracy within the movement and for the right of all who support the aims to participate in these organizing bodies. We must also press for the demands of the movement to be of the type which can mobilize the maximum number of women, and also be capable of challenging the basic institutions of our society. Our members must be active in initiating new women's liberation groups on campuses, in schools and werever the potential for such groups exists. We should try, within these groups to press for a comprehensive program of activities. Where groups can (combine consciousness-raising and education with the existence of committees to plan joint actions with other groups, they will be the most successful.

The movement for women's liberation has brought many women into the 'movement who have never been active in politics before. Such women will, in the course of the struggle, have their consciousness raised as they realize that capitalism cannot grant all the demands of women. They willbegin to see the interconnection between the struggle or women and the struggles of other oppressed groupings. We must assist this process by continually pointing out the contradictions of this society and the means by which women can free themselves .

It is a movement which will be instrumental in bringing down capitalism. However, the struggle will not end with the socialist revolution. It must be waged now as well as during the transitional period which will follow the revolution, until the time when women have gained their full freedom and equality, and can progress with man, from whom they have, for so long been alienated, to the construc



MAY DAY 1971: AUSTRALIAN TROTSKY ISM ADVANCES DAVE

formed (August, 1970) Socialist Youth Alliance. Melbourne and Sydney saw sizeable SYA contingents in the May Day marches; in Melbourne upwards of one hundred people marched beneath their banners and in Sydney about seventy. For such a young group this was a remarkable achievement.

The revolutionary socialist character of the SYA contingents was shown in their discipline and spirit and in the slogans borne by their banners. In Melbourne, the banners carried slogans such as: "SMASH IMPERIALISM: CREATE 2 3, MANY VIETNAMS", "SOLIDARITY WITH THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION" "WITHDRAW ALL TROOPS FROM INDO-CHINA NOW"; "NO PEACEFUL CO-EXIST-ENCE WITH US IMPERIALISM" "WORKERS' CONTROL" and "BOLSHEV-ISM NOT STALINISM". In Sydney, SYA commemorated the centennial of the Paris Commune: "REMEMBER THE COMMUNE, FORWARD TO THE WORLD

In Melbourne, May Day began with a

peaceful march(estimated by the bourge-

hall to the Yarra Bank. This peaceful

character was not to last however. The

ois press at 5000 strong) from the trades

rally was effectively wrecked by a police

The very presence of the police at a May

Day rally, the day when the international

provocation. Especially provocative was

the presence of a notoriously well-known

security cop on the periphery of the rally.

Some of the demonstrators forced him to

leave the field. Then, at the field's

working class demonstrates for the soc-

ialist revolution, contributes a severe

COPS ATTACK

MAY DAY RALLY

In Melbourne the SYA contingent contained a separate SYA women's group with its own banners calling for the liberation of women and posing concrete demands: "FREE 24 HOUR CHILD CARE" "FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND" and so

Above all else, the SYA contingents were contingents of young Trotskyists. In Melbourne the flag of the Fourth International led the SYA group, and at the Yarra Bank rally a comrade climbed a goal post and held the flag over the gathering(see photo) In Sydney, SYA carried a banner bearing Leon Trotsky's exhortation and last words "GO FOR-WARD, BUILD THE FOURTH INTER-NATIONAL".

It is in this character that much of the significance of the SYA May Day participation lies. How long has it been since organised Trotskyist contingents have participated in Australian May Day marches? How long has it been since the flag of revolutionary socialism, of the Fourth International, has flown on such a day?

edge the cops began to attack the crowd.

They batonned and punched people, and

mounted cops used their horses to trample

heard a mounted cop say, just before they

charged the crowd, "Allright, let's get

about eight people. The bourgeois press,

of course, portrayed all this as a vicious,

The rally, soon after, dispersed and most

unwarranted attack on the police.

of us marched through the city to the

Phillipines Consulate to demonstrate in

solidarity with the Fillipino workers and

students, eight of whom were killed by

the thugs of the pro-imperialist regime.

and crush demonstrators. One SYAer

the bastards! " Finally they arrested

Australan Trotskyism (ic., revolutionary socialism) has suffered many-vicissitudes since the break with Stalinism and the formation of the (now defunct) Workers' Party in the 30's. But it is a tradition whose relevance has not diminished with the years.

The emergence, and rapid national development of SYA shows that Trotskyism is the only viable revolutionary alternative for the best of the radicalizing youth who reject the dead ends of both social democratic reformism and Stalinism (whether in its Soviet or Maoist variety What are the perspectives of Trotskyism? Perhaps, as SYA stated in its May Day pamphlet in Melbourne, it is time to recall briefly what we are.

Leon Trotsky's analysis of 1938 is still valid today: "The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership" Time and time again, the masses have taken the revolutionary road, only to have been baulked by the perfidy and betrayal of their own leaderships. The construction of mass vanguard parties is an absolute necessity for the victorious realisation of the enormous revolutionary potential

At the Consulate some rocks were thrown and the cops used this as an excuse to attack the march. Mounted cops charged down the collonades and one girl was trampled and taken to hospital. Well, the details are familiar and are. not the most important aspect. What are the political lessons of the events?

The cops are a permanent provocation. They are looking for excuses to attack left-wing rallies etc. Some tactics merely play into their hands. For example, on May Day, a better way to 'neutralise' the security cop would have been to call peoples attention to him, and so on. Most likely he would have got the message and we could have held our rally. Also, the people who threw the rocks at the Consulate could just as well have been police provocateurs. Infantile actions like that just make the task of the police easier.

The basis of the above comments is our belief that this is a period of widening,

that has appeared today. Furthermore in the epoch of imperialism, when the world has been turned into a single who the need for a global anti-capitalist strategy is essential

This demands an International- an Inter national which is more than just an aggregation of national parties, but a democratically centralised world party like the Third International during Lenin's-lifetime.

Today, that party is the Trotskyist Fourth International. The Socialist Youth Alliance is in political sympathy with it. Now, the Socialist Youth Alliance is just that -- a revolutionary socialist youth organisation. It is not a party. A party is distinguished from a youth organisation by the nature of its intervention in the class struggle, by the program, by the quality of its cadres. A youth organisation, among other thing is a bridge to a party for radicalizing

There is not yet, in Australia, a revoluthe masses to socialism. The key take the present period is, still, to build such

It is not a time of 'developing fascism', Thus, the episodic violence of the copi is not the main problem. The main tas is to build the mass movement and its component parts. Capitalism is trying desperately to halt this radicalization, but it is losing ground all the time.

Melbourne's May Day was marked by an unfortunate sectarianism on the part of the Maoists. In part, this facilitated the police assault. The Maoists stacked a May Day Committee meeting(23/4) and gained the bulk of the chair and speakers' positions. This was a contributing factor to the reduced worker comp osition of May Day, which, in turn made the cops' task easier. As a result of this behaviour, no industrial militant spoke from the May Day platform. Also, and most of the left was responsible for this, there were no speakers from the women movement. This absence demonstrates a regrettable weak spot in the conscious ness of the Melbourne left- the revolutionaries must revolutionize themselves before they can hope to revolutionize





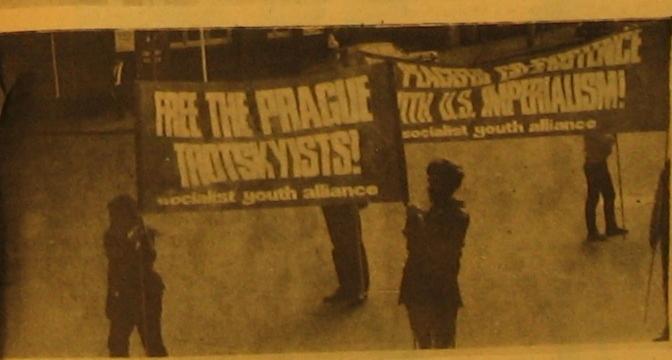














Melbourne

HIGH SCHOOL STORY

Periodically, sections of the bourgeois mass media choose, for reasons of their own, to draw attention to educational problems such as overcrowding, the existence of sub-standard school buildings, or the presencein schools of unqualified teachers. Occasionally also, clashes between staff who want to maintain 'reasonable' (i.e. their) standards of dress and behaviour and students who want to wear their hair long or to follow other current fashions, make the news. These manifestations of unrest in the schools provide spectacular 'news' for the mass media to exploit, but because the deeper problems of education do not make such spectacular reading, viewing or listening they are ignored. Almost any reasonably perceptive person who has been at all connected with or interested in secondary schools in working class suburbs of Melbourne knows that inadequate buildings, unqualified teachers and the clash of youth culture against the values of the establishment are only the scum on the surface of the cesspool of neglect, misunderstanding and wilfull repression in which present day educational authorities are

Recently, a school which is not intolerably overcrowded, which is housed in comparatively new buildings, which is staffed mainly by qualified teachers and which has grounds small enough to be dwarfed by the nearby Northland car park but large enough to include a football oval and other playing fields, received brief mentions in the mass media because of the fact that about 500 of its students staged a half day strike. The school is Preston East Technical School and the strike was sparked by an ultimatum from the principal to a number of students to have their hair cut or be suspended.

The strike was almost completely ignored except by people immediately connected with the school because it appeared to be a comparatively minor outburst over hair, an issue whose publicity value has long ago been exhausted. It becomes clear, however, on speaking to students at the school that without the existence of a number of other very serious grievances, the ultimatum over hair would not have provoked a reaction serious enough to enable the successful organisation of strike action.

Even before the hair issue arose, relations between students and staff at the school had deteriorated to a point where it would have been only a minor exaggeration to say that a state of undeclared war existed. This state of affairs still exists. Teachers at the school live in constant fear that their classes will become uncontrollable and not infrequently this fear has been realised.

Teachers at Preston East, with few exceptions, usually treat students very poorly. Corporal punishment is a daily occurrence for some students, teachers frequently lose their selfcontrol and yell at classes or at individuals. In some teachers' classes, students who wish to go to the toilet must accept "two of the best" before being allowed to go; this ensures that only those who genuinely want to go to the toilet will attempt to do so. In other classes, absolute silence is demanded of the students and students are absolutely forbidden to leave their desks. An atmosphere of fear pervades the school, the teachers not understanding the students and attempting to control them by use of vidence and threats of violence.

The teachers, being products of the existing education system, are mainly drawn from the middle classes. Because of this they tend to blame the situation at Preston East on the working class origins of the students. A senior teacher at the school has said, "This is a low school and a low area" and it is not difficult to discover other teachers with similar attitudes. The teachers attempt to impose their values upon the students, they attempt to "clean up" their language and a frequently-heard comment is "don't do that, you're not at home now." When the students reject these attempts to "reform" them, the teachers tend to take the attitude that they won't be at Preston East for long, they will soon be promoted and able to move to a "better" school. The northern suburbs are not popular with teachers, therefore, the Education Department tends to send teachers with little seniority and therefore little experience to the area. Because most teachers look to the day when they will be promoted away from the school, very few are willing to jeopardise their chances of promotion by criticising the harshly repressive attitudes of the senior staff.

The situation at Preston East is duplicated, usually in less severe form, at almost every school in Melbourne's working class areas. Teachers who attempt to introduce values alien to the environment provoke rebellion. Imposition of artificial standards of measurement (such as success or failure in exams) produce a variety of emotions mainly connected with shame and resentment among the "failures". The Victorian education system is failing to provide for the needs and interests of its working class students, it finds that the values which it considers "right" are rejected but continues to attempt to impose these values on the students. The use of violence can produce submission but it will never win acceptance for ideas or values that a growing number of youth consider false and hypocritical.



TEL AVIV (ZINS): The Institute for Economic and Social Research of the "Vaad Hapoel," an urm of Israel's Histadrut Labor Movement, malysed the composition by professions and trades of those who participated in the most recent General Conference of the workers' novement. The analysis covered 885 out of some 1,000 delegates; 64.6 per cent of those who attended the convention designated hemselves as "Directors" or "Officials"; 15 per cent were members of the free professions; 9.3 per cent were farmers. Only 5.3 per cent of he entire delegation were employees - i.e. vorkers and artisans.

The majority of delegates - approximately 60 per cent - were born in Europe. A little over 12 per cent were natives of Asia; 8.7 per cent natives of Africa and 18.5 per cent were native

The most interesting and revealing statistic, however, was the one showing that only 5.3 per cent of the delegates to this "Labor" Conference of the Histadrut were actually nembers of the labour force, i.e. employed by

The May Day march from the Yarra Bank to the

Philippines Consulate was not notable for its

humorous side, ending as it did in one of Melbourne's traditional cop-fighting debacles. However, it did produce one humorous incident. Soon after the march left the Yarra Bank, some of the Melbourne S.Y.A. comrades began to sing the Internationale (the version which ontains a reference to the Fourth International) Comrade Albert Langer, near the front of the march, heard the singing and filtered back through he march to join in. He walked alongside the S.Y.A. comrades happing singing the Intervarionale, much to the dismay of his own omrades whose reactions varied from chanting 'Albert's a Trot" to frantic cries of "Albert! lowever Albert sang on, oblivious to the onsternation which he was causing among his

Finally the singers reached the line, "And the Fourth International unites the human race" At that stage a red faced Albert was seen to melt into the crowd mumbling about "gross verestimations".

omrades.



qualified general nursing sister, describes the conditions experienced by black patients in public hospital at Port Moresby. The picture which emerges is one not just of segregation but of vicious and extreme discrimination, and is worth bearing in mind when speeches are made about the vitally necessary Australian aid to Papua-New Guinea.

Of course a community could be brutally racist even while providing fairly adequate and equal medical care, but the subject peoples in Australia's colony don't even get that much.

Nurses are exploited as workers and stereotyped obedient females; they are not supposed to express criticism, much less publish it. Barbara wants to go on working as a nurse, so she has to remain anonymous.

She has worked as a nursing sister in both Port Moresby and Thursday Island.

DA: First of all Barbara: is the Port Moresby public hospital racially segreg-

BG: Yes, there's the "European section" and a separate "native hospital" it consists of about six ward

DA: The patients in these six wards are all Papuan?

BG: Yes.

DA: And how many wards are all white?

BG: One, but it's larger than the others a larger building, that is but it's got fewer beds, because they ve got separate rooms, bathrooms, showers, corridors, utility room*, and sterilizing room . and the native hospital" doesn't have

DA: And how do the facilities for the Papuan patients compare with the

BG: Well: they have unbleached bed linen stamped "Native Hospital", no screens, all sorts of beds - different sizes, camp stretchers - far more beds per section ... the building itself is just a long open hut, without mosquito netting - an open gap of about five feet, and roofed over the top. There're no doors dividing the sections, although there is one room with two beds for infectious patients at the end of each block. There would be at least 100 patients in each ward ... where you'd only have thirty-two, or forty at most if it was a European section. Also ... the toilet blocks are outside - cold showers without cubicles .

DA: And the European section?

BG: Oh, they have inside toilets, hot shower cubicles, hand basins, screens and so on .. The worst overcrowding was the TB ward" - a small hut housing ten to twenty TB patients with their families to feed and look after them, and quite a few babies.

DA: What happens to white TB patients

BG: Oh, if there were any they'd be in the European hospital, or sent home to

DA: What about the availability of

BG: Officially, the supplies are supposed to be the same for both sections . . . but the amount of drugs you're allowed to order for the native hospital - well, you can order what you like, but the amount you're given is considerably less, per patient, for the black wards . Some drugs - expensive drugs - just aren't avalable.

DA: Did you ever find yourself actually in trout le where you needed a drug for a black patient, and it wasn't available?

BG: Yes, once - but when I saw one of the senior doctors and spoke to him about it he went over to the European section and just took it himself.

DA: That was unofficial?

BG: Yes.

DA: Could you have gone and got it yourself.

BG: Oh, no ... I wouldn't have had

. What about the availability of pain g drugs? Are they as readily available for black patients as for white

They're readily available, but they're not ordered by the doctors, who asider they re not so necessary for Papuans. They say they've got a "high pain threshhold" - which I don't think true. I think they don't give into pain very easily; they won't admit pain. They lie motionless in bed, just hardly able to breathe, but if you ask them if they have pain they say no because p of their culture is that if they admit tha they have pain, they've done somethin wrong. If they're given an analgesic they're soon sitting up in bed breathing easily, but they won't admit that they've

obvious signs . coming back from theatre would automatically be given analgesics just in case they were needed, and whenever required after that.

DA: Were there any other medical problems about nursing in the Papuan

Yes - no clean cupboards for storing sterile stock; they haven't got a clean treatment room to do dressings; the wards are so crammed full that you get a lot of cross-infection. You can't get enough trays or antiseptic for the number of

DA: So there's more cross-infection among black patients than white?

BG: Yes ... Each European patient would have a separate tray* and a separate dressing trolley; it would take half an hour or so to set up and do each dressing and soothe the patient. Whereas in the native section they just pack everything m a trolley and whip from one to the other - the nurses have to, there were only two nurses per section of thirty patients when we were fully staffed, and usually only one. On night duty there'd be often only three for a hundred patients

DA: How does that compare with white

BG: Oh, there's three on duty at all times for each ward of twenty-two patients or so.

DA: So work in a Papuan ward would be much harder?

BG: Yes, it's much harder to cope. Especially because most of the patients have their own ples-tok* . . . and if you only have two Papuan nurses on duty you've got much less chance of finding an interpreter for the forty different plestoks* you're going to have if you're working in Port Moresby.

DA: So there's a language problem when you want to find out the symptoms of some of the Papuan patients?

BG: Yes- because not all the patients inderstand pidgin, and not all of them understand molv*. A lot of them come from isolated places where they can only speak their own "village talk"

DA: What about supplies of essential hospital materials - antiseptics, dressings, cleaning materials and so on?

BG: Well - the European section is only small; they do all their own sterilizing, they're given cotton wool, ganze, etc to make up their own packs of dressings, and they've got a complete set of instruments whichthey've set up for duferent trays . . whereas the native side has one separate supply department; there's only four people there and they have to supply approximately 600 patients. It's just completely inadequate; they can't cope. DA: Is their any difference in pay for They just don't have the forceps and

things like that, if they have they're very old and useless. They have got better instruments on the European side; of course people donate those sort of things, but they never give them to the "native hospital"

about food - is there any difference BG: Well, if there is a white sister on

BG: Well first of all I should mention that the European ward" isn't necessarily just white; it's also Chinese and Indian, but they serve only European food there -Asian food isn't available. But on the native side they just serve a soup with rice which most of the p atients won't eat; so their rel atives come and bring them some are willing to eat that sort of soup. They laugh at it. They laughed when I tried it and thought I was very foolish. They wouldn't even attempt it. It's horrible.

DA: What if they haven't got any relatives

BG: Usually some on in the next bed will prepare a bit of a meal.

BG. They need not be, but they prefer to be, because the food doesn't suit them. Very occasionally they'll eat the hospital soup. It's always the same. Although sometimes - not very often they serve pieces of boiled marrow and kau-kau, or bananas. When they do, everone eats as much as they can

DA: What about Papuan maternity cases?

BG. Theyre put in the native hospital too ... unless they're very sick - then they might be put in intensive care. There is a small ward for Papuan women who are very sick, but they only stay there

DA: Is the intensive care segregated?

BG: Yes. It's a new unit- there's a seperate room for the white patients, with inbuilt equipment rather than portable, and a private bathroom.

DA: What about treatment of premature

BG: Well on the native side they haven't got adequate isolettes*- often they don 't work. They haven't got a permanent member of staff in the room with the premature babies. There's a nurse in charge of the whole prenatal ward; as well as the premature babies she has nursing duties to do with the mothers and can't be with the babies for much of the time, and there's quite a high incidence of babies dying. There's a shortage of essential equipment for them.

DA: What happens if there is a premature baby in a black ward, and all the isoleftes are in use? Would they put the baby in a spare isolette in the European

BG: I guess... they'd probably bring the isolette over. They wouldn't have the baby over there! I've come on duty and found premature babies very ill but unattended because one nurse has been in charge of sixty patients plus the premature babies, which is impossible. They won't put on another nurse just for the premature babies' section

DA: By 'nurse' do you mean trainee

BG: Yes, Papuan trainee nurses. DA: The trainee nurses are all Papuans?

DA: And they can qualify at the hospital

BG: Yes, there'd be about six Papuan sisters. But they have to do an extra two years work at the hospital after their three years training before they can take their certificate, and a lot get pregnant and drop out.

white and black sisters?

BG: Yes, the black sisters get about half our wage; the trainee nurse gets a third, perhaps less.

DA: How do the black and white sisters work together in the ward?

duty, she's automatically in charge.

DA: Is that a rule, or just understood?

est understood, I think.

DA: Would that still apply if the black sister was very experienced and the white

BG: Yes, it would. The black sister would do most of the work but officially the white sister would be in charge, and would speak to the doctor if he called at the ward. The black sister would probably have to explain what was going on. I've arrived in a ward not knowing what was going on there and have been exected to take charge

DA: Do white sisters avoid working in Papuan wards, and prefer European ones?

BG: The European ones are easier, but I think most girls like to say they are in charge of a native ward-

DA: Why is that?

BG: Oh, the missionary instinct, I support I've heard them say many times that they might as well be in Melbourne if they are going to nurse Europeans!: they've got all the equipment in the European ward but the native ward is a bit of a challenge. After all, the nurses do all the hard work

And in the native ward, if something goe wrong you'd be excused more readily that would in the European ward. For example, while I was there a black patient ost his arm due to gas gangrene- it was pure negligence on the white nursing sister's part. He had a fractured arm and the plaster was too tight. It developed a pressure sore so they dug a hole in the plaster. It should have been observed frequently, but a lot of the Papuan trainees are in the wards without three month training and too many patients to look after. It's the nursing sisters job to go around and check all the dressings, every shift, and check every patient, but this patient's wound wasn't observed for five days, despite the fact that he had a very elevated temperature. He was just gives anti-malarials, and when they finally did smell gas gangrene in the ward, it wa too late and he had to have his arm amputated. But the sister is still working

DA: Barbara, you were nursing for a while on Thursday Island after leaving Papua. How did your experiences there compare with Port Moresby?

BG: Oh, a different attitude altogether the Islanders and Europeans are mixed in hospital- no preferential treatment for white patients. Sometimes the Islander have to be shown how to use layatories and European bathroom equipment but there's no problem about teaching them how to use them hygeinically. 'I just mention that because whites in Papua sometimes use the argument that these people couldn't use proper facilities and keep them clean if they were provided".

DA: Would you say that society generally on Thursday Island is less racist than in

BG: Oh, I'm not saying that. The aborigines and islanders on the island are unbelievably exploited- especially the women who are also exploited sexually. I'm just saying that the hospital facilities are quite satisfactory, and all the patient get the same treatment.

Tray- a collection of material for a Ples-tok - language of a particular localin Moly-Papuan language of Port Moresby locality, becoming more general. Isolette- controlled environment cot Utility room- collecting point for soiled equipment which goes from there to be sterilized.

Power to the People' JOHN LENNON & YOKO ONO TALK TO ROBIN BLACKBURN & TARIQ ALI

T.A. Your latest record and your recent public statements, especially the interviews in Rolling Stone magazine, suggest that your views are becoming increasingly radical and political. When did this start to happen?

I.I. I've always been politically-minded, you know, and against the status quo. It's pretty basic when you're brought up, like I was, to hate and fear the police as a natural enemy and to despise the army as something that takes everybody away and leaves them dead somewhere. I mean, it's just a basic working class thing, though it begins to wear off when you get older, get a family and get swallowed up in the system. In my case I've never not been political, though religion tended to overshadow it in my acid days; that would be around '65 or '66. And that religion was directly the result of all that superstar shit-religion was an outlet for my repression. I thought, "Well, there's something else to life, isn't there? This isn't it, surely?" But I was always political in a way, you know. In the two books I wrote, even though they were written in a sort of Joycean gobbledegook, there's many knocks at religion and there is a play about a worker and a capitalist. I've been satirising the system since my childhood. I used to write magazines in school and hand them around. I was very conscious of class, they would say with a chip on my shoulder, because I knew what happened to me and I knew about the class repression coming down on us-it was a fucking fact but in the hurricane Beatle world it got left out-I got farther away from reality for a time.

T.A. What did you think was the reason for the

success of your sor of music? J.L. Well, at the time it was thought that the workers had broken through, but I realise in retrospect that it's the same phoney deal they gave the blacks, it was just like they allowed blacks to be runners or boxers or entertainers. That's the choice they allow you-now the outlet is being a popstar, which is really what I'm saying on the album in Working Class Hero. As I told Rolling Stone, it's the same people who have the power, the class system didn't change one little bit. Of course there are a lot of people walking around with long hair now and some trendy middle class kids in pretty clothes. But nothing changed except that we all dressed up a bit, leaving the same bastards running

everything. R.B. Of course, class is something the American Rock groups haven't tackled yet.

J.L. Because they're all middle class and bourgeois and they don't want to show it. They're scared of the workers, actually, because the workers seem mainly right-wing in America, clinging on to their goods. But if these middle class groups realise what's happening, and what the class system has done, it's up to them to repatriate the people and to get out of all that bourgeois shit.

T.A. When did you start breaking out of the role imposed on you as a Beatle?

J.L. Even during the Beatle heyday I tried to go against it, so did George. We went to America the top and then sang about drugs and sex and a few times and Epstein always tried to waffle on at us about saying nothing about Vietnam. So there came a time when George and I said "Listen, when they ask next time, we're going to say we don't like that war and we think they should get right out." That's what we did. At that time this was a pretty radical thing to do, especially for the "Fab Four". It was the first opportunity I personally took to wave the flag a bit. But you've got to remember that I'd always felt repressed. We were all so pressurised who made it, like Ted Ray, Tommy Handley, that there was hardly any chance of expressing Arthur Askey, had to lose their accent to get on ourselves, especially working at that rate, tour- the BBC. They were only comedians but that's ing continually and always kept in a cocoon of what came out of Liverpool before us. We myths and dreams. It's pretty hard when you are refused to play that game. After the Beatles

Caesar and everyone is saying how wonderful you are and they are giving you all the goodies and the girls, it's pretty hard to break out of that, to say "Well, I don't want to be king, I want to be real." So in it's way the second political thing I did was to say "The Beatles are bigger than Jesus." That really broke the scene, I nearly got shot in America for that. It was a big trauma for all the kids that were following us. Up to then there was this unspoken policy of not answering delicate questions, though I always read the papers, you know, the political bits. The continual awareness of what was goiing on made me feel ashamed I wasn't saying anything. I burst out because I could no longer play that game any more, it was just too much for me. Of course, going to America increased the build up on me, especially as the war was going on there. In a way we'd turned out to be a Trojan Horse. The Fab Four moved right to then I got into more and more heavy stuff and that's when they started dropping us.

R.B. Wasn't there a double charge to what you were doing right from the beginning?

Yoko You were always very direct . .

J.L. Yes, well, the first thing we did was to proclaim our Liverpoolness to the world, and say "It's all right to come from Liverpool and talk like this". Before, anybody from Liverpool

came on the scene everyone started putting on a Liverpudlian accent.

T.A. In a way you were even thinking about politics when you seemed to be knocking revolution?

J.L. Ah, sure, Revolution. There were two versions of that song but the underground left only picked up on the one that said "count me out". The original version which ends up the LP said "count me in" too; I put in both because I wasn't sure. There was a third version R.B. Do you see the family in general as the that was just abstract, musique concrete, kind of loops and that, people screaming. I thought I was painting in sound a picture of revolution but I made a mistake, you know. The mistake was that it was anti-revolution. On the version released as a single I said When you talk about destructio,, you can count me out". I didn't want to get killed. I didn't really know that much about the Maoists, but I just knew that they seemed to be so few and yet they painted themselves green and stood in front of the police burger than no cheeseburger at all. It doesn't waiting to get picked off. I just thought it was do you any good, you know. I often wish my unsubtle, you know. I thought the original Communist revolutionaries coordinated themselves a bit better and didn't go around shouting about it. That was how I felt-I was really asking J.L. And Yoko's family were middle-class a question. As someone from the working class Japanese but it's all the same repression. Though I was always interested in Russia and China and I think middle-class people have the biggest everything that related to the working class, even though I was playing the capitalist game. At one time I was so much involved in the religious bullshit that I used to go around calling mummy, Goodbye daddy" myself a Christian Communist, but as Janov says, religion is legalised madness. It was

therapy that stripped away all that and made me feel my own pain. R.B. This analyst you went to, what's his

J.L. Janov . .

R.B. His ideas seem to have something in common with Laing in that he doesn't want to reconcile people to their misery, to adjust them to the world but rather to make them face up to its causes?

J.L. Well, his thing is to feel the pain that's accumulated inside you ever since your childhood. I had to do it to really kill off all the religious myths. In the therapy you really feel every painful moment of your life-it's excruciating, you are forced to realise that your pain, the kind that makes you wake up afraid with your heart pounding, is really yours and not the result of somebody up in the sky. It's the result of your parents and your environment.

As I realised this it all started to fall into place. This therapy forced me to have done with all the Godshit. All of us growing up have come to terms with too much pain. Although we repress it, it's still there. The worst pain is that of not being wanted, of realising your parents do not need you in the way you need them. When I was a child I experienced moments of not wanting to see the ugliness, not wanting to see not being wanted. This lack of love went into my eyes and into my mind. Janov doesn't just talk to you about this but makes you feel it-once you've allowed yourself to feel again, you do most of the work yourself. When you wake up and your heart is going like clappers or your back feels strained, or you develop some other hang-up, you should let your mind go to the pain and the pain itself will regurgitate the memory which originally caused you to suppress it in your body. In this way the pain goes to the right channel instead of being repressed again, as it is if you take a pill or a bath, saying "well, I'll get over it". Most people channel their pain into God or masturbation or some dream of making it. The therapy is like a very slow acid trip which happens naturally in your body. It is hard to talk about, you know, because you feel "I am pain" and it sounds sort of arbitrary, but pain to me now has a different meaning because of having physically felt all these extraordinary repressions. It was like taking gloves off, and feeling your own skin for the first time. It's a bit of a drag to say so, but I don't think you can understand this unless you've gone through it-though I try to put some of it over on the album. But for me at any rate it was all part of dissolving the Godtrip or fatherfigure trip. Facing up to reality instead of always looking for some kind of heaven.

source of these repressions?

I.L. Mine is an extreme case you know. My father and mother split and I never saw my father until I was twenty, nor did I see much more of my mother. But Yoko had her parents there and it was the same . .

Yoko Perhaps one feels more pain when parents are there. It's like when you're hungry, you know it's worse to get a symbol of a cheesesome people's sympathy. But there she was, a perfectly beautiful mother.

trauma if they have nice imagey parents, all smiling and dolled up. They are the ones who have the biggest struggle to say, "Goodbye

T.A. What relation to your music has all this

J.L. Art is only a way of expressing pain. I mean the reason Yoko does such far out stuff is that it's a far out kind of pain she went

R.B. A lot of Beatle songs used to be about childhood .

J.L. Yeah, that would mostly be me .

R.B. Though they were very good there was always a missing element .

J.L. That would be reality, that would be the missing element. Because I was never really wanted. The only reason I am a star is because of my repression. Nothing else would have driven me through all that if I was "normal" Yoko . . . and happy . .

J.L. The only reason I went for that goal is that I wanted to say: "Now, mummy-daddy, will you love me?

T.A. But then you had success beyond most people's wildest dreams . .

J.L. Oh, Jesus Christ, it was a complete oppression. I mean we had to go through humiliation upon humiliation with the middle classes and showbiz and Lord Mayors and all that. They were so condescending and stupid. Everybody trying to use us. It was a special humiliation for me because I could never keep my mouth shut and I'd always have to be drunk or pilled to counteract this pressure. It was really hell .

Yoko It was depriving him of any real experience, you know ...

J.L. It was very miserable. I mean apart from the first flush of making it-the thrill of the first number one record, the first trip to America. At first we had some sort of objective like being as big as Elvis-moving forward was the great thing, but actually attaining it was the big letdown. I found I was having continually to please the sort of people I'd always hated when I was a child. This began to bring me back to reality. I began to realise that we are all oppressed which is why I would like to do something about it, though I'm not sure where my place is.

R.B. Well, in any case, politics and culture are linked, aren't they? I mean, workers are repressed by culture not guns at the moment. .

J.L. ... they're doped ...

R.B. And the culture that's doping them is one the artist can make or break.

J.L. That's what I'm trying to do on my albums and in these interviews. What I'm trying to do is to influence all the people I can inand just put a big question mark in their mind. The acid dream is over, that is what I'm trying to tell them.

use Beatle songs and give them new words. Yellow Submarine for instance had a number of right through the blacks were singing directly versions. One that strikers used to sing began "We all live on bread and margarine", at LSE we about sex, which is why I like it. had a version that began "We all live in a Red

crowds in the early days would sing All together now-that was another one. I was also J.L. As kids we were all opposed to folk songs pleased when the movement in America took up Give peace a chance because I had written it with that in mind really. I hoped that instead of singing We Shall Overcome from 1800 or pose songs for the revolution now .

R.B. We only have a few revolutionary songs and they were composed in the nineteenth century. Do you find anything in our musical traditions which could be used for revolutionary

J.L. When I started, Rock and Roll itself was the basic revolution to people of my age and situation. We needed something loud and clear to break through all the unfeeling and repression that had been coming down on us kids. We were a bit conscious to begin with of being imitation Americans. But we delved into the music and found that it was half white Countryand-Western and half black rhythm and blues. Most of the songs came from Europe and Africa and now they were coming back to us. Many of Dylan's best songs came from Scotland, Ireland or England. It was a sort of cultural exchange. Though I must say the more interesting songs

to me were the black ones because they were more simple. They sort of said shake your arse, or your prick, which was an innovation really. And then there were the field songs mainly. expressing the pain they were in. They couldn't express themselves intellectually so they had to say in a very few words what was happening to them. And then there was the City blues and a lot of that was about sex and fighting. A lot of fluence. All those who are still under the dream this was self-expression but only in the last few years have they expressed themselves completely with Black Power, like Edwin Starr making War records. Before that many black R.B. Even in the past, you know, people would singers were still labouring under that problem of God, it was often "God will save us". But and immediately about their pain and also

R.B. You say Country and Western music derived from European folk songs. Aren't these J.L. I like that. And I enjoyed it when football folk songs sometimes pretty dreadful stuff, all about losing and being defeated . . ?

because they were so middle-class. It was all college students with big scarfs and a pint of beer in their hands singing folk songs in what we call la-di-da voices-"I worked in a mine in something, they would have something contem- New-cast-le" and all that shit. There were very porary. I felt an obligation even then to write a few real folk singers you know, though I liked song that people would sing in the pub or on a Dominic Behan a bit and there was some good demonstration. That is why I would like to com- stuff to be heard in Liverpool. Just occasionally you hear very old records on the radio or TV of real workers in Ireland or somewhere singing these songs and the power of them is fantastic. But mostly folk music is people with fruity voices trying to keep alive something old and dead. It's all a bit boring like ballet, a minority thing kept going by a minority group. Today's folk song is Rock and Roll. Although it happened to emanate from America, that's not really important in the end because we wrote our own music and that changed everything.

R.B. Your album, Yoko, seems to fuse avante garde modern music with Rock. I'd like to put an idea to you I got from listening to it. You integrate everyday sounds, like that of a train, into a musical pattern. This seems to demand an aesthetic measure of everyday life, to insist that art should not be imprisoned in the museums and galleries, doesn't it?

Yoko Exactly, I want to incite people to loosen

their oppression by giving them something to work with, to build on. They shouldn't be frightened of creating themselves-that's why I make things very open, with things for people to do, like in my book (Grapefruit). Because basically there are two types of people in the world: people who are confident because they know they have the ability to create, and then people who have been demoralised, who have no confidence in themselves because they have been told they have no creative ability, but must just take orders. The Establishment likes people who take no responsibility and cannot respect themselves.

R.B. I suppose workers' control is about that . J.L. Haven't they tried out something like that in Yugoslavia, they are free of the Russians.

I'd like to go there and see how it works. T.A. Well, they have, they did try to break with the Stalinist pattern. But instead of allowing uninhibited workers' control, they added a strong dose of political bureaucracy. It tended to smother the initiative of the workers and they also regulated the whole system by a market mechanism which bred new inequalities between one region and another.

J.L. It seems that all revolutions end up with a personality cult-even the Chinese seem to need a father-figure. I expect this happens in Cuba too with Che and Fidel . . . In Western-style Communism we would have to create an almost imaginary workers' image of themselves as the

R.B. That's a pretty cool idea—the Working Class becomes its own Hero. As long as it was not a new comforting illusion, as long as there was a real workers'-power. If a capitalist or bureaucrat is running your life then you need to compensate with illusions . . .

Yoko The people have got to trust in themselves. T.A. That's the vital point. The working class must be instilled with a feeling of confidence in itself. This can't be done just by propagandathe workers must move, take over their own factories and tell the capitalists to bugger off. This is what began to happen in May 1968 in France . . . the workers began to feel their own

J.L. But the Communist Party wasn't up to

R.B. No, they weren't. With ten million workers on strike they could have led one of those huge demonstrations that occurred in the centre of Paris into a massive occupation of all government buildings and installations, replacing de Gaulle with a new institution of popular power like the Commune or the original Soviets -that would have begun a real revolution but the French C.P. was scared of it. They preferred to deal at the top instead of encouraging the workers to take the initiative themselves.

J.L. Great . . . but there's a problem about that here you know. All the revolutions have happened when a Fidel or Marx or Lenin or whatever, who were intellectuals, were able to get through to the workers. They got a good pocket of people together and the workers seemed to understand that they were in a repressed state. They havn't woken up yet here, they still believe that cars and tellies are the answer....You should get these left-wing students out to talk with the workers, you should get the school-kids involved with The Red Mole.

T.A. You're quite right, we have been trying to do that and we should do more. This new Industrial Relations Bill the Government is trying to introduce is making more and more workers realise what is happening.

J.L. I don't think that Bill can work, I don't think they can enforce it, I don't think the workers will co-operate with it. I thought the Wilson Government was a big let-down but this Heath lot are worse. The underground is being harrassed, the black militants can't even live in their own homes now, and they're selling more arms to the South Africans. Like Richard Neville said there may be only an inch of difference between Wilson and Heath but it's in that inch that we live ...

T.A. I don't know about that; Labour brought in racialist immigration policies, supported the Vietnam war and were hoping to bring in new legislation against the unions.

R.B. It may be true that we live in the inch of difference between Labour and Conservative but so long as we do we'll be impotent and unable to change anything. If Heath is forcing us out of that inch maybe he's doing us a good turn without meaning to . .

J.L. Yes, I've thought about that, too. This putting us in a corner so we have to find out what is coming down on other people. I keep on reading the Morning Star (the Communist newspaper) to see if there's any hope, but it seems to be in the nineteenth century; it seems to be written for dropped-out middle-aged liberals. We should be trying to reach the young workers because that's when you're most idealistic and have least fear. Somehow the revolutionaries must approach the workers because the workers won't approach them. But it's difficult to know where to start, we've all got a finger in the dam. The problem for me is that as I have become more real, I've grown away from most working-class people-you know what they like is Engelbert Humperdinck. It's the students who are buying us now, and that's the problem. Now the Beatles are four separate people, we don't have the impact we

had when we were together . . R.B. Now you're trying to swim against the stream of bourgeois society, which is much

more difficult . . J.L. Yes, they own all the newspapers and they control all distribution and promotion. When we came along there was only Decca, Phillips and EMI who could really produce a record for you. You had to go through the whole bureaucracy to get into the recording studio. You were in such a humble position, you didn't have more than twelve hours to make a whole album, which is what we did in the early days. Even now it's the same, if you're an unknown artist you're lucky to get an hour in a studio-it's a hierarchy and if you don't have hits, you don't get recorded again. And they control distribution. We tried to change that with Apple but in the end we were defeated. They still control everything. EMI killed our album Two Virgins because they didn't like it. With the last record they've censored the words of the songs printed on the record sleeve. Fucking ridiculous and hypocritical-they have to let me sing it but they don't dare let you read it. Insanity.

R.B. Though you reach fewer people now, perhaps the effect can be more concentrated. J.L. Yes, I think that could be true. To begin

with, working class people reacted against our

openness about sex. They are frightened of nudity, they're repressed in that way as well as others. Perhaps they thought "Paul is a good lad, he doesn't make trouble". Also when Yoko and I got married, we got terrible racialist letters-you know, warning me that she would slit my throat. Those mainly came from Army people living in Aldershot. Officers. Now workers are more friendly to us, so perhaps it's changing. It seems to me that the students are now half-awake enough to try and wake up their brother workers. If you don't pass on your own awareness then it closes down again. That is why the basic need is for the students to happen, what do you do? get in with the workers and convince them that they are not talking gobbledegook. And of course it's difficult to know what the workers are really thinking because the capitalist press always only quotes mouthpieces like Vic Feather anyway. So the only thing is to talk to them directly, especially the young workers. We've got to start with them because they know they're up against it. That's why I talk about

ting authority. Yoko We are very lucky really, because we can create our own reality, John and me, but we know the important thing is to communicate with other people.

school on the album, I'd like to incite people

to break the framework, to be disobedient in

J.L. The more reality we face, the more we realise that unreality is the main programme of Yoko The thing is, even after the revolution if the day. The more real we become, the more abuse we take, so it does radicalise us in a way, like being put in a corner. But it would be better if there were more of us.

Yoko We mustn't be traditional in the way we communicate with people-especially with the Establishment. We should surprise people by saying new things in an entirely new way. Com- reform, that's the dialectic, isn't it-but at the munication of that sort can have a fantastic power so long as you don't do only what they expect you to do.

R.B. Communication is vital for building a movement, but in the end it's powerless unless you also develop popular force.

Yoko I get very sad when I think about Vietnam where there seems to be no choice but violence. This violence goes on for centuries perpetuating itself. In the present age when communication is scarcity so rapid, we should create a different tradition, J.L. Once the new power has taken over they traditions are created everyday. Five years now have to establish a new status quo just to keep is like a hundred years before. We are living in a the factories and trains running. society that has no history. There's no precedent for this kind of society so we can break the old patterns.

T.A. No ruling class in the whole of history has lutionary democracy. given up power voluntarily and I don't see that changing.



Yoko But violence isn't just a conceptual thing, you know. I saw a programme about this kid who had come back from Vietnam-he'd lost his body from the waist down. He was just a a good experience."

want to think it had all been a waste . Yoko But think of the violence, it could happen

to your kids . . R.B. But Yoko, people who struggle against oppression find themselves attacked by those

who have a vested interest in nothing changing, those who want to protect their power and wealth. Look at the people in Bogside and Falls Road in Northern Ireland; they were mercilessly attacked by the special police because they began demonstrating for their rights. On one night in August 1969 seven people were shot and thousands driven from their homes. Didn't they have a right to defend themselves?

Yoko That's why one should try to tackle these problems before a situation like that happens. J.L. Yes, but what do you do when it does

R.B. Popular violence against their oppressors is always justified. It cannot be avoided.

Yoko But in a way the new music showed things really controlled by, and answerable to, the could be transformed by new channels of communication.

J.L. Yes, but as I said, nothing really changed. Yoko Well, something changed and it was for the better. All I'm saying is that perhaps we can make a revolution without violence.

school, to stick their tongues out, to keep insul- J.L. But you can't take power without a struggle.

T.A. That's the crucial thing.

J.L. Because when it comes to the nitty gritty they won't let the people have any power, they'll give all the rights to perform and to dance for them, but no real power.

people don't have any trust in themselves, they'll get new problems.

J.L. After the revolution you have the problem of keeping things going, of sorting out all the different views. It's quite natural that revolutionaries should have different solutions, that they should split into different groups and then same time they need to be united against the enemy, to solidify a new order. I don't know what the answer is; obviously Mao is aware of this problem and keeps the ball moving.

R.B. The danger is that once a revolutionary state has been created, a new conservative bureaucracy tends to form around it. This danger tends to increase if the revolution i isolated by imperialism and there is material

R.B. Yes, but a repressive bureaucracy doesn't necessarily run the factories or trains any better than the workers could under a system of revo-

J.L. Yes, but we all have bourgeois instincts within us, we all get tired and feel the need to relax a bit. How do you keep everything going and keep up revolutionary fervour after you've achieved what you set out to achieve? Of course Mao has kept them up to it in China, but what happens after Mao goes? Also he uses a personality cult. Perhaps that's necessary, like I said, everybody seems to need a father figure. But I've been reading Khrushchev Remembers-I know he's a bit of a lad himself-but he seemed to think that making a religion out of an individual was bad-that doesn't seem to be part of the basic Communist idea. Still people are people, that's the difficulty. If we took over Britain, then we'd have the job of cleaning up the bourgeoizie and keeping people in a revolutionary state of mind.

T.A. A personality cult is totally alien to Marxism, which is about ideas . . . Marx, Lenin and Trotsky were always against it and so was Mao to begin with but then he found it politically useful to use it to break the grip of the Liu Shao Chi group on the Party. I was in China briefly last year and it was obvious that the cult of Mao had got out of hand. Of course Mao is quite different from Stalin-Mao led a revolution while Stalin betrayed one. But that doesn't mean that there aren't serious weaknesses in the Chinese revolution. During the cultural revolution some very interesting criticisms were devloped by Red Guard groups in Shanghai and elsewhere-they insisted on discussing the real lump of meat, and he said, "Well, I guess it was issues much more openly than they were being encouraged to . .

J.L. He didn't want to face the truth, he didn't J.L. The cultural revolution seems to have been instigated by Mao himself, wasn't it? There the dream this should be easier, that's why I'm degradations and humiliations they go through was no national feeling "Well, there are too many opportunists and too much apathy".

T.A. A revolutionary leadership is necessary and one that trusts the masses, but in China the leadership stopped the cultural revolution as

well as starting it.

R.B. Clearly the cultural revolution was a very bold step despite the limits set on it. Mao felt in a position to take it partly because the popular participation in the Chinese revolution, built up over twenty years of people's war, was much deeper than it could be in Russia where the old order almost collapsed of itself under the tremendous strain of the First World War. Mao couldn't have instigated the masses against the Party bureaucracy unless he was confident of their support. But of course the decisive thing is to build popular power right into the heart of the new revolutionary state. In Britain unless we can create a new popular power-and here that would basically mean workers' powermasses, then we couldn't make the revolution in the first place. Only a really deep-rooted workers' power could destroy the bourgeois

Yoko That's why it will be different when the

younger generation takes over. J.L. I think it wouldn't take much to get the youth here really going. You'd have to give them free rein to attack the local councils or to destroy the school authorities, like the students who break up the repression in the universities. It's already happening, though people have got to get together more. And the women are very important too, we can't have a revolution that doesn't involve and liberate women. It's so subtle the way you're taught male superiority It took me quite a long time to realise that my maleness was cutting off certain areas for Yoko. She's a red hot liberationist and was quick to show me where I was going wrong, even though it seemed to me that I was just acting naturally. That's why I'm always interested to know how people who claim to be radical treat women.

R.B. There's always been at least as much male chauvinism on the left as anywhere else-though the rise of women's liberation is helping to sort that out.

J.L. It's ridiculous. How can you talk about power to the people unless you realise the people is both sexes.

Yoko You can't love someone unless you are in an equal position with them. A lot of women have to cling to men out of fear or insecurity, and that's not love-basically that's why women hate men .

J.L. ... and vice versa ...

Yoko So if you have a slave around the house, how can you expect to make a revolution outside it? The problem for women is that if we try to be free, then we naturally become lonely, because so many women are willing to become slaves, and men usually prefer that. So you always have to take the chance "Am I going to lose my man?" It's very sad.

J.L. Of course Yoko was well into liberation before I met her. She'd had to fight her way through a man's world-the art world is completely dominated by men-so she was full of revolutionary zeal when we met. There was never any question about it: we had to have a fifty-fifty relationship or there was no relationship, I was quick to learn. She did an article about women in Nova more than two years back in which she said, "Woman is the nigger of the world".

R.B. Of course we all live in an imperialist country that is exploiting the third world, and even our culture is involved in this. There was a time when Beatle music was plugged on Voice of America

J.L. The Russians put it out that we were capitalist robots which we were I suppose.

R.B. They were pretty stupid not to see it was something different. Yoko Let's face it Beatles was twentieth cent-

ury folksong in the framework of capitalism, they couldn't do anything different if they wanted to communicate within that framework because they are well trained to kill us all. R.B. I was working in Cuba when Sergeant

Pepper was released and that's when they first started playing rock music on the radio. J.L. Well I hope they see that Rock and Roll

putting out more heavy statements now and trying to shake off the teeny-bopper image. I want to get through to the right people, and I want to make what I have to sav very simple and direct.

R.B. Your latest album sounds very simple to begin with, but the lyrics, tempo and melody build up into a complexity one only gradually becomes aware of. Like the track "Mummie's Dead" echoes the nursery song Three Blind Mice' and it's about a child-hood trauma.

J.L. The tune does, it was that sort of feeling, almost like a Haiku poem. I just recently got into Haiku in Japan and I just think it's fantastic. Obviously, when you get rid of a whole section of illusion in your mind you're left with great precision. Yoko was showing me some of these Haiku in the original. The difference between them and Longfellow is immense. Instead of a long flowery poem the Haiku would say Yellow flower in white bowl on wooden table' which gives you the whole picture, really.

T.A. How did you find Japan?

J.L. I think it's ripe for Communism, I mean the workers have terrible conditions there and many unions are just run by the big companies. They're building factories coast to coast and the smeg is dreadful, it chokes you. It's all bullshit about them doing so well in Japan. The workers in different countries have got to get together. What's your position on the Common Market? The Morning Star is against it but I'm not sure atall. The feeling I have is that it would be a conglomeration of Capitalist Europe but that the movement of workers throughout Europe would bring them together so that it could consolidate communism as well as capitalism I

T.A. We should work for a united workers Europe, a Socialist United States of Europe. a Red Europe....

J.L. It is fantastic to think of the power workers could have with the Italians and Germans together and all that gear.

T.A. How do you think we can destroy the capitalist system here in Britain John?

J.L. I think only by making the workers aware of the really unhappy position they are in, breaking the dream they are surrounded by. They think they are in a wonderful free-speaking country, they've got cars and tellies and they don't want to think there's anything more to life, they are prepared to let the bosses run them, to see their children fucked up in school. They're dreaming someone else's dream, it's not even their own. They should realise that the Blacks and the Irish are being harrassed and repressed and that they will be next. As soon as they start being aware of all that, we can really begin to do something. The workers can start to take over. Like Marx said, To each according to his need'-I think that would work well here.



But we'd also have to infiltrate the army too, We've got to start all this from where we ourselves are oppressed. I think it's false, shallow, to be giving to others when your own need is great. The idea is not to comfort people, not to make them feel better but to make them feel is not the same as Coca Coca. As we get beyond worse, to constantly put before them the to get what they call a living wage.

Photographs by Dan Richter. All rights reserved The Red Mole.

Zionism. Many questioners were interested in particular, in the position of the
CPA: Its ambivalent attitude has always
been difficult to explain. Recent develpments within the Communist Party, intuding the admission of Zionists to the
Party and the advertising of Zionist funcions in 'Tribune' on equal par with revplutionary meetings, have disturbed those
of us concerned with the question sufficently to warrant the publication of this
ster.

Most people will be quite surprised to know that Zionists are welcomed into the CPA ranks (a well-known member of the National Committee of the Party was quite surprised when informed of the fact) Apparently it was explained to one recent recruit that now that the Australian party is taking an independent road to socialism, the situation is different- all those who are now prepared to work for the party are welcome. Although revolutionary Marcists will obviously disagree with this superficial view, as it completely negates the role of a program and the practice of democratic centralism, (two points the Communist Party still claims to hold), I will confine my remarks to the question of Zionism.

Zionism.

Zionism is, of course, a political ideology, which is incompatible with the principles of Marxism, both in its theory and its practice. Its theory is based upon an analysis which suggests that anti-semitism is inevitable, that racial discrimination against the Jews will always exist, regardless of economic, social and political forces operating within a society. The contradiction with Marxist analysis, which views discrimination as directly flowing from those causes the Zionists consider irrelevant, is obvious. The long and protracted debate which the leaders of the Russian Revolution, including both Lenin and Trotsky, had with the Russian Zionists should be familiar to all those who follow one or both of them. who follow one or both of them.

In practice, Zionism led to the foundation of the state of Israel and the physical expulsion of the Palestinian people. Israeli communists do not have freedom of speech and at the moment they form a considerable proportion of the THREE THOUSAND prisoners under active detention without a trial and without charges. For an incomplete list smuggled from Israel see ISRACA (March 1970) and Tribune' on many occasions. The amount of material available in 'Tribune' itself suggests that there is no need for me to substantiate the case against the practice of Zionism.

Under these circumstances, having fully pledged Zionist members compromises the CPA's position. It is further compromised when a leading journalist on 'Tribune' has to resort to the letters column in order to express the simple position that anti-Zionism does not equal anti-Semitism. Even if purely coincidental, my Arab friends have pointed out the lack of any mention of the Middle-East in 'Tribune' in recent months.

Also, the lack of reference in the CPA contingent on May Day to the Arab revolution is a further indication of its position.

I would be most relieved if I found out that the Zionists joined the party by dec-eitful means and that no-one knew their



political views. Unfortunately this is extremely unlikely as one of those who joined made his views plain and never hides the fact that he is working for the 'socialist-Zionist cause'

The most likely explanation of the CPA's The most likely explanation of the CPA's behaviour lies in acceptance of the concept of 'Radical Zionism'. This concept of radical or 'left-wing' Zionism is not a new one. From its inception, the Zionism movement has always had a left-wing element. Ber Borochov, the father of the 'Hebrew Labour' doctrine way a member of the same soviet as Lenin. Traditionally Jews have always predominated in the revolutionary movement and the labour movement. There are several reasons for this including occupation and oppressrevolutionary interests are several reasons for this including occupation and oppress-ion as a nation. Zionism was used del-iberately by British imperialism (Balfour Declaration) to try and induce

Jewish workers and intellectuals away from socialism.

The Zionist movement itself found its own reasons to posess a left-wing. Being a national movement which can encompass people who subjectively feel themselves to be anything from 'left-wing' to 'right-wing'. They need this range in order to influence world opinion. Thus right-wing Zionists are sent as emissaries to the US and Cuba and dark-skinned Jews to Africa.

Radical Zionists are therefore being used not only as a means of propaganda for the left but also as a weapon against it. In all countries where there is a sizeable lewish community, the Zionists try to intervene and recruit as well as spread its propaganda. Recently, the Israeli government even called on Israeli students abroad to join what they called New Left organizations



as these organizations of the newly radicalizing youth have been opposing Israeli policy. The purpose of this government sponsored recruitment to the left was also disclosed ie., to counter the anti-Israeli trend in these organizations. (ISRAC quote)

While in the early days Zionism was used against the Bolshevik revolution, the early origins of the tendencies of Zionism sympathetic to socialism were not rooted in any conscious decision of the Zionist leadership. It was a spontaneous reaction to the conditions prevailing in the Jewish community in Russia toward the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century.

The severe oppression of the Jews coupled with the fact that most of them were workers and artisans, and the rising in-

sol Salby, the author of the following open letter, is a member of the Nation State and letter, is a member of the Nation of SyA. He was born in Israel and lived there for 16 years. So mas travelled extensively and addressed meetings in Australia and New Zealand on the subjects of Zionism and The Ara Revolution. A special bill before the Israeli Parliament threatens to take any his Israeli nationality together with all other citizens abroad who defame the name of the State.

fluence of socialist consciousness in Russia at the time, caused by a long struggle to develop between the various tendencies. The most successful one the Bund-Jewish Socialist Party which stood for cultural nationalism and social with the Russian Revolution, but with the Russian Revolution, they pro-Menshevik position gave rise to the demise. After the rise of Stalin, the left of the state o Zionists became much more promine

Their leaders invented the 'Theory's Stages' which gives the order of part for left-wing Zionists, which are: a) The achievement of a Jewish so based on a majority of Jewish based on a majority of Jewim print the 'spiritual' homeland, Paless (involving the replacement of Ari workers with Jewish workers on a celetely nationalist basis.

b) Class struggle within that state, by the Jewish working class and the Jewish working the Jewish working the Jewish working the Jewish work with the Arabi olution.

olution.

It has since proven itself to be a passicularly useful weapon in the hands the Zionist leadership. Despite the Marxist analysis, left-wing Zionist, those who have joined the CPA, belief that Zionism is a national liberation movement akin to the Vietnamese being a liberation from the Black for movement. Israeli's pro-imperialit stance is well known, but let me givexample; "The six-day war gave smoolid economic gains to Israel. The victory brought an extra \$300 millio of overseas capital investment, mind from the United States, so that the 18 inflow of capital reached a record \$78 million". Times, business news, Msz 27, 1969.

Radical Zionists may carry the real fabut their first allegience is to Zionisa They have no place in any Markit of anization. Socialism cannot be foole for reactionary nationalism.

Forward to the Arab revolution! Down with Zionist imperialism and As chauvinism!

Yours fratemally, Sol Salby; (National Committee,

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