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NO.18 MAY 1 1972 10 CENTS A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER



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No. 18, May 1, 1972

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EDITORIAL ORKERS' DEMOCRACY

incidents seem more to reflect the gangsterism of the capitalist world than the socialist future we are fighting for.

At the April 21st antiwar demonstration old him that "we (?) don't want you the senseless confrontation with the police bers appear to have been less fortunate. so ardently desired by the Maoists.

was marked by the constant attempts of the Maoists to impose their confrontationist politics. When this had no effect on the mass of marchers they resorted to al SYA comrades who were helping organise the march. That night a brick smashed the window of the Adelaide SYA headquarters in Rundle St. An attached note said "Trotskyism - syphillis of the left" and was signed "Stalin".

it is clear that the political responsibility lies with the Maoist leadership - all honours graduates of the Stalin school of falsification, i.e., when they broke with left and for curtailing democratic rights. the CPA in 1963 they didn't break with their Stalinist past but merely changed from uncritical support of the Soviet bureaucracy to uncritical support of the Chinese bureaucracy.

As a good example of theselies about Trotskyism the reader is urged to consult the April 6th issue of Vanguard which carried the "contributed" article "Expose Trotskyism in all its forms" (p. 4). The article begins with the favourite Stalinist trick of the amalgam, i.e., linking together groups of vastly different political perspective. Here they try to pretend that "The workers movement fights for the the SYA and SWL share the positions of the sectarian "Labour Press" group.

Here is a choice paragraph from this article:

War Two it was the Trotskyists above all to make their opinions heard. who became traitors and collaborated with the German fascists in committing the most monstrous crimes against the great Soviet people when over 20 million Russian citizens were killed. The lessons again today."

their younger followers are taking their hint. However, the old Stalinist lies fall establish a daily paper. on a much more politically educated and critical audience today. The article itself But the conclusion that follows from this is it that these demons and monsters (sic), is that means must be created enabling people."

It is their desperation at this reality that underlies their slanders, their lies, their threats to silence us. At the recent May Day Committee meeting in Melbourne by the Moscow-line Stalinists in alliance to propagate its ideas, then you risk with the Peking-line Stalinists to use the increasing the political oppression of

all tendencies in the workers movement, disturbing incidents within the left. These isn't confined to the Stalinists. The sectarian "Labour Press" group which claims to be Trotskyist (in fact their tendency broke with the world Trotskyist movement in 1964) also has a sorry record in this respect. Two "Labour Press" members raided in Melbourne one of our comrades in SYA the founding conference of the SWL at the was punched in the face by a Maoist who start of the year, stealing some conference documents. Fortunately their occasional Trotskyite bastards here." The SYA com- threats of violence against us have never rade was trying to get marchers away from materialised, but some of their own mem-

Let us be quite clear. The methods of The April 22nd antiwar march in Adelaide hooliganism and abuse on the left can only play into the hands of the capitalists. It enables them to obscure who is really responsible for the violence and misery of this world. For example, it can only lend threats of physical violence against sever- credence to the lies of the Liberals that when Marion Jurjevic's home was bombed by Croatian fascists (see Direct Action No. 17) he staged it himself. It allows the police to cover up their inactivity over the bombing of the Brisbane CPA headquarters.

Whoever actually carried out these attacks These methods also enable the police to stage provocations to divide the left and possibly even destroy them. They give them a pretext for cracking down on the

> The denial of workers democracy, attempts to intimidate political opponents or prevent them from getting a hearing, is a denial indispensable to determine a correct of an essential tenet of the workers movement. In response to an incident at Brussels University in late 1969 when Maoist students broke up a meeting for Roger Garaudy, a French Stalinist intellectual, Ernest Mandel wrote the article "On Workers Democracy". We shall quote liberally from it. Mandel first explains why workers democracy is essential for the left.

emancipation of the proletariat. But this emancipation requires the abolition of all forms of exploitation to which the workers are subjected. Rejecting workers democracy appeal to scientific analysis. It does no means quite simply that you want to maintain a situation like the one today "Let people never forget that during World in which the masses of workers are unable

The Marxist critique of bourgeois democracy the workers and of all humanity. starts from the idea that this democracy is only 'formal' because the workers do not have the material means to exercise the were learnt then. Let us learn from them rights which the bourgeois constitutions formally grant all citizens. Freedom of the press is just a formality when only the Clearly, as the above acts show, some of capitalists and their agents are able to get together the millions of dollars needed to

admits this "problem" when it asks "how critique of bourgeois democracy, obviously, the Trotskyists, appear to have such wide- ALL the workers to have access to the media and where the mass of the workers is spread support, particularly amongst young for disseminating ideas (printing presses, meeting halls, radio and television, posters, etc.). If, on the contrary, you conclude from this that only a selfproclaimed " leading party of the proletariat" The Socialist Youth Alliance and the - or even a little sect which declares that it alone is "genuinely revolutionary"-(see article on p. 16) an attempt was made has the right to speak, to use the press, or May Day activities to attack Trotskyism. the workers rather than abolishing it."



Mandel expresses it:

" All the great revolutionary mobile of the workers - from the Russian revolution to the revolutionary uprurge of May and June 1968 in France and including the German and Spanish revolutions, to cite only these example have been characterized by veritable explosions of workers democracy. In these instances, many working-class tendencies coexisted, expressed them. selves freely in speeches and in the pre and debated before the entire class

The word "soviet" - council of worker delegates - expresses this unity of opposites - the unity of the workers in the diversity of their tendencies. In the Second Congress of Russian Soviets. which took power in the October Revolution, there were a dozen different tendencies and parties. Every attempt to repress this workers democracy - b the Social Democracy in Germany, b the Stalinists in Spain - has presaged, not expressed, a setback or defeat for the revolution,"

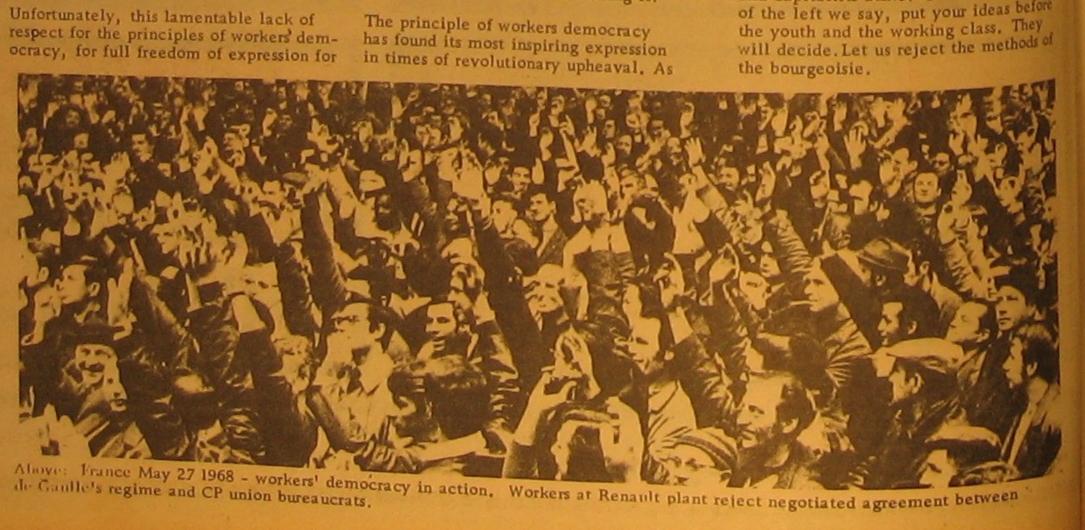
Mandel goes on to point out that the absence of workers' democracy "nor only hampers unity in action, it also obstructs working out a correct political

"But if no person or group has a monogo on truth and wisdom, then discussion is political line. Rejection of discussion under any pretext (and the pretext that political opponent is "counterrevolutions or an "enemy agent" is as old as bureaucracy), or substituting epithets or physical violence for debate, means condemning oneself to remain the victim of false ideas, inadequate analyses, and errors with debilitating if not catastrophic consequences.

Marxism is a guide to action, they often say. That is true. But Marxism is distinguished from utopian socialism by its focus on action per se. It focuses on action which can influence historical reality, which can change it in a given direction - in the direction of socialist revolution, toward the emancipation of

Out of the clash of ideas and tendencie the truth emerges which can serve as a guide to action. Action inspired by "monolithic", bookish, and infantile thought - which is not subjected to the uninhibited criticism possible only in a climate of workers democracy - is condemned to certain failure. It can only result, in the case of small groups, in the disillusionment and demoralization of individuals: in the case of unions or larger parties, in defeats for the class; concerned, in defeats with a long train of humiliations, privations, and impove ishment, if not casualties."

Socialist Workers League stand by the right of free speech on the left, We are confident of our ideas. The great ideas of Trotskyism have proved stronger then the violence and slander of the Stalinist and capitalists alike. To all of the group of the left we say, put your ideas before



Waves of US planes bombed Hanoi and Haiphong April 15-16, escalating the air war even beyond the point reached when Lyndon Johnson was president. For the first time in the history of the war, the giant B-52 bombers - each of which can carry thirty tons of bombs - were sent against the two largest cities of North Vietnam.

Hanoi radio reported that fifteen of the attacking planes, including one B-52, had been shot down. The US command in Saigon at first acknowledged only two losses, but later changed the figure to five.

Hanoi radio also reported that a Soviet freighter in Haiphong harbor had been damaged and one of its officers wounded by bomb fragments and shells fired by an American plane. It was the fear of provoking a confrontation with the Soviet Union by hitting Soviet ships that reportedly restrained Johnson during his dministration.

There was no official statement on the total number of planes involved in the raids, in keeping with Nixon's attempt to censor news of the US aggression. (The US command formally announced April 11 that it would no longer make daily reports on raids against North Vietnam.) However, the 'New York Times" reported that eighteen B-52s were involved, and the number of accompanying fighter-bombers may have been in the hundreds.

Nixon now has a total of 130 of the B-52 bombers in the war zone. The largest previous total was 103, in July 1969. In addition, there are more than 700 fighterbombers based in Thailand, South Vietnam, are more restrained than at any time in and on aircraft carriers. Four more carriers are reported en route to Vietnam.

Commenting on this massive escalation in an April 17 editorial, the 'New York Times' between Washington and Peking open. reinterpreted Nixon's 1968 campaign pledge: ".... that 1968 promise ' to end the war and win the peace' translates into ordinary English as a promise 'to continue the war until the enemy concedes defeat and accepts American peace terms, "

Fruits of Peaceful Coexistence

The massive air raids portrayed to the entire world the real meaning of the Nixon-Mao detente. For all the "revolu ionary" language of the Nixon-Chou communique and Peking's propaganda, Nixon clearly left China with the understanding that "peaceful coexistence" means a free hand for US imperialism to attempt bombing the Indochinese peoples into submission.

In fact, even the language of the Maoist leadership has undergone a significant

AS VIETNAMESE OFFENSIVE ADVANCES

Bombs being loaded aboard US planes on aircraft carrier Constellation in



modification since the Nixon visit. Writing Presidential Assistant for National in the April 9 'Los Angeles Times', Richard Security Affairs, had carefully calculated Reston observed:

"Chinese pronouncements on US policy now recent years. The judgment in Washington is that the Chinese leaders are deliberately trying to cool their rhetoric in an effort to keep the lines of communication

'Peking's softer public posture appears to be holding even in the face of mounting hostilities in Vietnam."

Reston noted several in tances of this change, among them the following:

"The Chinese leadership, for example, no longer refers to China as the 'strong rear area of support' for North Vietnam. Instead, Peking tends to fall back on the old theme of close, friendly and enduring relations between the two countries."

In the April 16 "New York Times", Benjamin Welles, in an unusually blunt dispatch from Washington, described the Nixon administration's evaluation of the way Peking and Moscow would respond to the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong:

"Senior Administration sources said that the Washington Special Action Group, a subcommittee of the National Security Council headed by Henry A. Kissinger,

likely Soviet and Chinese reaction before recommending the B-52 raid to Mr. Nixon.

"You can be pretty sure that they weighed that angle with the utmost care, ' said one source who asked not to be identified. 'If they'd thought that there was a likelihood of a serious Chinese or Russian reaction such as sending troops in - they wouldn't have gone ahead. " (Emphasis added.)

straightforward description of the responsibility of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies for this latest escalation - a responsibility that applies equally to every US buildup in Indochina in the course of the war. Nixon - or Johnson before him would not have done it had either of the two largest workers states given a credible warning of determination to defend the Vietnamese revolution. The fruits of "peaceful coexistence," whether of the Soviet or Chinese variety, are not peace but increased imperialist aggression.

It would be difficult to imagine a more

It appeared, moreover, that at least the Soviet bureaucrats had been given advance notice of the raids. Welles reported:

"Regarding the question of whether word had been advanced to Moscow, a highly qualified source said:

the Russians a warning in advance to get their ships out of the way and to assure them that we weren't scrapping the coming Presidential trip to Moscow.

"But it would be perfectly conceivable that a warning to the Russians was synchronized to coincide with the arrival of the B-52s in the area, ' he added. 'Lots of our military-contingency plans include such warnings over the hot line or through diplomatic channels. ""

Elsewhere in the article Welles noted that "officials here said that such an advisory contact had always been part of the contingency plans for the bombing "

It is unlikely that Nixon would risk offending his Chinese hosts by denying them information that he gave to Moscow, although it is possible that the timing of the decision may have prevented a message reaching Peking before the bombers reached Haiphong, In any case, the Nixon-Chou agreement to establish a hot line between Washington and Peking will eliminate the possibility of such accidental discourtesies in the future.

Calculated Warning

The Nixon administration was not only confident that the Soviet Union and China would not come to the aid of the Vietnamese. Nixon made it plain that the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong was intended to persuade the Soviet oureaucrats to curtail the limited assistance North Vietnam now receives.

During the first two weeks of April, as Nguyen Van Thieu's forces suffered defeat after defeat, US officials increasingly stressed the theme that their puppet's setbacks were due to Soviet tanks and artillery supplied to North Vietnam,

At an April 7 news conference, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird accused the Soviet Union of being a "major contributor" to the continuation of the war because it did not insist that weapons supplied to Hanoi be used only in North Vietnam.

Three days later, Nixon himself spoke on the subject:

'We must recognize," he said, ".... that a great re sponsibility particularly rests upon the great powers, that every great power must follow the principle that it should not encourage, directly or indirectly, any other nation to use force or armed aggression against its neighbors."

"I can't say whether President Nixon passed CONTINUED NEXT PAGE...

ubscription drive indicates a successful tart. While progress so far has been meven, the attainment of our target hould encourage us. No other Left newspaper in Australia runs subdrives, so omparisons are virtually impossible. lowever, an inkling of our success can be gauged by comparing the Communist Graham Butt, the subdrive organiser in Party of Australia newspaper Tribune's ttempts to increase its total circulation a year by a thousand. In a period of ess than a fortnight Direct Action has

The first fortnight of the Direct Action

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sydney, which has already covered more new as well as old readers. should be ascribed to the delay in getting If you would like to help us reach our

the sub-blanks and other promotional material (posters) interstate, as well as Sydney's early subscription blitz. The methods developed in Sydney are going to be used in blitz campaigns in the other capital cities and in a continuing blitz in Sydney.

Sydney said: "We just kept asking the people who bought Direct Action whether they were Interested in taking the special sub rate. It was as simple as that. Other successful attempts were made on campus where our regular readers gave us strong support. Quite often the students didn't have a dollar on them. They promised they would pay later and they did. As soon as the scholarship money arrived we were inundated with enquiries. We still have many outstanding promises. One comrade alone at the University of New South Wales has collected 19 outstanding promises and we have already sold 30 subs there".

The last Direct Action, having covered the Vietnamese offensive, Ustashi terror, the new "In Brief" column and many he uneveness of subscriptions between other items created much interest among

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE Perhaps fearful of misunderstandings, administration officials later said that Nixon was referring to the "North Vietnamese invasion" - not to Thieu's "incursions" into Cambodia and Laos.

In reality, however, Soviet assistance to North Vietnam has declined considerably. An April 12 Associated Press dispatch from Washington reported that US spy agencies estimate that Soviet military aid had amounted to \$505, 000, 000 in 1967, only \$70,000,000 in 1970, and \$100,000,000 in 1971.

Similarly, Chinese military assistance was \$145,000,000 in 1967, \$85,000,000 in 1970, and \$75,000,000 in 1971.

US spending on the war, according to the very conservative estimate provided in the same dispatch, will amount to \$9,000,000,000 this year.

(Economic aid from the two large workers states increased during the fiveyear period, but in much smaller proportion. The figures reported were: from the Soviet Union, \$200,000,000 in 1967, \$345,000,000 in 1970; from China, \$80,000,000 in 1967, \$60,000-000 in 1970, and \$100,000,000 in 1971.)

"Official indications here tonight (April 15), " Welles wrote from Washington, "were that President Nixon has chosen to stage a deliberate confrontation with the Soviet Union to force it to limit resupply of the North Vietnamese Army or restrain that army in battle altogether.

"There was no formal comment from the White House on the decision to bomb the Haiphong area. But senior officials acknowledged that the raid was intended as a calculated warning to the Soviet Union."

The chief concern of administration officials in fact appeared to be not that the Kremlin bureaucrats would provide aid for the defense of the Vietnamese revolution, but that the raids might dampen the atmosphere for Nixon's visit to Moscow or, at worst, that Brezhnev might decide to score a cheap point at Mao's expense by cancelling the invitation.

The timing of Nixon's dramatic escalation of the war indicated just how desperate the situation had become for his Saigon puppets. The raids came just one week before the April 22 antiwar demonstrations scheduled by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and in an election year in which Nixon's 1968 promise to "end the war" is being recalled by voters.

Even as US planes bombed Haiphong and Hanoi, the liberation forces continued tightening their encirclement of Anloc, only sixty miles north of Saigon. Thieu's Fifth Division was completely surrounded in the city, and efforts to send a relief column northward along Route 13 had, in the polite words of American journalists, "bogged down."

W. Browne indicated US troops were involved in the attempt to break through to Anloc:

in the Route 13 battle yesterday when

United States Army trucks began using the road to convoy supplies and ammunition

to the front.

"The American trucks did not go all the way to the point where the opposing forces are clashing. But the whole length of the road, from a point well south of Laikhe all the way north, has become extremely all the way north, has become extended opposition it would arouse in the United (Saigon)."

In an article published April 14, Browne noted that Thieu had sent into the Route 13 battle the Twenty-first Division, pulling was provided April 12 when members it out of its usual station in the Mekong Delta - "a troop movement from one military region to another, never before forced on any commander."

The situation, he added, had "some ugly similarities" to that just before the defeat of the French in 1954:

"... Large French forces were pinned down in areas remote from where they were desperately needed. The Viet Minh thus thwarted movement of forces that might have held off the fall of Dienbienphu,

"Route 13 has sucked up thousands of men sorely needed elsewhere, and whose home base in the Mekong Delta may soon be under heavy assault."

On April 12, the Nixon administration began launching trial balloons about the possibility of ending the withdrawals of US ground troops, Although Nixon on January 13 promised a statement "with In the April 15 "New York Times", Malcolm regard to a further withdrawal" before May 1, his press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, told reporters that no "conclusions one way or the other" should be drawn as to what Nixon would say. There was now, "Americans became more directly involved Ziegler added, a "somewhat different set of circumstances."

After a briefing by Nixon, Gerald the Republican leader in the Hou Representatives, claimed that " never been a commitment" to furt withdrawals, "I don't think you can anything at this point," he said

This possibility has its own dangers for Nixon, however - not only from the States, but also from the likely respons of the troops themselves.

An indication of the attitude of the Cla company in the 196th Infantry Brigad who had been flown to Phubai refused orders to patrol outside the base. The number who refused was variously repor at between 50 and 100 men out of 142



The great battles of the French army. "Who said Dien Bien Phu?"

ANTIWAR ACTIONS

SYDNEY - APRIL 20

In Sydney about 2000 people gathered between 5,30 and 6,00 p.m. in Martin Plaza to express their opposition to the war. People milled around, and, instead of having speakers and some focal point of interest, the participants were expected to wait for the march to begin. At about 6.00p.m., the march proceeded through by the reverberating chant of "Out Now." Leaflets were handed out en route to late night shoppers and many bystanders joined.

After the march T.D. Allman, an American journalist and grey liberal speaker subjected the audience to a dull monologue. Treasury Gardens where significant Altogether, a defeatist and capitulationist attitude of the organizers was contrasted to the vigorous enthusiasm of the marchers who realized the importance of mounting massive actions against the war.

The main responsibility for the smallness and insignificance of the march lies with the woolly minded AICD-peaceocrats. Let us learn for the future and make the antiwar movement the success that it should

HOBART - APRIL 21

The Hobart mobilization involved about 200 participants. A rally organized by the Peace Action Coalition took place at Franklin Square in the city. Several speakers including Laurie Carmichael, a leading trade unionist, Professor Roebuck and Professor Johnson from Hobart University, Jim Percy, editor of Direct Action and Ken Williams, President of the Miscellaneous Workers' Union in Hobart addressed the rally.

From there a march proceeded to the Hobart Town Hall, where a forum entitled "The Anti-War Movement, Where Now?" was addressed by Jim Percy, Rana Roy and Professor Roebuck. The speakers spoke of the significance of building the anti-war movement in view of the recent intensification of the war in Vietnam.

The action proved a particularly important tep in rebuilding the anti-war movement

BRISBANE - APRIL 21

A militant demonstration by some 2500 people was held on the afternoon of Friday, April 21. Marchers occupied Queen Street for about forty minutes and heard Jaya Vithana, a visiting Ceylonese revolutionary. In all, 38 arrests were made.

MELBOURNE - APRIL 21

Observers at Melbourne's moratorium action on April 21 would have been most aware of the pervading air of lunacy which gripped certain participants during the action. Despite the fact that approximately ten to fifteen thousand people were willing to express opposition to the war in Indo-China by marching in Melbourne streets, a small band of often hysterical ultraleftists succeeded in turning the demonstration into an unnecessary confrontation with the police.

The moratorium action began at the numbers of people clustered around listening to various speakers. From here the demonstration moved off down Collins Street, then down Swanston Street and to the US consulate. Once at the consulate, however, the ultraleftists could no longer contain themselves. "Ingenious" weaponry, shortcomings of the VMC coalition as a in the form of smoke bombs, rocks etc., were hurled at the row of police lining the consulate steps.

The march moved off from the consulate at about 7.45 p.m., proceeding to the City Square as planned despite clandestine rumours to the contrary. These rumours became more real (or perhaps more unreal) when various Maoist scouts filtered through the procession relaying information of the "attack" on the Pan Am offices in Collins Street.

At Pan Am we saw what had become almost a trend during the demonstration; windows smashing and hysterical tantrum-like provocation.

All these ludicrous spectacles were added to by the various slogans and demands raised by the ultraleftists. Along with the

chauvinist jingo of "Yankee Go Home" and "US out of Australia", one particular banner characterized much of the political A rally of about 400 people was held on priorities on the sponaneists list of demands: April 21. This was followed by another it read, "US hands off Vic. Market - kick rally at Garema Place at 7.30 p.m., US out of Australia now". Whatever happened to Vietnam? These people seem Gollan, Ian McDougall, Humphrey to think that the Indochinese revolution can wait. It seems to serve the purposes of these petty bourgeois infantiles to direct their empty catch cries from the masses, the ones who count. At every opportunity, every effort was made to make Adelaide demonstration, Marchers sure that it was the police who took notice assembled at Elder Park, where they of the cries, and at the US consulate it had to be the staff occupying the building who heard and saw the great tantrums. These events were not just coincidental, they point to a political strategy which says; "Forget the struggle in Indochina, forget the masses here, lets go and show the ruling class how tough we are!

whole. It is interesting that in a statement put out by the VMC executive in condemn- phone was used effectively to encourage ing the actions of the spontaneists, it referred to them as " unknown elements." Contrary to this, the elements were quite well known, particularly by the VMC executive, and the fact that the VMC ignored this is typical of its attitude in the past.

Despite all the criticisms mentioned, a number of significant things did come out of the moratorium on April 21. Most importantly, the demonstration showed that large numbers of people are willing to come out and demonstrate against the war, and this is a good starting point for future demonstrations which could have a real effect in not only supporting the heroic struggle for the liberation of Indo-China, but challenging our own ruling class and hastening its defeat.

The Melbourne March - most thought it was an antiwar action, others marched to save the Chiko roll,

CANBERRA - APRIL 21

where the demonstrators heard Daphne McQueen and six draft resisters.

ADELAIDE - APRIL 22

About 1000 people took part in the were addressed by several speakers, who stressed the continuance of the war, the intensification of US bombing and the importance of mobilizing people.

The march then moved on through the centre of the city, stopping at the Department of Labour and National Service where it was addressed by a draft resister, and at the US Chamber of Commerce where another speaker was heard . Throughout the march a megabystanders to join in.

The march was unfortunately marred by stupid, infantile acts of the Maoists. To begin with, the Maoists urged demonstrators to change the route to where, as the cop in charge exclaimed sarcasticallywe will smash this march." Altogether the Maoists behaved arrogant towards the other demonstrators; as one Maoist remarked crudely, "The demonstrators are indecisive, they can't make up their minds, they are dumb."

The organizers, however, dealt efficient ly and ruthlessly with these infantile ultralefts - they appealed to the marche who overwhelmingly expressed their desire to show that they were against the war and that they opposed dead-end confrontationism. Finally, after having circled the city the march returned to Elder Park, where the demonstration ended.

However, the WSA-Maoists stayed on and preached to their misguided flocks. These preachings were occasionally interspersed with senile and meaningle exhortations like, "Trotskyite Bastards" etc., presumably because the march had proved to be successful, rather than the confrontationist fiasco which they had so much desired.

All in all, although smaller than in the past, the mobilization proved to be very successful, stressing that the war I not over, that the imperialists are increasing their carnage and that we be determined to put an end to this imperialist slaughter against the Viet ese revolution.

ICTATORSHIP IN GREECE

on April 21, the fifth anniversary of the ilitary takeover in Greece, about 30 eople demonstrated outside the Greek onsulate in Pitt St. Sydney around the demands "Release all political prisoners" and "Restore democracy in Greece". A petition sponsored by well known Greek and associates over the following few days. nposer Mikis Theodorakis was cirlated at the meeting. Letters of suprt for the campaign against the militregime should be sent to G. Roy, 16 dgson Avenue, Cremorne 2090.

OMARE PLANS TO MAKE TUGINI SAFE FOR APITALISTS

peaking in the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly on April 24, Michael Somare activists have shown themselves adept at eader of the Pangu Pati-led ruling coalition, assured Australian businessmen that their investments were safe and said hat the number of expatriate and local ousinessmen in the coalition was a guarantee of this. He also has stated that in the interests of unity within the oalition, the Pangu Pati will not pursue ne of the central points in the programme this course may be wise. But just where which Pangu was elected - immediate does authority draw the line". The imelf government.

the Pangu Pati as a group moving toward a socialist perspective for Niugini. The entry of Pangu into a coalition with essentially conservative elements participating reveals its true nature as a party representing the interests of the ocal bourgeoisie.

OUTH AFRICAN RACISTS TO OUR AGAIN?

President of the Australian Rugby Union, Arthur Henry announced on April 24 that egotiations were going on to arrange for he South African rugby team to play a match in Western Australia on its way to New Zealand next year.

Ve expect that they will receive the eception they deserve.

O GENOCIDE HERE

recent report to Federal Parliament by e Northern Territory Director of Health Dr. W. A. Langsford, reveals that an borigine's average life span amounts to 10 years, 30 years less than the average ife span of a white person. His report Iso stated that 40% of all aboriginal leaths occur in the first year of life. The percentage for the white community is %. The report went on to say that borigines also tended to suffer from hronic ear infections, eye diseases, inaemia, skin infections and trauma.

These revelations are not new; the vast ajority of aborigines have been forced live in poverty and squalor during the ntire history of European occupation of his country and the medical consequences of living under such conditions have been idely understood at least since the turn f the century. For a long time the fficially unvoiced hope was that the borigines would die out. It was with some dismay that it was learned during the 1950's that the aboriginal population was increasing and not declining. The resent government policy is clear: othing will be done to reduce the high death rate among aborigines because the death rate is a key factor in limiting their development as a powerful social force.

FENCING THEM IN

Last year Hugh McLachlan, manager of the Granite Downs cattle station in South Australia had a fence built to keep dogs away from his cattle. The fence enclosed the Indulkana aboriginal reserve containing about 300 people from the Pitjantjara and Yankuntjatjara tribes. The two tribes survived by hunting game in the barren, rocky area surrounding their settlements, now however the fence keeps the game away from the 12 square mile area of their reserve.

McLachlan's cattle however, are safe.

GREENWOOD'S GOONS BUNGLE

The Commonwealth Police, already well known for their ability to make fools of themselves (remember the riot which they staged at Melbourne University last

year), have enhanced their reputation with their recent attempt to arrest draft resister Michael Matteson near Sydney University. The outcome of the affair is well known by now, hundreds of students surrounded the cops and freed Matteson by cutting the hand cuffs with bolt cutters. To save face the cops raided

Probably the most interesting aspect of the whole affair has been the howls of indignation emanating from the bourgeois press. Almost without exception they have called on the university administration to "get tough" with students involved.

many of the homes of Matteson's friends

The Sydney Morning Herald said in its editorial of April 27: "Revolutionary advancing their aims by submerging them in causes (civil liberties, academic freedom etc.) which a majority of students will support in any confrontation ... university authorities have learnt to stay calm in the face of provocation and to avoid .. intervention .. which will produce the desired confrontation. Often plication is clear, the bourge sisie is having difficulty enforcing some of its Many socialists have in the past regarded laws, so an attack on civil rights is necessary. The first step in this attack could quite probably be the official opening of university administration files to the police, (There is of course, already a strong possibility that university files are illegally being made available to the police.

BLACKS WALK OFF VICTORIA RIVER DOWNS AND MOOLOOLOO.

In protest against low pay and miserable living conditions, the entire black work force has walked off Victoria River Downs work . . They have told us that the Puband Moolooloo cattle stations in the Northern Territory, taking their families the 'go ahead' to do this. We have with them. They have moved to join the Gurindji people at the settlement at Wattie Creek, established after the Gurindji walked off Wave Hill Station some years ago. One of the representat- The reason behind the buck-passing is ives of the blacks from Victoria River Downs is reported to have said: "All our see workers taking such initiatives, it money goes to the store (i.e., the store is run by the VRD management). There are no floors, no lights in our houses. The boss built a new kitchen for the white ringers, but not for the aborigines . he promised us electricity, but nothing. He is doing some building now

The two stations are owned by the L. J. Hooker real estate empire. The manager as a result of the government campaign of VRD Ian Michael commented on the walkout: "Two white stockmen are worth 40 blacks any day". They will need to be, he won't be getting any more cheap black labour.

but it is all for the white men".

people in their task of resettlement at Wattie Creek should be sent to J. Leu, 19 Kimbarra Road, Pymble 2073.

VICTIMISED UNION ORGANISER ACQUITTED.

NSW Teachers' Federation organiser Doris Jobling has been found not guilty arising from an attempt by the principal We all know what that means,

at Killarney Heights High School to use the Summary Offences Act to prevent union organisers from entering the school. ENTERPRISE! The principal, A. M. Meyers, had called the police who arrested Doris Jobling and removed her from a union meeting. The acquittal is an important victory for unionists defending their right to organise.

RIGHT WING TERRORISM

Recently several vicious attacks have been made against Left wing groups or individuals who have been active in exposing the activities of fascist organisations. The CPA headquarters n Brisbane has been bombed and the Maoist bookshop in that city has been shot at. Bomb threats have been made against the CPA in Melbourne and the flat of Marion Jurjevic, who has opposed the activities of the Croat fascist organisation - the Ustashi - has been bombed. So far one suspect has been arrested over the CPA bombing.

Such attacks must be met by firm action from all sections of the Left in this

WORKERS SIT IN AT OPERA

Following the walkout on 20 minutes! notice of McNamee Industries, the com pany sub-contracted to build the stages in the Sydney Opera House, 32 workers belonging to the Builders Labourers Federation and the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union have decided to occupy the stage area until they are allowed to continue with the job. McNamee Industries were sub-contracted to the Austrian company Waagner Biro. The workers on the site combined to produce a leaflet which states in part: "This most crucial part of the Opera House is the stage work. If it is not completed, the Opera House will be worthless. The work is already some months behind. The workers are ready, willing and able to complete the job. Everyone ... is ready to start work immediately. Waagner Biro have the engineers available who can VICTORIAN TECHNICAL supervise the work. We have approached Waagner Biro to immediately commence STRIKE. lic Works Department must give them approached Mr. Humphreys, the Director Association of Victoria (TTAV) have of Public Works, who in turn says this is voted against a recommendation from the a matter for Waagner Biro".

clear, the bourgeoisie does not like to refuses to deal directly with workers, preferring to deal wherever possible through petit bourgeois middle men such as McNamee.

The modest claim for a 9% increase in

PUBLIC SERVANTS' WAGE CLAIM DENIED

public servants' wages has been rejected against wage rises. Rising militancy over conditions in the white collar sphere is beginning to threaten the positions of the Public Service Union bureaucrats who must head off militancy among the rank and file if they are to Donations to help the VRD and Moolooloo survive. The bureaucrats are beginning to make militant noises in order to placate the demands for action from their members. However their militancy is unlikely to go much beyond calling mass meetings, spouting fiery rhetoric - then going to arbitration, Den Linehan, Federal Secretary of the Administrative and Clerical Officers Association has stated: "We hope to of trespassing as a result of a court action proceed to arbitration at an early date".

HENRY AND REG DEFENDERS OF THE SYSTEM OF FREE

Since Thomas Nationwide Transport's bid to take over Ansett Airlines becam public, Reg Ansett, the living embod ment of the self made man who made i to the top, has been squealing like a stuck pig. After wailing for several weeks to the press, Ansett finally turned to his old friend Henry Bolte (that other king of the dung hill of Australian capitalism) who also happens to be premier of Victoria. Bolte was more than willing to help Ansett avoid the consequences of being a medium sized shark swimming among the larger sharks of the capitalist system. He simply passed a law making it illegal for TNT to take over Ansett.

So much for the system of "free enterprise" which Bolte and his friends have been defending with the blood of Australian workers and Vietnamese peasants over the past few years.

MELBOURNE CITY COUNCIL ATTACKS CIVIL RIGHTS

The Melbourne City Council has passed a by-law imposing a \$100 fine banning 'unauthorised" demonstrations from the City Square. This is a direct attack on the right to protest, and must be fought by all democratically minded citizens. Perhaps the council has forgotten the successful campaign of 1969 against bylaw 418 which prohibited the distribution of leaflets on the streets of the city.

It is no accident that this ban comes at a time when the City Square is increasingly being used for political protests. A similar situation arose in 1969, when antiwar groups began to hand out literature just as charity, and Christian religious groups had been doing unharrassed over a long period of time.

TEACHERS ON INDEFINITE

Mass meetings involving 3,000 of the 5,000 members of the Technical Teachers union executive for a one day stoppage and in favour of an indefinite strike to force a satisfactory wage settlement out of the Victoria Teachers Tribunal (the body which controls teachers' wages). Victoria's 26 left wing unions have pledged support to the strike and have instructed apprentices under their jurisdiction not to attend classes. They have also promised to boycott work concerned with technical schools for the duration of the strike and 250 students from Hawthorn Technical Teachers' College voted at a mass meeting to boycott lectures during the strike.

The technical teachers are maintaining a continuous picket at Parliament House The preparedness to strike on the part of the technical teachers reflects the growing militancy of teachers arising from widespread disillusionment with the present education system which has been in a state of crisis for several years now. The influx of hundreds of young teachers from the universities and teachers colleges in recent years has assisted the process of radicalisation within the teachers' unions to the point where teachers are now beginning to recognise that they must fight if they want thoroughgoing changes to the education system.



The Commonwealth policemen after the release of Matteson, with students laughing the loudest at the back.

HSCHOOL STRI it was an impressive manifestation of

Events around Australia since the begin ning of the school year, attest to the fact that the youth radicalisation in this country is continuing to broaden and deepen. Since the first effects of the radicalisat-Ton were felt in the mid 1960's, unrest has been growing in the educational institutions, especially universities and high schools.

In the high schools, this unrest, rooted in the clash of the culture and values of youth against the capitalist system, has taken the form of dissatisfaction with the persistence of obsolete and antiquated educational concepts and practices into the present era, and especially a rejection of previously accepted authoritarian relationships between students and staff.

Growing numbers of students are refusing to accept standards of behaviour demanded by remote and obsolete educational authorities - authorities which the students know have supported the slaughter of millions of Vietnamese and who do their best to cover up for the exploitation of the working class and the destruction of the environment by capitalism. The rejection of the old standards had led high school students to begin to demand some basic rights - their right to treatment as citizens with a status of equality in society, their right to sexual freedom, their right to equal educational opportunity for all, and their right to an educational experience which develops their potentialities as creative human

One of the first manifestations of the revolt of young people against a society which sought to mould them into automata performing functions necessary for the survival of capitalism, was the appearance of a preference for long hair among young males. This apparently inoffensive taste brought an mmediate sharp and hostile reaction society. Apprentices and young workers were told "get it cut or find another job" and high school students were told "get it cut or be suspended or expelled".

The apprentices and young workers did not have much choice - they got it cut or lost their jobs. Later, long hair among entail service in imperialist wars and men became so prevalent that many employers stopped insisting that their male employees wear short hair. The high school students' initial reaction was Such an understanding is worth nothing different, owing to their relatively freer in itself however. Once an understandsituation, they were able to refuse to co- ing of the roots of one's oppression is

Melbourne April 19

operate with infringement upon their civil rights; thus since the mid 1960's there has been a steady flow of suspensions and expulsions of high school students over the issue of their right to wear long hair, but in many cases students have won the right to wear their

hair as they please.

Later the clash between the values of the youth and the standards of capitalism broadened and high school students, along with other young people, began to take political action against what they saw as injustices. Underground leaflets and news sheets began to appear and in some cases student unions were formed. These unions have usually been characterised by a preoccupation with immediate issues (such as expulsions at a particular school) and have generally failed to understand the root causes of the injustices against which they have been struggling.

They have thus been unable to develop clear ongoing perspectives or aims, have been unable to formulate tactics for achieving their aims and have usually collapsed as rapidly as they have formed. only way forward for young people, alienated from the exploitative system under which they live, is for them to understand that it is the capitalist system which seeks to regiment them in the schools, in order to render them submissive to the demands capitalism will later make of them - demands which acceptance of and attacks on working conditions and the standard of living.

reached, it is necessary to seek ways of acting to end this oppression, and such action cannot be the work of a few in-

dividuals: It must be the work of people. co-operating in an organised way. The Socialist Youth Alliance high school groups bring together high school students who have come to a realisation of the oppressiveness of this society and who see the need to organise to overcome their oppression. They bring together high school students who see that only the establishment of socialist society can lead to the creation of a society where human potentialities are allowed to develop unfettered, rather than being bound as they are presently to the dictates of a system which places profits above human needs.

The reports printed below indicate that dissatisfaction and radicalisation are spreading in the high schools and are not 2. That this meeting immediately disappearing as the authorities have been hoping, since the mid 1960's.

On Wednesday April 19 1000 secondary school students marched on Parliament House to protest the crisis in the Victorian Education system. Large contingents from the poorer inner suburban schools of Richmond, Princes Hill and Fitzroy participated. There was also a large group from the University High

Despite the abominably poor organisation which went into the demonstration,

secondly, any individual action such as walking out of classes and individually visiting Education Department bureaucrats is bound to fail. Only an action involving large numbers of students the high school movement in Victoria and staff can be effective. A protest from the SRC is virtually useless. When, last year, two students were The leaders of the action refused to he suspended for printing For Our Kids intimidated into dismantling their public magazine, an angry SRC made abaddress system despite threats from the solutely no difference to the outcome.

would be dismissed as "immature" ...

In that instance the authorities won."

Travakis was expelled from St. Peter's College for refusing to have his hair cut.

As a result of this expulsion several dem-

onstrations and pickets were organised

outside the school, and the SYA high

school group issued a leaflet which read

in part: "What is our education system

really like? Take a look at our schools

and the amount of freedom there. We

have uniforms, we have the power in the

hands of one man, the headmaster, with

the students and teachers having little or

no say in the running of the school ...

we have a system of school assemblies,

of lining up and responding to various

bells like groups of trained mice (all

sort of society can it be?"

the following demands:

Travakis.

schools.

opposition.

civil rights.

to the students,

in the cause of learning of course) so if

schools are preparatory for society, what

The SYA high school group put forward

1. Immediate reinstatement of Michael

2. Freedom of political activity in

3. Freedom of speech and freedom of

4. Freedom of self expression, both in

appearance and other aspects of life in

At a meeting called by the SYA high

school group, about 40 high school

students attended and SYA members

called for a demonstration around the

above demands. However, Union of

Secondary Students members attending

the meeting, brought up the fact that

they had already planned a day of fun,

would detract from its success. The

proposal for the demonstration was

dropped against the SYA members'

April 7, the day of fun, music and

discussion, was attended by about 1500

simply staying away from school for the

day. However, as a political event it

was a failure. The poor organisation of

Despite its lack of organisation, the up-

schools have already abolished compul-

sory uniforms and failed in attempts to

suspend students who demanded their

surge of student unrest in Adelaide's high

schools is having some effect, and several

Recently two known attacks on the civil

rights of high school students have

occurred. At Granville Boys' High

School two students were suspended

However, student sympathy for the

suspended students and wide coverage

of the incident in the media, did more

harm for the school administration than

The second attack occurred at Blacktown

High School where a student was suspen-

ded for refusing to wear uniform, Sup-

port from both the students and staff at

to successfully defy the suspension.

The reaction of the students and sig-

nificant sections of the staff to these

attacks on the civil rights of high school

of both students and staff, and a growing

the Liberal and Labor party governments.

students reflects the growing militancy

disillusionment and anger at the years

of neglect of the education system by

These factors are contributing to the

students with a growing consciousness

are inextricably linked to the needs of

that the ills of the education system

capitalist society.

steady radicalisation of high school

the school enabled the suspended student

because of the length of their hair.

high school students who showed their

opinion of the education system by

the day meant that the majority of

students who came had no reason to

stay and soon drifted off.

music and discussion on education, and

the press without victimisation.

Labor Party parliamentarians Holding and Doube addressed the meeting but were p well received, a large section of the cr showing an awareness that the Labor P. government in South Australia had shown little intention of reversing the neglect of During March, a student Michael

A co-ordinating committee is in the real cess of being set up in order to ensure better organisation of high school action

education which characterises Liberal

city council.

Party policy.

Recently a teacher left the Elizabeth Matriculation College to go overseas The Education Department refused to some ply a new teacher because, they said, the school was over-staffed. When the school administration decided to solve the "overstaffing" problem by merging two English classes however, it became apparent that the Education Department's real motive was to cut costs in this period of economic downturn for capitalism, by attacking the conditions of the students and teachers

The SYA high school group published a leaflet calling a general meeting of students at the school and putting forward the following demands:

1. That the Education Department immediately transfer an English teacher to

adjourn to the Education Department to present the above demand to the Minister for Education.

3. That if a relief English teacher has not been transferred to EMC by Friday, another mass meeting of students and staff be called to discuss strike action. Within three hours of the leaflet's appearance the Education Department announced that a relief teacher had been appointed - despite the fact that on the previous day an announcement had been made that no teacher would be available until the following term.

The leaflet stated in part: "What then is the correct strategy for EMC students and staff to win their rights?- Firstly, only united action between the students and staff can bring about the desired results. Without the staff, the students

UPPORT ABORTION ACTION

(The following is an excerpt from a call from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in the USA, or international activities in support of Abortion Action Week).

'Over the February II-13 weekend, 1300 women attended the Second Women's National Abortion Action Conference in the United States, to plan the next steps n our fight. We were joined in person or through messages by sisters from Canada, England, France, Holland, Italy, Australia, New Zealand and other parts of the School Women, and Women's Liberation world. The conference called for an Abortion Action Week, May 1-6, during which a variety of educational and rotest actions would culminate in local allies and demonstrations on May 6.

We urge our sisters throughout the world active, and to make concrete plans for to join us in making Abortion Action Week the future. The Conference decided to an international event, through which we endorse the call made by WONAAC for can continue to act together to reach more international actions around the abortion nd to move ahead together. The WONAAC sees international solidarity and united action as essential to our fight. 5th in most main centres throughout the No force on earth can resist forever the power of women of the world joined together in a fight for our fundamental rights, ABORTION: A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE".

VASHTI'S VOICE

Melbourne's first women's liberation newspaper (Vashti's Voice) is in the process of being printed. The paper will ne open to all women in and outside the novement to contribute to; this will provide a means of communicating difin the movement, and most importantly, movement, and discussion on ways of spreading our ideas to women outside who want to know what women's liberat- in Australia. ion is all about.

articles, any women interested in writing conference should be directed to; /o 930 Rathdowne Street Carlton 3053. The first issue will contain articles on: The March Action Campaign, Freud and Sexual Oppression, The Nuclear Family and Where the Women's Liberation Move- ARGENTINA ment is Going.

The name "Vashti" was taken from a biblical story. In the book of Esther, Vashti, was the wife of King Chasuerus, crown royal, to show the people and princes her beauty". She refused, where- Alianza Feminista (Feminist Alliance). upon it was decided that as punishment she should be banished and a new queen sists of about 30 women, most of them chosen in her place, on the grounds that housewives and over 30 years old. "this deed of the queen shall come abroad "Basically, we intend to call on all unto all women, so that they shall despise women in the country to demand full their husbands . . . Thus there shall arise equality and participation in national too much contempt and wrath". Like Vashti, women's liberationists reject their assigned role as sex objects. We hope too, to spread ideas of women's freedom "abroad unto all women". The but by abolishing the patriachal concept contempt and wrath we express is against of power rooted in male supremacy", a society which has long denied women the right to an independent social, political and intellectual life.

NEW ZEALAND CONFERENCE

More than 400 people from all over New Zealand, nearly all of them women, packed the Victoria University Union Hall following: on April 1st for the first day of the National Women's Liberation Conference. The First day of the conference was of an of the woman to be considered a free and educational nature and open to the public, independent human being. with eleven short talks on many aspects of women's oppression. Topics covered were "2. To favour legal equality through Matrimonial Property Law, Abortion, Living with Men, The Need for a Women's Movement, Childcare, 'Sexploitation', Women in Employment, Maori and Polynesian Women; Gay Liberation, High

Vomen in Revol

On the Sunday, which was the conference proper, and open only to women, 150 came to discuss the issues and areas in which the women's movement would be of our sisters, to make our demands known, issue, during Abortion Action Week, May 1-6, planning educational activities throughout the week and actions on May country. These will be organized by the Abortion Law Reform Association of New Zealand and Women's Liberation groups.

and the General Elections.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SYDNEY.

national conference to be held in Sydney over the Oueen's Birthday weekend (June 10-12th) It is projected that the conference will be a conference of the women's liberation movement, rather than a chiefly public educational conference, and there will be an emphasis on discusserent ideas and viewpoints to all women ion of current theories and trends in the building and co-ordinating the movement prison sentence of six months to six

Any correspondence and financial con-The paper will need a constant flow of tributions towards the organizing of the should send all articles to Vashti's Voice, WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, BOX K 152 POST OFFICE, HAYMARKET, SYDNEY.

FEMINIST GROUPS FORMED IN

Women's liberation groups are beginning One of the most oppressive aspects of to organise in Argentina, according to a report from Buenos Aires. Toward the end of last year, two organisations were who commanded her to appear "with the formed - the Union Feminista Argentina (UFA - Argentine Feminist Union) and the The latter, formed in September, contasks", said Maria Elena Oddone, the group's president. "We think that society will not be changed by substituting one group of men for another group in power,

She said she was in favour of abortion



"when it is therapeutic, that is, when the life of the mother is in danger"

The basic principles of the group are the

"l. To support the unquestionable right

eliminating discriminatory laws.

"3. To promote equality of opportunity in access to public office and leading

According to its president, the group has no political affiliations, and supports no

SPANISH WOMEN ORGANIZE

Women in Spain are beginning to struggle for equality in the face of great discrimination and despite the risk of imprisonment, reports Birgitta Gustafson from Madrid in the March23 issue of the Stockholm daily Dagens Nyheter.

"Our most immediate goal is naturally to reach women in the lower social classes", said a 27 year old activist named Maria. "We have succeeded in obtaining permission from the management of one factory where many women are employed to hold talks there. Of course, we are obliged to speak in very moderate terms - no fiery calls to battle. But what we are hoping is that at least some of these women will become interested. In this way, we can begin to broaden our base".

The women's group does not have the resources for putting out publications. And distributing leaflets can entail a years, according to Gustafson. In view of such an atmosphere of repression, one of the main difficulties the group faces is making its voice heard and letting women know that the group exists.

"In general we are against the system in this country and against the capitalist system as a whole, in which the woman is more exploited than the man", explained Maria.

life for women in Spain is the double standard to which they are subjected and the stranglehold of the family, she said. It is not considered proper for women to go out unaccompanied by a man after 10.00 p.m., for instance, any unmarried women as old as 30 are expected to continue to live with their parents.

An area of special concern is the discrimination women face in the job market. "For a woman to get a job that requires schooling and qualifications, she has to know ten times as much and be ten times as efficient as any male candidate for the job. Naturally, business companies make the most of this fact and underpay the woman for her qualified work".

An issue that affects both working mothers and mothers who are students is that of child care. Private child care centres are very expensive, and state-run centres are few and far between. "Our first concrete project is to gather signatures in order to pressure the authorities to do something about the problem of child-care centres", Maria indicated. In one department of the university alone, she said, they had collected 2, 000 signatures on a petition.

Cercles Rouges Lyceens, CRL (High School Red Circles), a French revolutionary student organisation, was held in Paris March II-12. Of the 450 participants, more than 220 came from a total of 44 cities outside Paris.

According to Rouge, the weekly news-paper of the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, this was the first such meeting of an organised tendency in the high school students' movement since the mass student-worker upsurge of May 1968. The delegates were leading activists in all the recent mass struggles in France.

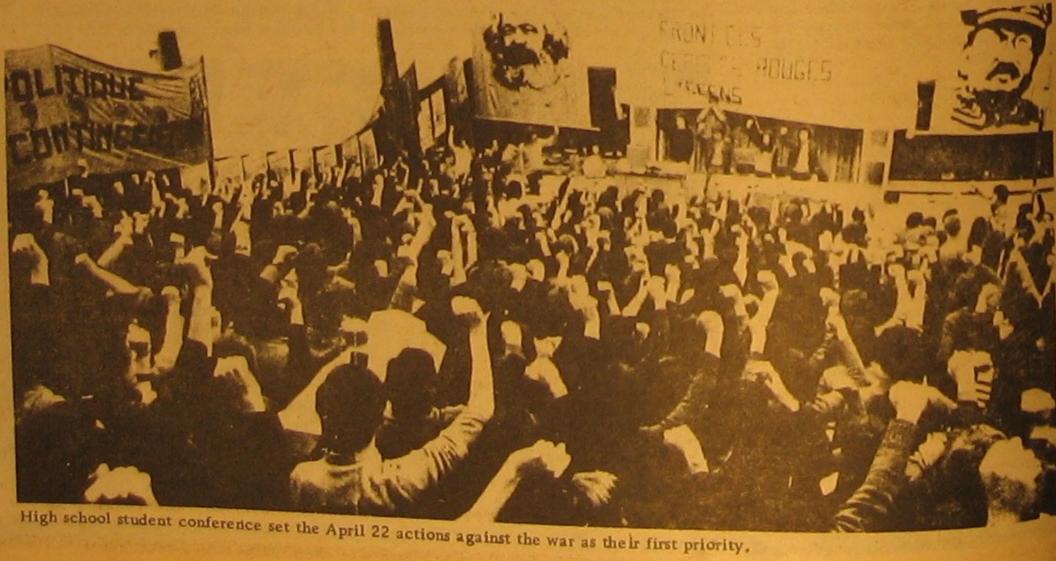
The conference was the first step toward the constitution of the Front des Cercles Rouge which Rouge defined as "the road fraction in the high schools of nilitants identified with the intervention and the orientation of the Communist League in this sector".

The conference discussed how revolutionry students can intervene in and lead truggles which arise from repression against student activists, cutbacks in education spending and facilities and "attempts to institute a moral order in the schools". Workshops dealt with the CRL's intervention in the antiwar movement, the army (in France 18 year old males are conscripted), struggles against sexual repression etc.

The action proposal adopted by the conference set antiwar action as the main "axis of intervention" in the third (spring) semester. "Militant, unconditional support to the Indochinese Revolutionary Front constitutes the most important task

proletarian internationalism", the resolut- French antiwar organisation) to prepare ion states. The CRLs "are committed to these mobilisations". do everything to ensure the success of the international anti-imperialist mobilisations of April 22 and are already organising held in September to decide on the in the high school committees of the FSI' campaigns and intervention in the next of any revolutionary claiming to adhere to (Front Solidarite Indochine, the leading

Another conference of the CRLs will be



despite many announcements of its impending demise. Its continued existence worries some people and inspires others and it is the subject of role it can be expected to play in the would dissipate. shape of things to come.

While the 'counter culture' is a mass phenomenon, it should still be consider- aesthetic contribution should not be ed a minority phenomenon. How very much on the definition being clear that we are talking about a devel- ing things are happening - an approoping process. Precision about who is priate rendering of the youth culture's in and who is out of the counter culture general mood. is difficult. Is a racist, prowar, war, anti racist person dressed in a very ordinary way? Obviously, the question is not easily answered (even if overtly racist, prowar Bohemians are hard to find.) Cultural phenomena generally have this sort of character they tend to blend off into, and overlap cause of the fifties became gradually with, other cultural phenomena. In in the counter culture and that a major- a cause. That cause, put simply, is ity are to some degree affected by it.

The values being challenged by the youth culture include every aspect of American life. Bigotry, militarism, the authoritarian family, bureaucracy, private property, traditional religion, resthetic conformity, status seeking, and puritanism are all part of the traditional value structure with which the While it is probably true that only a youth culture has come into conflict.

Thus, the new radicalisation of youth, the most deepgoing radicalization in American history, is an integral part of the youth culture. The reverse is also true: The youth culture is part of the new radicalization of youth. . While conscious political radicalism is only one feature of the youth culture, it is the radicalization process as a in the first place. And insofar as the youth culture is out to smash Respectability's icons it is very much within the radical spirit.

phenomenon still in its early stages of Counter Culture: Reflections on the development, its outcome yet to be decided.

Traditionally, youthful rebellion takes of America" (Bantam Books, 1970, past, these phenomena have had minimal overlap with one another and they have not taken on such a blended character as in the present massive movement among youth. Also, in the past youthful rebellion was most frequently an ephemeral thing. The counter culture has provided a form to Although in some secondary details perpetuate this rebellion and give it living space.

Within its broad scope, the youth blends of Bohemianism, radicalism, and delinquency. The new political idical ization of youth has been the of youth culture. But the other two forms are also present, they overlap and make their contributions.

constitute delinquent behavior. The use of drugs, rip-offs from department process and bringing new modes of stores and chain stores, sexual "deviancy" (such as pre-marital sex, group sex, homosexuality, and co-ed skinny dipping), and politically motivated violations of the law (such as civil disobedience, destruction of draft files, bombing banks, and marching without a permit) are all American patriots. Within the youth culture the tactical or practical advisability of many of these actions may be debated, but they are all

form of a relatively small movement clear that if demonstrations for social centering on an unrecognized artistic insurgency. Never before has it

The youth culture grows and flourishes on an artistic insurgency. The only possible candidate for such a thesis is rock music, but that is clearly an auxiliary element of the youth culture rather than a central one. Few observers controversy throughout the radical move- would seriously uphold the contention ment. It is clearly necessary to inquire that if rock lost its popularity, the youth into what the youth culture is and what culture or even its Bohemian component

Still, the symbolic importance of rock as the youth culture's own distinctive underestimated. Rock constitutes a widespread the youth culture is depends sort of theme music. The slow bongo rhythms and contemplative jazz of the applied. Thus, if the youth culture is Beat movement of the 1950s expressed a vast revaluation, a questioning and that movement's introverted, fatalistic rethinking of all the transmitted norms outlook. Rock, which can be danced to of bourgeois society, then it becomes and sung, expresses a feeling that excit-

Bohemian-looking person more a partic- More important, the new radicalization ipant in the youth culture than an anti of youth is the aspect of counter culture which has done the most to bring mass sociocultural consciousness in America out of the doldrums of Eisenhower, Joseph McCarthy, and Madison Avenue careers that dominated the 1950s. The Beat Generation and rebels without a replaced, under the impact of the Black any case, we can estimate that a minor- liberation and antiwar movements of the ity of young people are deeply involved sixties, by the present-day rebels with the creation of a society where human potential can be given free expression, without poverty, pollution, racism, and

Today the ultimate objective is widely agreed upon within the counter culture Controversy centers around the means to the end - a matter of programme. minority of the participants in the youth culture are at this point conscious political radicals, on some issues virtually all segments of the youth culture become involved in political activity. These include demonstrations against the war, actions against racism, and campus battles against bureaucratic regimentation and the suppression of civil liberties. However, there are varying degrees of clarity and levels of whole that gave rise to the youth culture consciousness within the youth culture and technological. Interestingly enough, most of the rebel youth have a long way to go before they can be said to have reached revolutionary consciousness.

Many of the literary defenders of youth But the youth culture cannot be viewed culture would vigorously contest this process. It is an internally contradictory Theodore Roszak's "The Making of a Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition" (Anchor Books, 1969, \$1,95) deemed necessary for the "life-style and Charles Reich's "The Greening three forms: Bohemianism, "delinquen- \$1.95), the two most widely read analyses cy," and political radicalism. In the of the youth culture, is directed toward For Reich, dropping out is purely optional. substantiating precise's the opposite proposition, namely, that the rebel youth have already achieved revolutionary consciousness. In fact, Roszak and Reich contend that the rebel youth are making a revolution right now.

their books differ, Roszak and Reich have put forth essentially similar lines of argumentation. They contend that advanced industrial society is filled with culture contains new combinations and antihuman characteristics to which the traditional political left was an inappropriate and unsuccessful response. On the other hand, the youth culture is an main motive force for the development appropriate response which in its present form is actively engaged in the revolutionary transformation of present-day society by nonpolitical means.

In the eyes of the traditional conservat- That is, according to Reich and Roszak, ive, many aspects of the youth culture new life styles are taking more and more people out of the corporate industrial consciousness into prominence. By force of superior example these new life styles will make the monolith crumble.

Two views of technology

Roszak and Reich divide over the role of delinquent activities in the shocked eyes ogy and its consequences are the root evil, jailers will open the bars. Nothing can while Reich thinks that technology is a tool that can be used for good or bad purposes and the root evil is capitalism.

Both Roszak and Reich are ambiguous accepted as within the realm of moral- about mass political actions. It is not ity and are not considered "delinquent. " clear, for example, whether they Bohemianism has ordinarily taken the strations. But they both make it very change play any role at all it is much less important than the question of life achieved mass proportions. The current style. Do your own thing, don't worry upsurge of Bohemianism does not center about politics, and everything will

"It is essential to realise, " Roszak states, "that the technocracy is not the exclusive product of that old devil capital ism. Rather, it is the product of a mature and accelerating industrialism. The profiteering could be eliminated; the technocracy would remain in force. The key problem we have to deal with is the paternalism of expertise within a socioeconomic system which is so organized that it is inextricably beholden to expertise. And, moreover, to an expertise which has learned a thousand ways to manipulate our acquiescence with an imperceptible subtelty"(P. 19)

turn out fine is their general view.

Roszak is aware that the reply that a revolutionary socialist would make to this line of reasoning is that industry can and should be reorganized democratically under workers' control. He states: "Consider, for example, the situation which the French students faced in the May 1968 General Strike. The great ideal of the moment was 'workers' control' of French industry. Very well; but is workers' control immune to the dangers of technocratic integration? Unhappily not. For it is hardly difficult to imagine the technocracy reconstituting itself atop an echelon of shop stewards and industrial soviets - and perhaps using these new, more friction-free shop-floor arrangements to its own geat advantage!" (p. 68)

Roszak is so afraid of machine culture that he overlooks the obvious and exaggerates the possible. It is true that workers ' control is not immune from bureaucratization. However, if bureaucratization sets in, we are dealing with the erosion of workers' control which means that struggle to regain workers' control is necessary It is not as if workers are oblivious to their conditions of life. But, more important it is much harder to use expertise to mystify educated workers and it should be obvious that demystification of technocratic expertise is an essential element in the establishment and maintenance of workers' control.

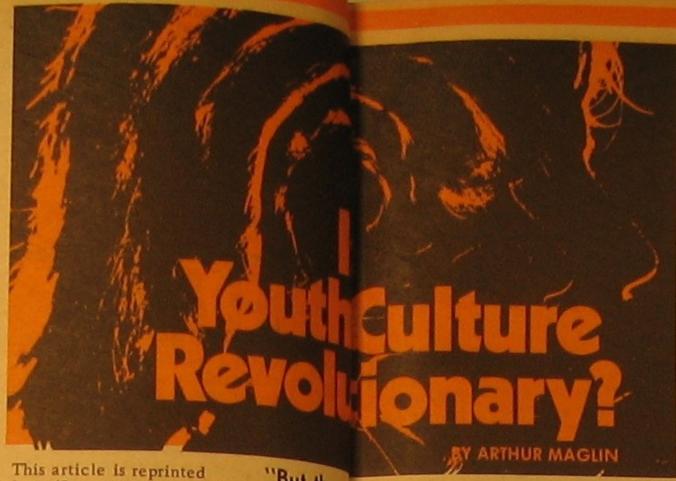
Roszak argues against workers' control as part of his attempt to prove that the youth culture is and ought to be anti-Reich argues that youth culture is not antitechnological, as it has been accused of being by its detractors, but is oriented, rather, toward using technology for humanity instead of against it. Roszak attempts to prove that revolution will have occurred not when the means of industrial production are captured by the masses but when they are abandoned. Thus, for Roszak it is revolutionary" to break off participation in the mainstream of productive process.

One can be a life-style revolutionary even in the upper ranks of a corporation," the government, or the Democratic Party. For Reich, individual consciousness is all-important - if you're a good person with good intentions then you needn't worry about anything, the world will change as more people become nicer and nicer. Reich's fundamental blindness occurs around the fact that he underestimates the capitalist's ability to manipulate good intentions into oppressive ends. For example, the Peace Corps and the antipoverty programme have utilized the humanistic feelings of many young people to pacify the poor at home and abroad and to project a humanistic facade for American capitalism and imperialism in the midst of the Indochina War. The Democratic Party has likewise utilized all kinds of mechanisms to bring idealistic young people into the bourgeois political establishment where they must compromise their principles or cease functioning.

Nevertheless, Reich protests:

"But the whole Corporate State rests upon nothing but consciousness. When consciousness changes, its soldiers will refuse to fight, its police will rebel, its stop the power of consciousness. "(p. 377)

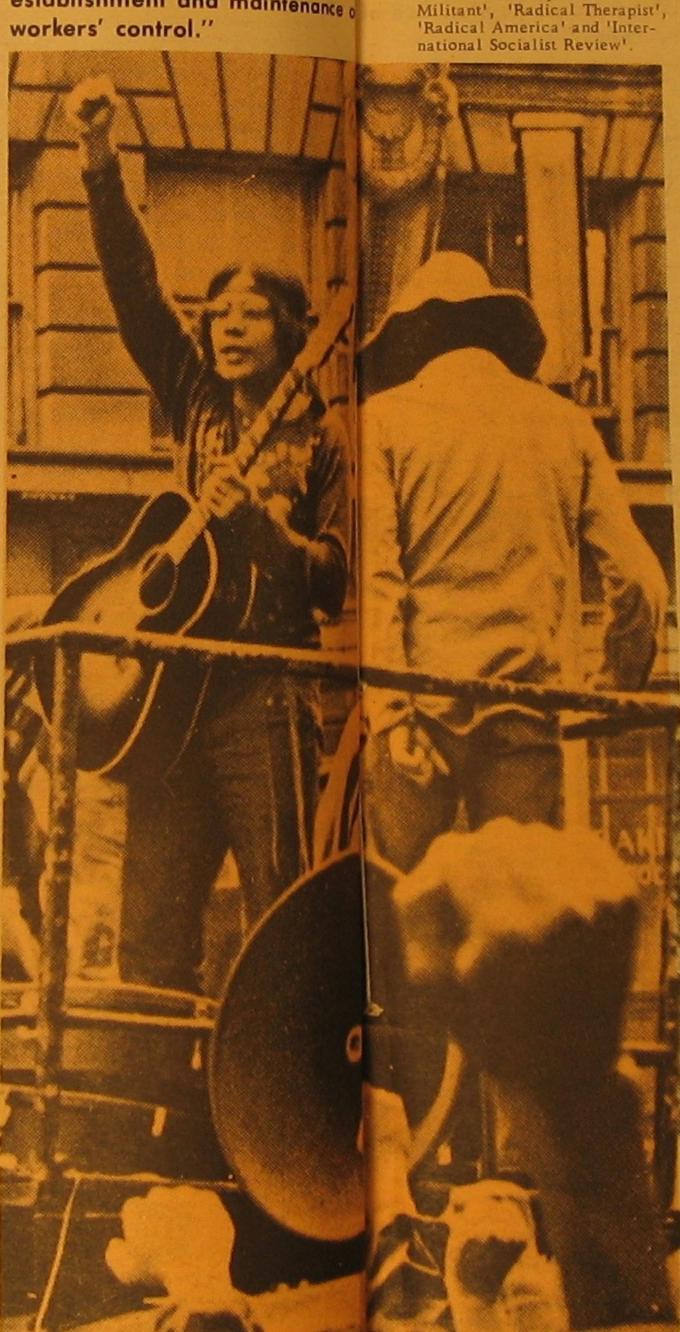
Reich is still gravely in error. The Corporate State rests upon more than an ethereal and apparently arbitrary state of consciousness. The Corporate State rests upon property relations, the false consciousness promoted by the capitalist class to defend those property relations, and ultimately the armed forces of repression. To be sure, the consciousness of the subject population is an extremely important factor. But what Reich leaves out of the equation even so



from 'International Socialist Review', an American monthly theoretical journal of revolutionary Marxism. Some of the views abscribed establish to the Communist Party USA are obviously similar to the Maoists in this country, especially the emphasis on 'patriotism'.

ter culture is a complex comenon which includes every experimend project in antiactivity among the young : . . Ils crents are often participants in the and women's liberation, gay liberation ick, Chicano, and Puerto Ricationalist movements."

"Roszak is so afraid of machine wre that he overlooks the obvious. Demystification of technocratic ertise Arthur Maglin has contributed is an essential element in the articles on literature and films to establishment and maintenance these American journals: 'The



is the process of organizing to change consciousness and the translating of consciousness into collective action to transform oppressive conditions. A slum dweller's change of consciousness does not remove the slum; that change of consciousness translated into collective action on the housing question may alleviate the situation. Similarly, being against the war in one's own mind is much different from being against the war and working to end it. And, ultimately, revolutionary consciousness will not change society unless it becomes revolutionary action directed at the does not see it this way. For him it is a problem of attitude and certainly not a problem of class struggle:

"There is a great discovery awaiting those who choose a new set of values - a discovery comparable to the revelation that the Wizard of Oz was just a humbug. The discovery is simply this: there is hobody whatever on the other side. Nobody wants inadequate housing and medical care - only the machine. Nobody wants war except the machine. And even businessmen, once liberated, would There is no need, then, to fight any group of people in America. They are all collaborationist policy of adaptation to fellow sufferers. There is no reason to fight the machine. It can be made the servant of man. Consciousness III can make a new society." (p. 378)

Consciousness III is Reich's term for the consciousness of the life-style revolutionary, Consciousness I being that of the hidebound conservative and Consciousness II that of the corporate liberal. As can be seen, Reich presumes that once consciousness is sufficiently transformed everyone will just gradually come to the point of doing things in their everyday lives in unalienated and humane ways and the revolution will have occurred, izing of the working class, but it still Since no group, including the capitalist class, has any real interest in maintaining things the way they are, according to Reich, there is no need for class struggle. It is all a matter of education by example. This, of course, is nothing but a variation on the traditional liberal concept that the problems of society are not so much political as educational problems. That is, if we had a better grade of people we'd be doing just fine.

But inadequate housing is profitable, inadequate medical care is profitable, the maintenance of the imperialist system the capitalist class. Reich even forgets that the capitalists already roll in the grass and lie in the sun. Or doesn't he

However, for the mass of the people, the working class, profits are not profitable. To go from a system of production of money for a few to a system of production Young radicals have in general adhered for human needs will require that the workers take control of industry. Otherwise, indentification with the movements of they will have to content themselves with waiting for landlords to offer decent housing at decent rents and for businessmen to request the nationalization of their holdings under workers' control.

Is the youth radicalization 'anarchist'?

Both Reich and Roszak see the youth culture as a near-perfect development which only needs to grow in numbers to accomplish its task. They do not see it as a complex and unevenly developing phenomenon which is not yet fully formed. Party as an arena for social change. Rather, they see counter culture as a movement which has revived the spirit of anarchism. Roszak states:

"And so in spirit, if not in scholarly reference, it is anarchist politics that is being hotly debated among the socially involved young - far more so than the Marxist tradition of socialism, "(p. 201)

Curiously, the American Communist Party agrees with this proposition. Gil Green, a prominent spokesman for the CP, entitles his book "The New Radicalism: Anarchist or Marxist?" (International Secondly, Green states that there has that the main trend in the youth radicalisation has been toward anarchism, that the basis for this is the alleged pettyhourgeois composition of the youth movement, and that as a consequence the youth culture constitutes a flight from with those who do not normally participate in political activity; as his title suggests, he recognizes that the new political radicalization of youth is an integral part of the youth culture. The

problem as he sees it is that the bulk of the young radicals are "elitist," Green states that "sections of the new radicalism represent an important advance over have an attitude of disdain for the ordinary capitalist states. More important, the working man and woman, reject all American tradition, the good with the bad; take a completely nihilist position toward national pride and patriotism, permitting these to be taken over by the pay- triots, the jingoists, the imperialists," its manifestations is a prominent feature (p. 45)

It is true that opposition to American

patriotism is (rightfully) very widespread seizure of state power. Nevertheless, Reich some people who fit this description can among the new radicals. As for the rest, be uncovered within the youth culture the Weather underground, for example although it hardly describes accurately any important segment of the new radicalization. Green continually tries to imply that the most politically ineffectual trends within the youth culture and the new radicalization are the dominant trends. In doing so, he frequently lionizes relatively unimportant tendencies to prove his point that the youth culture and the new radicalization constitute a flight from class struggle. This is, of course, hardly the case. While the main like to roll in the grass and lie in the sun. trend of the new radicalization has been to vehemently oppose the CP's class liberalism, the new radicals have engaged what the main trends are. themselves in activity in the antiwar, Black liberation, and feminist movements Green asserts that the youth culture is as well as other aspects of the class struggle, either anarchist or escapist, that it

> Green says that young radicals have disdain for the working class. But since the 1968 French general strike, virtually every segment of the consciously radical movement has sought ways of approaching But, the counter culture is a complex the workers and involving them in political activity. Granted this has been for the most part done in mechanical ways and with a great deal of romanticdoesn't accord with Green's "anti-working- participants in, the antiwar, women's class'theory. Without stating it, Green is arguing against the followers of Marcuse's and Puerto Rican nationalist movements. thesis in "One Dimensional Man" in which Marcuse contends that the working class has been sold a bill of goods and bought off. However, as Green well knows, this thesis is extremely unpopular in the radical movement nowadays and has been since 1968. The main problem in regard to the attitude of young radicals toward workers has been the tendency to idealize the working class. The problem has hardly been one of disdainfulness.

As for Green's praise of "national pride and patriotism," this is very curious Black nationalism but promotes American for social change unimportant, are in nationalism! Black nationalism is a know about vacations and country estates? nationalism of the oppressed organizing themselves to fight against their oppression change of its own accord. Green, by as a group. "American" patriotism is a nationalism of the oppressor organized for the furtherance of that condition. to an internationalist spirit that includes the oppressed everywhere. Wrapping internationalism in the American flag is as contradictory as trying to wrap Southern radicalism in the Confederate tradition" in the abstract is typical of the as the product of a specific time and Communist Party's systematic attempts to place. In the absence of a mass workingadapt to liberalism.

> There are two important reasons why Green is so vehement in his denunciation first stages have a more or less diffuse of the mainstream of the youth radicaliz- character. Such cultural revolutionism ation. First, the youth radicalization has does not automatically lead to social gone so deep that it is becoming increas- revolution. Many contradictory and even ingly more difficult to interest young radicals in the virtues of the Democratic present ferment. If the youth culture is Because young radicals are not sufficiently ence, the cultural rebels must connect interested in trying to collaborate with bourgeois liberalism, Green labels them social program and a social class that petty-bourgeois anarchists. True, there is a significant anarchist-like antiin the youth culture which, however, has promoting the youth culture have in the mass contingents of the new radicalization. at home and abroad (not least of which His ideological hijinks are all directed at have been the Cuban and Vietnamese explaining away the Communist Party's revolutions). failure to appeal to any significant section of young people.

Publishers, 1971, \$2.45). Green believes been "the disillusionment of many with what they consider to be similar tendencies its dominant feature continues to be the in the socialist countries - personal liberty, and friction between socialist states. This has led anarchists to charge that socialist states are no better than capitalist ones, and some have even class struggle. Green is not concerned only compared the socialist states with fascist oppose can only be fought by organizing ones."(p. 59)

> As might be expected, Green tries to dismiss the charges of bureaucratic and authoritarian control. He relies heavily

on the indisputable fact that workers! states - even deformed workers' states fact that Green finds it necessary to discuss this (for him) delicate subject at some length demonstrates that the American CP has been forced to realize that disillusionment with Stalinism in all of the new radicalization, But for Green and the CP, what is not Stalinist cannot be Marxist. When the young radicals express concern for civil liberties in the Soviet Union, Green shouts "anarchism."

Stalinism is a perversion of the liberating spirit of Marxism, Marxism without Stalinist distortions is being rediscovered by young radicals all over the world, While it is true that young radicals read the works of anarchism and Stalinism as well as the works of Marxism, the lack of any significant anarchist movement or organization (which, in the past, have existed at various times in various places), the decline of Stalinist influence and organization within the radical movement and the growth of revolutionary Marxist organizations, such as the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, and militant political struggle should be sufficient to indicate

involves either political activity that is petty bourgeois in nature or that it involves a dropping out of political struggle altogether into petty-bourgeois self-

phenomenon which includes every experiment and project in anti-establish ment activity among the young (and, more and more, the not so young). It interacts with, and its adherents are often liberation, gay liberation, Black, Chicano, It also is expressed in the youth commune movement - a doomed attempt to set up socialism in a single house. It involves the blind alleys of mysticism and drugs. It is subject to invasion by various capitalist institutions which aim to coopt or divert it.

A contradictory phenomenon

The youth culture, then, is neither revolutionary (Roszak, Reich), nor counterrevolutionary (Green). Reich and Roszak, by calling a change in personal indeed. The Communist Party disparages life-style "revolutionary" and organization effect proposing that we just go on living with the status quo until it decides to calling the whole ferment among youth including both the youth culture and new radicalization counter- revolutionary, is simply admitting the Communist Party's inability to find any road to the new youth radicalization and is in effect proposing that socialists should just stand aside from this whole promising develop-

flag. Green's enthusiasm for the "American The youth culture can only be understood class party or a widespread Marxist tradition it is natural that alienation and rebellion from the capitalist system will in its opposite products can result from the not to end in demoralization and indiffertheir aspiration for a better life to a can make these aspirations a reality. The indications are that the positive alternative theoretical, antiorganizational element is also the most likely outcome. The forces had relatively minor effects on the various main derived from anticapitalist struggles

> Life was breathed into the youth culture by the Black liberation and antiwar movements, it has been profoundly affected by the women's liberation movement, and deepening radicalization of more and more young people of all nationalities, sexes, and social classes. Many participants in the youth culture already recognize that the evils of capitalism which they mass movements for social and political transformation. Ultimately, the youth culture's goal of a society of freedom, humanity, and beauty will only be realized by socialist revolution.

STUDENT UNIONS ATTACKED

BY MILES STUART

This is the first part of an analysis of the present events at La Trobe and other universities. The article will be concluded in our next issue.

With what would now appear to have been remarkable foresight, a left wing delegate from Monash University to the February 1972 Council of the Australian Union of Students proposed an amendment to its constitution which would have the effect of recognising as members of the union those students (or rather ex-students) who had been expelled from universities as a result of their having attempted to carry out any part of the official policy of either AUS or its relevant constituent body. It was a prophetic attempt to broaden the terms of membership just slightly outside those dictated by the respective administrations of Australian universities.

The delegates who spoke in favour of the move were aware of the need to take some steps to counter the increasing encroachment into student affairs by university administrations, and to present an alternative set of criteria for membership to that at present dictated by the leading bodies of the universities. Membership of AUS was at that time restricted to students enrolled in universities who had paid their university fees, including fees levied by the university on behalf of the students' representative body. This membership criterion in effect conceded the right of a university administration to determine who could and who could not be a member of AUS, merely by deciding who could enrol at a university, and more importantly, who could cease to be enrolled at a university. In other words, any student expelled from a university, for whatever reason, would under the terms of the AUS constitution, automatically cease to be a member of AUS.

An even more sinister aspect of this policy is evident in the fact that the highest body of a university, usually a council, and comprised of businessmen, ageing academics, politicians and almost incidentally, one or two students, of the university the representative body it (the council) chooses. Any constitution for a body designed to represent. students has to be approved by a body initially established by politicians and king-makers, and certainly heavily weighted against student interests.

This is not the place to argue the proposition that in the era of capitalism, university administrations are structurally opposed to the interests of students of the universities: it is abundantly evident to those who undergo tertiary education, and to those who attempt to enter and fail. Nor is it the place to argue the proposition that the tertiary institutions are structurally opposed to the interests of the working class as a whole. For an excellent exposition of this view, we can do no better than to refer the reader to Jim McIlroy's article in Socialist Review, Vol 2 No. 1, which states inter alia, that:

"because the universities are totally integrated with the capitalist order, serve its ends and help to preserve and propagate class society, they and the process of education, scientific and technological research and knowledge accumulation in general become oppressive institutions as far as the mass of workers are concerned".

In its own sweet legalistic-bureaucratic way, AUS Council decided to shelve the matter until its next meeting in August. Admittedly the amendment was inadequate and hastily-considered. but past events have proven the importance of such a step. The question of student autonomy has taken centre stage in the recent struggles at La Trobe, Monash, Melbourne, Macquarie, Wollongong and perhaps Sydney and New South Wales universities. Right wing student politicians and their legal friends have had a heyday in their attempts to take to task the whole foundations of student unionism and the long-considered established practices of student bodies democratically providing financial assistance to causes which do not specifically reside within the ivy-clad confines of Australia's institutions of higher learning. And with the notable exception of the arch-conservative La Trobe University Council, campus

have been content to sit back and watch the fireworks, waiting for the opportunity to move in amongst the rubble and tighten the screws on campus radicalism.

Obviously, the burning issue of the relationship between administration and student doesn't ever get to be argued out in the abstract. Students only come up against these elaborate systems of thinly-veiled capitalist repression when they attempt to challenge capitalist values. And half the time the students themselves are not aware that they are in fact challenging capitalist values: they usually discover this when the bureaucratic machinery begins to move against them. It is usually the administration itself that is first to realise that its own (i.e. capitalist) values are being challenged. Thus, when student bodies provide student funds for a bourgeois charity like Austcare they receive the full support of the Vice-Chancellor and his (always "his") clubmates; but when the student bodies provide funds for a cause like the NLF then the whole might of state repression is brought to bear against them. Only at this time do the administrations start squawking "unconstitutional" and "it's against student interests" and "misuse of funds". Only then do they threaten to freeze funds and take legal action against "illegal decisions". Only then do they get their lawyers to comb the constitutions to provide them with technical justifications

The recent events at La Trobe and elsewhere are a telling example of the administration's willingness to use its absolute power to its absolute extent. Our story begins with La Trobe, but it could have begun on any campus in

for their hysteria.

It is well known that university vicechancellors have for some time been concerned with the alleged misuse of student funds, particularly with respect to donations to antiwar, anti-apartheid etc. campaigns, as well as the whole matter of financing AUS which, although appearing outwardly ineffectual and anything but radical, nevertheless presents an obstacle to the efficient suppression of student dissent and concern with extra- exclusion policy? campus social and political issues.

In April of last year the La Trobe University Students' Representative Council called a mass meeting of over 1,000 students to discuss the university's iniquitous Admissions Policy, which denied enrolment to applicants who had been expelled from other universities. This policy was condemned by resolution of the meeting, and the University Council was called upon to resign. An Admissions Policy Committee, comprisBoard an Admissions Policy for 1972.

When Council (surprise, surprise) refused to resign, about 200 students blockaded the July 19 council meeting. As a result of this and other smaller occupations, the Proctorial Board of the university expelled 12 students and imposed fines upon 23 students for a total amount of

The mass pressure upon the council resulted in the resignation of the Chancellor, Sir Archibald Glenn and the implementation of the recommendations of the Admissions Policy Committee. As Darryl Hillgrove wrote in Direct Action No. 16 "the gains from last year's efforts were due to mass student dissent culminating in the committee's recommendations. The small blockade and occupations isolated from the rest of the students did not achieve (the reversal of the previous Admissions Policy and the resignation of Glenn). Occupations and blockades, as shown in 1970 at Monash University, are effective only when a sizeable proportion of students take part. At La Trobe, the majority of those students who were against the exclusion policy and council were not interested in occupations as the Admissions Policy Committee were preparing their report.

"Hence the administration had nothing to fear from the isolated vanguard actions of a few and so a few of the few were viciously dealt with".

Nevertheless, and to its credit, the La Trobe SRC set out to develop mass support, in retrospect as it were, for those students who were expelled and fined. Several important points of principle were The University Council had been at stake. Firstly, the penalties were imposed by the Proctorial Board against a few time. It had recently become constudents who were acting, and seen to be acting, on behalf of the whole student body. Whether their actions were misguided or not was not the point. What was SRC actions, particularly the estabimportant was that their struggle against unjust treatment was worthy of support from all fellow students, particularly since the cause for which they had struggled had been reluctantly accepted by the administration as a just cause, otherwise why did the administration reverse its

The harshness of the penalties also gained the students widespread sympathy, particularly since the administration had capitulated to the students' demands.

Concretely, the struggle developed around the expulsion of Brian Pola, the president of the SRC. Although the constitution magnanimously granted the SRC by the University Council specifically excluded

non-students from membership of the SRC, the SRC refused to accept this ing students and staff, was also established edict and continued to recognise Pola

There were two important issues of private ciple at stake here: firstly, at a time of dispute with the administration, how could any SRC worth its salt accept the direction of its enemy as to whom show comprise its membership, particularly when Pola had been expelled by that enemy for carrying out decisions which that same SRC had put in motion? We need only draw a parallel with an industrial union: how would the union membership react if one of its duly elected job delegates had been fired by the boss for leading a strike on a job site after such action had been decided by a democratic vote of

The second principle is related to the first, but considerably broader: should not the student body have the right to decide in favour of whomever it wishes to represent itself?

union members on the job?

The inherent repressive nature of university administrations with respect to student unionism is indicated by the fact that the La Trobe University Council answered with a resounding "no" to both of the above questions. The council saw its chance in the persons of Jan Sullivan and Suzanne Uniacke, two DLP stooges who are also members of the SRC These two persons sought injunctions in the Supreme Court of Victoria in Equity to restrain the SRC while Pola was present at its meetings. They also sought a declaration from the court that Pola was not entitled to his seat on the SRC.

waiting for this chance for some cerned, as well as the matter of Pola's presidency, about the alleged unconstitutionality of several other lishment of a book fund for the prisoners of Pentridge Gaol, a venture which cost the SRC the princely sum of \$300.

The council's concern at the direction of student funds is one reflected by university administrations throughout Australia. The Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee report on the years 1967-70 states that " .. one matter which is of concern to the committee is the compulsory fees which the universities collect on behalf of student bodies . . for disbursement, as they see fit, to affiliated clubs and societies. What is of concern to the committee is that a significant amount of these fees .. is not being used for university purposes. If this practice continues, the committee believes that it will be increasingly hard to justify the compulsory collection of these fees".

Bernie Hearn, Chairman of Macquarie University Students' Council, commented on this report in Macquarie's student news-

When the report was released last year, the chairman of the AVCC further elaborated to the press, saying that what vicechancellors were concerned about was that money was being used for 'semipolitical purposes' such as bailing students out of gaol. This statement not only suggests a great deal of ignorance on the part of vice-chancellors (since all bail money put up by SRCs is later regained by them) but also that what SRCs view as welfare issues (such as the fact that no-one should be forced to stay a night in gaol because of his financial position) the vice-chancellors see as 'political' issues. Perhaps this reveals something about the political standpoint of most vice-chancellors.

"A second important inaccuracy in the report is the suggestion that SRCs have to use all their funds on clubs and societies. I do not know of any SRC which has a constitution stating this".

University vice-chan cellors are of course reluctant to accept the proposition that university students and their elected representatives are, as scholars and citizens, morally bound to question and examine, and, if necessary, take action on issues which concern the community at large as well as themselves. They see the sole purpose of SRCs in terms of distribution of funds to clubs and societies on campus, despite the fact, as Hearn points out, that SRC constitutions do not specifically preclude other uses.

Most constitutions of SRCs state that the

funds are to be distributed in the interests and welfare of the students of the particular university. Which raises two queestions: firstly, can it not be said that a donation to say, Abschol is in the interests of the students of a particular university? Is it not in the interests of students to ensure that more aborigines have the chance to enter university and graduate? At this stage, the vice-chancellors have not taken action on the specific question of Abschol, although their reasoning suggests that donations to this body are illegal. If they did try to take action, they would have one hell of a fight on their hands. No folks, they're

not being inconsistent, just selective at

this stage. Just you wait.

The second question is: if the students of a university, or their democratically elected representatives, decide to take a particular course of action, is it not in their interests merely by virtue of the fact that they decided to do it? Or do they need some almighty on high to step in and say: "listen kids, we who have greater wisdom are of the opinion that what you've gone and decided to do is against your interests, so you'd better undecide to do it challenge to the Liberal government to and piss off back to your clubs and societies"? If the students have any rights at all to decide what to do with their money, these rights are lost when they are limited in any way.

This is the issue that really got things moving at La Trobe. The University Council had politely warned the SRC about the money to Pentridge, and then Sullivan and Uniacke moved.

These DLP stooges needed no prompting, not even from the University Council. News Weekly, the official organ of the National Civic Council, has for some time block the liberation forces by negotiating been campaigning about misuse of student away their gains must be resolutely opfunds for "communist inspired" campaigns like the anti-Springbok demonstrations (co-ordinated by AUS) and, of course, those dreadful moratoriums. The NCC operates a "Fighting Fund" which aims to "allow" off-campus sympathisers to provide financial assistance to its on-campus stalwarts. It seems that 1972 has been designated the year of anti-unionism, and accordingly Santamaria's little angels promptly swung into action.

Sullivan and Uniacke retained the services of a prominent legal firm which, not surprisingly, is the same firm pursuing the current court battle against the amalgamation of the three metal trades unions.

La Trobe University Council held up its end of the bargain. It resolved not to accept any decision purporting to be a decision of the La Trobe University SRC where any such decision had been arrived at with Brian Pola voting as a member of the SRC. It also resolved to provide Sullivan and Uniacke with any financial assistance required to have the question of Pola's membership resolved by the Supreme Court. It also resolved to withhold 1972 monies due to the SRC pending a decision by the court.

The SRC had also resolved to propose to a general meeting of students that the fines imposed by the Proctorial Board in 1971 be paid out of SRC funds. Sullivan and Uniacke, being members of the SRC, were aware of this proposal and obtained an interlocutory injunction which had the effect of freezing SRC funds pending a hearing on the case.

The general meeting of students called by the SRC decided by 900 to 100 in favour the old Victorian Executive was, more of the proposal to pay the fines out of SRC funds. The injunctions were served on the support. It is essential for socialists to majority members of the SRC. These members were then faced with having to fight a protracted legal battle with no funds against a body with almost unlimited resources. They did what was natural under the circumstances: they sought assistance from other campuses. Pola and Ian McDonald, the SRC secretary, toured campuses explaining the case and asking for financial assistance.

At the same time the matter came before the Supreme Court of Victoria. The SRC scored an initial victory when the court ruled that the (at that time) sole plaintiffs, Sullivan and Uniacke, had no right in law, as members of an unincorporated body (the SRC) to take action against other members of the same body. As a result of this ruling the University Council was forced to show its true colours by entering into the case as co-plaintiff. (Eventually the Attorney-General of the State of Victoria also joined the happy throng).

Pola and McDonald received offers of support from all campuses they visited. But at Macquarie, the DLP struck just in

Next issue: Macquarie and future prospects.

TAKES STAND

The recent furore over the Socialist Left sponsored Victorian State Council motion of support for the NLF, demonstrated the key importance of a principled left wing grouping inside the ALP. The hullabaloo which resulted clearly exposed the reformists and the hypocrites inside and outside the Labor Party, but particularly in the Parliamentary leadership. Whitlam of Mr. Lowe: "We have tried to negotiate and Holding joined the Liberals in roundly with the State government and the railcondemning the motion.

foreign policy to be expected from a Whitlam-led cabinet was provided by his demand that the Soviet Union withdraw its military support of north Vietnam. This, in the face of the genocidal US policy of mass bombings which have rained more than three times the weight of bombs over Indochina than the US dropped in the whole of World War II. Whitlam's stand only encourages the press which, learning nothing from the last eight years' struggle of the antiwar movement, returns to the "aggression from the north" thesis which has been thoroughly refuted so many times before. The Vietnamese are drawing nearer to victory all the time. Any attempt to posed. Only a complete withdrawal of ALL US troops, materiel, air and sea power is acceptable. They are the only aggressors - not the north Vietnamese. The Socialist Left is right to emphasise

There is a tactical question involved over the wording of the SL resolution. The mass of the Australian people are not at the political level of seeing the necessity to back the NLF and north Vietnamese. They may not be able to see the real reasons for it, particularly in the light of press misrepresentation. The only objectively decisive way to aid the Vietnamese liberation forces active expressions of opposition to any involvement of US forces and to Australia's complicity, through mass demonstrations and any other forms of mass activity. Possibly a preferable wording, rather than stressing support for a military victory, would be that of recognising the NLF as the only real popular political force in Vietnam, calling for the Australian government to negotiate directly with it (and pledging an ALP government to do so), while stressing once again that the Vietnamese in their civil war, have the right to work out their own destiny without any outside interference from the US or Australia or anyone else.

Sir Henry Bolte was not so far off the mark when he pointed to the continued strength of the Left in the Victorian ALP, but he was way out when he said that nothing had changed in the Victorian ALP for 17 years. The SL is a new development - more politically advanced and conscious than militant and drawing in wider layers of support it actively, and work to defend it against attacks from the Right.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE TRAIN STRIKE

BY BRUCE GOODWIN On April 20 two railway unions (the

Australian Railways Union and the Australasian Transport Officers Jannounced a 24 hour rail strike. This applied only to

Victoria. The strike was called over the State Government's refusal to grant white collar workers' wage demands. The government has granted increases to all other government workers but not to the railways.

The secretary of the ATOF Mr. Lowe, said that 4,000 workers were involved, including train controllers, station masters, clerical workers, administrative staff, ticket sellers, inspectors, foremen and supervisors.



The unions are after various increases, some of up to 9%. Members of the Salaried Officers voted strongly for stop work action to support their demands, and spontaneous stoppages have occured lasting up to half a day.

It is instructive to contrast the statement ways to try to avoid this stoppage. But the State government and Railways have Yet another clue to the sort of reactionary said we must go through arbitration".

> This indicates that the union bureaucrats were trying to sell out the militancy of the rank and file. Yet they were forced by the State government and rank and file to hold the strike.

The union leadership obviously would not like spontaneous strikes from the rank and file as these would be a definite threat to their own union positions.

The rank and file through their solid stance, have shown that direct action in the industrial sphere is the only way forward. They are now beginning to see that the union bureaucrats are interested in themselves and not the workers whom they supposedly represent. They also see that the State government is trying to destroy their militancy by reverting to the old faithful, 'inconvenience to the public' argument.

But the Australian Federated Union of Locomotive Enginemen has stated that more strikes could take place if their demands are not met within a week or so.

NO EASE IN EMPLOYMENT **OFFENSIVE**

BY SOL SALBY

Despite the government's claims to the contrary, the economic situation in Australia has steadily deteriorated in recent months. No amount of lying can hide the facts concerning this deterioration. at the best of times. Both the March unemployment figures and the Consumer Price Index for the last quarter, confirm the worsening situation class must mobilise to combat the and indicate again that the employers' offensive is now in full swing. The capitalist crisis is now having dramatic effects on class struggle in Australia.

The unemployment figures released by the Department of Labour and National Service on April 17 showed an apparent downward trend in unemployment - from 115, 149 in February to 97, 877 in March, a drop of 17, 272 or 15.0%. Much has been made out of this fall by the government and the media. The Minister for Labour and National Service, Mr. Lynch, said that "there was a substantial fall in the level of unemployment in March." This apparent trend is , however, completely reversed when seasonal factors are taken into consideration. On seasonally adjusted figures unemployment has actually risen by 1,137 following an increase of 8,574 in February! Generally speaking seasonally adjusted figures are higher than the original data for the period of March to October and are below the original data for the period of November to February. The government, of course, tends to emphasise the lowest set of figures it can. The seasonally adjusted figures are of course the more reliable and they show an unmistakably clear trend in the period since August last year. Unemployment was then 75, 553, in March it was just short of the 100,000 mark at 99,260. The real figures of unemployment are probably 35% higher. (See Direct Action 14, Feb. 7, '72.) At the same time unfilled vacancies declined by 2,111 to 29,315 following a fall of 2, 843 in February (seasonally adjusted figures). Thus while

1.78% of the estimated work force is unemployed there are only vacant jobs available for less than one out of three an extremely unfavourable ratio!

Unemployment varies considerably from state to state; the worst off states are Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland. In the old "boom state" of Western Australia, unemployment has reached the mammoth figure of 2,63% of the work force, and just under 1% of the work force is in receipt of unemployment benefits. Finally, the figures showed overtime to be steadily decreasing. In February, the last month for which figures are available it averaged 2.6 hours per week compared with 3.5 hours per week in February

If the employers' offensive had as part of its aim a reduction in inflation then it has clearly been unsuccessful, while the working class has suffered from the increasing inflation. Figures released two days later by the bureau of census and statistics indicate that inflation is continuing. The March quarter increase was 1.1%, as was the increase for the March quarter last year (which was the worst since 1952). This indicates the same rate of inflation now as in 1971. For someone on the Average Weekly Earning, the increase meant \$1.05 less in their pocket in the three month period

The failure of the government strategy and the reasons for the current crisis ought to become clearer by now. The real cause of inflation is the monopolisti price structure derived from the continuing capitalist concentration and centralization. And it is the world wide economic crisis which forces the employers and the government to adopt their strategy.

The Snedden Mini-Budget is going to outlook for two reasons :

a) The measures taken were of an extren ly minor nature. It has been calculated that the income tax reduction will mean to most workers something in the order of 30 cents extra per week.

b) The intensification of international competition resulting from the stagnation in foreign trade will force the ruling class to adopt various measures designed to force the working class to bear the main burden of adjustment even if temporary breaks are required for purely electoral purposes. The economic crisis also reduces whatever effectiveness the Keynesian measures would have had

Now more than ever before the working employers' offensive.

Some measures that should be taken now

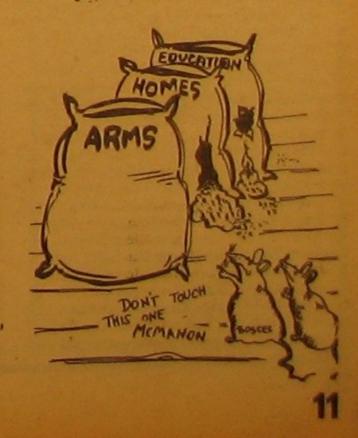
(l) The initiation of political action to prevent redundancy and layoff.

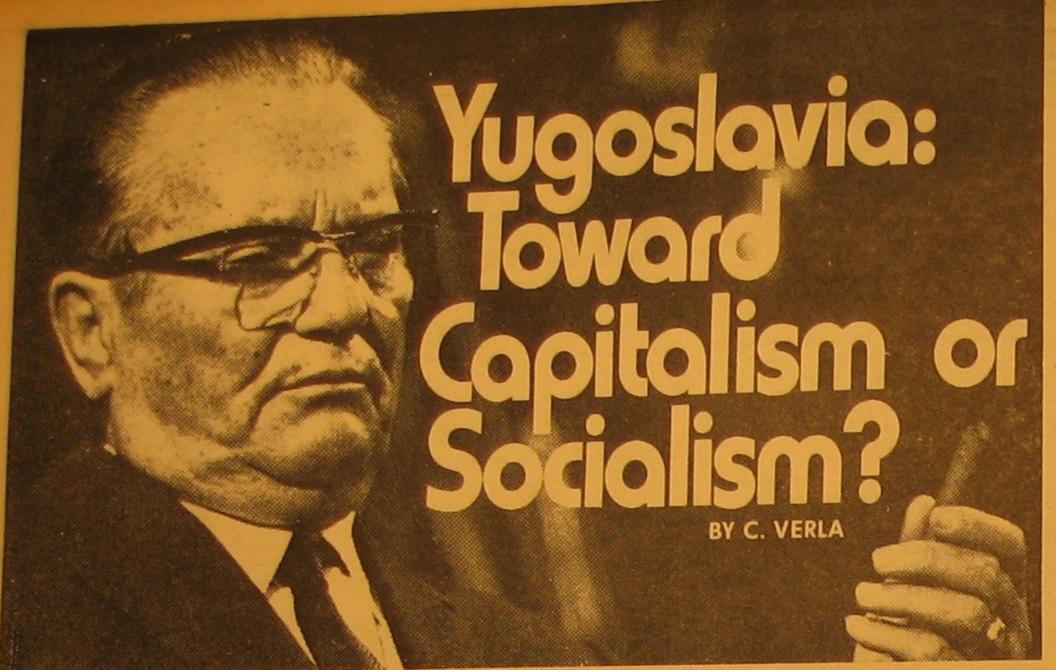
(2) Complete bans on overtime.

(3) Banning individual productivity deals that result in unemployment.

(4) Guaranteed weekly wage for all.

(5) For a shorter working week with no loss of pay.





The following article is taken from the January 22 issue of the Paris weekly Rouge, published by the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, the worldwide revolutionary organization founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. The translation is by Les Evans.

"Workers' self-management must face extremely complex problems, because the area of state leadership is being reduced and the social organization that must plan, orient, and organize ocial labor and economic reproduction on the basis of self-management is still not developed." (Second Self-Management Congress,

Sarajevo, May 1971. Extracts from the

When a crisis arises, Tito puts on his uniform. But the glorious days of the resistance are already long gone. Today the uniform is splitting at the seams, hardly able to contain all the changes at have taken place. It's necessary, then, to hold things in.

The economic reform

union round-table discussion.)

The 1965 reform considerably decentralized the Yugoslav economic system, taking away from the federal government a substantial portion of the investment funds, about 60 percent of which were, until then, under its control. (1) Far from strengthening the power of workers' self-management, this decentralization tended in large part to submit the workers to the blind laws of the market and favored the development of reactionary social forces. The immediate evils caused by this blind "game plan". called "liberalization" included the development of social inequality, the deepening of divisions between regions, a considerable rise in the cost of living, and the growth of unemployment, (2)

No matter how "self-managed" they are, workers thrown into competition as producers must confront the requirements of decentralization are intensifying, of profitability if they are to better their position on the market. But the social consequences of these mechanisms eventually provoked reactions that shed light on the nature of the social relations to its logical conclusion. The main of production still dominant in Yugo-

While they do not control the central political and economic power, the workers in the factories are not subjected technocrats and factory directors withto capitalist exploitation. They often yield the powers of self-management to elements the resources and fruits of the various technocrats when it's a matter their efforts. It provokes working-class of decisions that require detailed planning, presented in a complicated way by he "specialists." On the other hand, when it comes to distributing the enterprise's income and deciding condition's I work, these questions are largely taken charge of by the workers. All observers confirm this fact. The socialization of the means of production within this framework signifies very concretely that the capital-labor dichotomy does not exist in the factories.

One does not find, for example, the ame effects that are produced in the apitalist system by the growth of apployment. Despite the unemploy ment and the competition, the Yugoslav workers, in a period of substantial

increases in the cost of living, have chosen to raise their wages (3) rather than increase investment. They have more and more refused to accept the argument, which is imposed on them in the name of the laws of the market, that the company is "bankrupt." In response to this we get the "benevolent" advice of the gentlemen of the (Western The technocratic powers lodged in the European) Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development(OECD): "Since the way in which revenue is allocated within the company cannot be controlled in any effective manner, it seems important to reinforce the controls exercised over the company through price fixing " (4) (OECD, Etudes Economiques, November 1970 Yugoslavia.)

Yes, gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, it's not the way you do it in your own country, is it?

"In the Zenica mining and metallurgical combine it has been recognized as a principle that no worker will be dismissed because of modernization or reconstruction of the production plants or the work units... In the mining and iron works of the Bor basin the principl that no worker will be dismissed because of a surplus in the labor force has also achieved the force of law." (Summary of the analytic texts prepared for the Second Self-Management Congress of May 1971.)

The general application of such laws would render completely inoperative the play of competition.

It's also an indication of the social situation that since the reform some 3,500 enterprises continue to work at a loss. (5) (Cf. Informations Industrielles et Commerciales, September 21, 1970.)

If the workers' reactions to the effects

they are in the process coming into sharper and sharper collision with the social forces that are striving, on the contrary, to push the decentralization contradiction of the reform is this: through the decentralization and the criteria that put profitability to the force in the economy, it fundamentally depends for support on the layers of out at the same time giving these unemployment, but it leaves to the workers the decisions as to the level of wages. It precipitates competition between companies, but meanwhile it legalizes measures that contain and limit the existence of a labor market,

The reform aims to stimulate competitive efforts, but the dynamic factories involved in the export trade cannot use all the foreign exchange they accumulate to buy cheaper imports in return, which would permit them to be still more "profitable." Sixty percent of imports remain controlled. Despite the recent concessions, the enterprises cannot hold onto more than 20 to 40 percent of their receipts in foreign exchange (in place of 10 to 20 percent

before), depending on the branch of trade and the importance of their exports. And so, the federation has failed to keep its promises, intervening constantly, thus compromising the rule that "all are equal in the face of competition."

export companies and in the decentralized banking system show their hand in the demands put forward by the Croatian nationalists: Enough of this intervention by the federation! Leave us the "just fruit of our labor"! In demands such as these they tie themselves to the interests of the bourgeoisie that is developing in the tourist sector of the Dalmatian Coast in Croatia, which turns over the main part of its foreign exchange to the federation. They tie themselves also to the interests of the foreign bourgeoisie, which still puts up considerable resistance at the risks of and restrictions on investments in Yugoslavia, "given the difficulty of reconciling the protection of direct foreign investment with the principle of workers' control." (OECD, ibid, p. 54

The danger of capitalist restoration

The question of the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia really is at stake in the social struggle opening today. The political context has had a contradictory effect on the relationship of forces in this struggle: This includes the lack of cohesion of the League of Yugoslav Communists in a highly decentralized system; the extensive political liberalization that has been one of the effects of decentralization; (7) and the rupture with Stalin, which was accompanied by a massive denunciation of bureaucratization, carried out with the demagogy that might be imagined (but the effects of which have not been insignificant).

Self-management has atomized the working class and strengthened the bureaucratization at the factory level. At the same time, it has served as a politicalizing factor, giving the working class some experience in taking partial charge of its own interests.

Empirically, the solutions to the crisis are being sought and expressed along the line of planning based on selfmanagement, putting into question in the process the effects of the decentral-The differentiations inside the bureaucracy are becoming accentuated. The Yugoslav trade unions -- far less integrated into the state apparatus than those in the countries of Eastern Europe -are beginning to become an oppositional force. At least this is true right now for some tendencies within the unions. These tendencies have denounced the present trend toward 'supremacy, of the banks and other corporations that control the financial power, of the administrative hierarchy and of the technocratic organizations, all of which signify the expropriation of the status and the autonomous power of the workers." They have affirmed the necessity of complete trade-union autonomy to allow the emergence of

At the same time, other elements within the bureaucracy are profiting today from the confusion created by the repression on the left. The bureaucrats are trying to curtail the left before an authentic socialist and antibureaucratic program takes hold among the working masses.

organs of political decision-makin growing out of the autonomous organ.

ization of the producers,"

Thus, "Branko Pridicevich, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists, has demanded action against a 'very well organized and quite clever' extreme left-wing group which, according to him, exists at the University of Belgrade." (Le Monde, December 28, 1971.)

Strikes are on the rise today in Yugoslavi (8). Moreover, the situation can only be aggravated in the context of economic recession in the capitalist countries. There are a million Yugoslav workers outside of the country. This is a million people who will be the first hit and sent home by layoffs in the capitalist countries. In addition, the Yugoslav companies have declared a "technological labor surplus" on the order of 200,000 workers who are in danger of being let go and added to the 350,000 Yugoslays out of work. We should also keep in mind the some 100,000 young people graduating from school, and the rural abor surplus.

Tito spoke on the "risk of civil war" at the time of the confrontation with the nationalists. The army remains in the hands of the government. It is one of the notable exemptions from selfmanagement and is strongly centralized in the name of "efficiency."

We can understand why Branko Horvat, one of the most eminent Yugoslav economists (although he is not a Marxist) declares: "I am afraid of the growth of social and political contradictions. These can pose a danger to the very existence of socialism in this country," (Nin ("Now", a mass-circulation Serbo-Croat weekly published in Belgrade), January 1, 1972.)

As for the students, who are directly concerned with the problem of employment, they already demonstrated, in Belgrade in June 1968, their antibureaucratic drive and their solidarity with the workers' strikes. Their slogan is "self-management from top to bottom," We can bet that the fight for this slogan will pose a physical confrontation of social forces in Yugoslavia, not some vague ideological debate. The struggle against the restoration of capitalism lies before us. Let those who have been crying wolf since who knows when open their eyes! The outcome has yet to be decided.

(1) The reform repealed a large part of the heavy taxes on factories and restricted the government's right to decide for the various industrial sectors the amount of funds they could keep for their own selffinancing. The federal government's direct role in deciding investment has fallen to about 30 percent of the total. The government maintains an extrabudgetary fund for the development of backward regions.

2. This amounts to 8 percent of the active population, excluding agriculture. We can put this figure at 350, 000 workers. 3. See OECD (French edition), November 1970, pp. 33 and 64.

4. Sixty percent of industrial products had controlled prices in 1964. This rose to 90 percent in 1965, despite the ellors at "liberalization." In 1968 the figure was 45 percent. Public fares are partiall controlled: rents and prices of commercial services are to be raised by 100 percent. Increases such as this are made only at long intervals.

5. On the basis of funds held in common by the various companies of a town. 5. Cf. "Foreign Investment in Yugo-

slavia, " OECD 1970. This is spiced ization and the weight of the bureaucracy, with demands that Yugoslavia become 7. Cf. the publication in Yugoslavia of works by Trotsky, (After all, there's a market for them!) Also, Ernest Mandel's Marxist Economic Theory ha been translated into Serbo-Croat and published in a perfectly legal edition, including the chapters on the postcapitalist economy of transition, Also to be noted is Ernest Mandel's invitation to speak at the University of Belgrade. S. The right to strike is offically recognized today. On the one hand this is simply an expression of the recogniion of the present state of affairs. But it also reflects the bureaucracy's need to open the flood gates a little against the centrifugal technocratic forces that threaten the central bureaucratic power

ARGENTINIAN WITCH-HUNT

In past months civil liberties for those who disagree with government policies have been severely restricted in Argentina. There are more and more cases reported of persons being kidnapped by the political police, disappearing without any trace. In addition, dissidents are frequently held without trial. Their lawyers have little success guaranteeing fair treatment for them: torture is general procedure, prison conditions are inhuman. A list recently released by the Argentine government indicates that there are 399 political prisoners imprisoned there.

The newspapers in Argentina verify that leftists and their families are being harassed, tortured, and murdered by police, and often arrested and put on trial on the basis of the flimsiest of evidence.

The Buenos Aires daily La Razon on February 7 reported charges of torture by police in Tucuman, Edmundo Diego Villarreal, the father of Ana Villarreal de Santucho, wife of Mario Roberto Santucho, said to be a leader of the ERP (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo --Revolutionary Army of the People). charged that his daughter was arrested and "handcuffed, undressed, blindfolded, and subjected to all kinds of tortures and taunts of a physical, moral, and psychological nature in the central police headquarters."

The same issue of La Razon told of an incident in Cordoba in which police murdered 23-year-old Alfredo Costa in cold blood and arrested his family early in the morning of February 3. The family was visiting Costa's brother in Cordoba and planning to return to their home in San Juan that very day. They were awakened by loud banging at the door and windows of the house. As soon as the door was opened, the police started firing. In the process, Costa was killed. The dead youth's father charged that he was "brutally murdered and the rest of the family handcuffed and taken without any consideration to a police station where everyone was held incommunicado in a prison cell." They were released without any explanation.

The father said his sons were Peronists, but that they belonged to no political organizations. The police carried out their violent assault despite the fact that at no time was there gunfire or the threat of gunfire from the occupants of the

On February 14, the Cordoba police carried out what La Nacion said began as a "pretty much routine operation" and ended with one "extremist" and one policeman dead. The "extremist" was identified as Ramon Alberto Leguizamon, alleged to be a member of the ERP. He was killed as police raided a house used to shelter members of an "extremist cell"

This incident was followed by several other raids in which thirteen persons were arrested, according to La Razon (February 18). All were suspected of having connections with the ERP, though no evidence was offered. They were: Humberto Tumini; Luis Viale and his wife, Marta Ferreyra de Viale; Belisario Roque; Guillermo Araujo; Roberto Varas and his wife, Cristina Canavosio de Varas; Oscar Cardenas; Carlos Albarracin; Benjamin Nieto; Hector Chapur; and Gustavo Quiroga. Another woman was arrested, but her name was not given.

On February 18, La Nacion reported the following day, six persons carried out a "daring attack" on a police station in Salta and escaped after a skirmish with

Early in the morning of the same day, an ERP commando made off with a milk truck containing close to 3,000 liters of milk. "One of the extremists took over the vehicle, " according to La Nacion, "while the others stood on the running boards of the truck. After the truck went a certain distance, four other extremists got into it. They had pulled stockings over their face so that they would not be recognized."

Upon reaching Lules, about 25 kilometers south of San Miguel del Tucuman, "they woke up the families in the area by honking the horn, and then distributed the milk. Before fleeing, they spraypainted slogans on the vehicle with black paint referring to 'Che' Guevara and the extremist group to which they belonged."

The same day, in Mendoza, four persons who were leaving prison (after receiving a suspended sentence for theft of explosives) were again arrested by federal

February 18 was also the opening day in the Buenos Aires trial of six persons

alleged to be members of the ERP and accused of planning to burn the presidential viewing box last July. On July 9, Alejandro Lanusse, the president of Argentina, and Jorge Pacheco Areco, the president of Uruguay, were to review a military parade from the box.

The six are Mario Vicente Rodriguez, Pedro Luis Cazes Camarero, Miguel Streger, Martin Richard Marco, Alicia Sanguinetti, and Maria Elena Mauceri.

According to one report, the prosecutor accused them of being linked not to the ERP but to the Communist party.

They are being charged on forty-two counts, among them car theft, attacking and robbing policemen, stealing a Mauser rifle with a telescopic sight, forging documents, possession of explosives, and illegal association with communism. Police said they were discovered in a bar planning the attack on the presidential parade box.

One of the defendants, Martin Richard Marco, charged on the witness stand that he had been tortured while in the hands of the DIPA (Division de Investigaciones Policiaies Antidemocraticas --Division of Police Investigations into Antidemocratic Activities).

The caliber of prosecution witnesses was evident from the testimony of Alejandro Ruben Elias, a taxidriver. He explained, according to La Razon February 22, that the police had asked him to participate in the raid on the home of defendant Alicia Sanguinetti. "Elias gave a detailed description of the various incriminating materials that were discovered there, such as a Mauser, Communist and Trotskyist books, weapons, wigs (which he asserted belonged to the accused, although he had previously indicated that he did not know her), the weapons, and even the uniform of a ship's captain in the Uruguayan navy. When cross-examined by the defense, the witness (who is 19 years old) vacillated markedly and ended up by admitting that his knowledge of leftist books was limited and that he had no idea whatsoever of what a Mauser looked like."

On February 23, the trial began in Tucuman for two more alleged members of the ERP, Clarisa Rosa Lea Place, a

law student, and Jorge Wencesiao Paul. They were accused of attacking a radio station and of stripping a policeman of his weapon and his uniform.

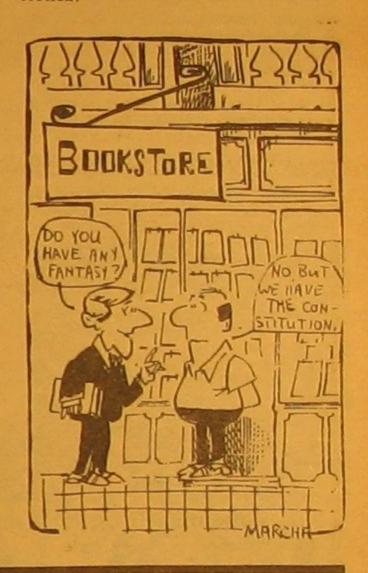
Protest This Situation

As a first stage in a defense campaign for the political prisoners in Argentina all readers are urged to send letters demanding human and democratic rights for the prisoners, Letters should be addressed to General Alejandro A. Lanusse, Casa de Gobierno, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Please send copies to: El Senor Lombardi, Parana 264, Piso 8, Oficina 76, Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Dr Cesar Calcagno, Bartolome Mitre 1225, Piso 1, 3er Cuerpo, Buenos Aires. They are the lawyers for many of the prisoners in Argentina.

A copy to the USLA Justice Committee of any protest letters would also be appreciated.

You may send copies through Direct



LABOUR IN ISRAEL

In recent weeks the media has been full of stories covering the ACTU's overseas guests. First it was the mission from the West German trade union movement and lately it was a team from the Histadrut (Histadruth Haovdim Haivryim Belsrael, The Federation of Hebrew Workers in Israel - the Israeli Labour Federation). The press was full of praise for the Histadrut and in particular some of its enterprises such as Bank Hapoalim (the Workers Bank) and the construction firm Solel Boneh (see for example, The Australian, 19.4.72)

In view of Bob Hawke's presentation of the Histadrut as an ideal model for the ACTU a closer examination of the Histadrut is called for. The Histadrut history forms fascinating reading, particularly in its role of mobilising workers on a national basis of Jew V Arab rather than any class principles. But on this occasion we will treat the "labour

economy" which contributes over a quarter of the total national income and is responsible for nearly 50% of of industrial production. With such giant of course). dimensions one is tempted to look for the benefits that accrue to Israeli workers, particularly when we hear of sums of the order of \$35 million being accumulated by the construction firm alone,

A close examination of the Histadrut structure raises the most striking "strange" feature - out of its 14 departments one is devoted to .. trade union affairs. The Histadrut is the only labour federation in the world with a department for trade union affairs and its other interests being regarded as more substantial. It also has a legal department and even a religious affairs department. One is actually surprised that it does not have a department for employing interests as the Histadrut is also the biggest employer

in the country. It also has a despicable record of strike breaking - it even set up workers' courts to try workers for buildings and public works, and over 20% striking! (against the "national interest"

Another interesting sidelight to the Histadrut is derived by looking at the breakdown of the high membership fee (32% -45% of members' income). While 39% is spent on administrative costs only 2% is spent on the strike fund! The reason for the high administrative cost is simple - the high cost of bureaucracy (see picture). The Histadrut employs an administrative staff of 30,000! (Compare it with the ACTU's staff of eight!). The 30,000 does not include the administrative staff of Histadrut owned enterprises.

There are quite a few interesting motions covering workers' control and similar topics on the Histadrut books. Over the last 52 years none of these were implemented. One can judge the amount of say workers have in the running of the organisation by the disparity between managers' and workers' wages, and from the lack of distribution of any profits to the workers, and finally from the composition of the last Histadrut conference in 1971, 64.6% of those who attended designated themselves as "directors" or "officials", where 15% were members of the free professions, 9.3% were farmers and only 5.3% of the entire delegation were employees.

The Australian working class is not going to benefit by instituting workers capitalism a la Histadrut. Only a socialist transformation of the whole of society can stop exploitation and alienation.

Published by the Socialist Action

> The great myth of the New Zealand utopia is fast disappearing today. Capitalism in this country is being challenged on an ever-widening range of issues. There is massive opposition to New

Zealand aggression in Vietnam, there's the emergence of women's liberation, a revival of the Maori movement, rising labour militancy a vigorous movement against racist South Africa.

A process of radicalization is developing, especially among young people. Follow it. Read Socialist Action, a revolutionary newspaper published fortnightly. Write to Socialist Action,

Box 1663, Wellington, New Zealand SUBSCRIPTIONS: For 24 issues, surface \$1.50 airmail \$3.00

Histadrut headquarters in Tel Aviv.

REPRESSION IN CEYLON Interview with Ceylonese Revolutionary

The following interview was obtained from Jaya Vithana, a militant of the ourth International from Ceylon, He is presently on a speaking tour of Australia to publicise the repression in Ceylon. For details of where he is speaking, contact the SWL or SYA branch in your

QUESTION Could you describe the repression that the coalition government launched on March 16 last year, especially its effects on the Left and on the working class? ANSWER

Well, in reality the repression last year started not on March 16 but much before that. On March 15 an unknown group of people, called the MAO YOUTH FRONT, attacked the American Embassy. This was a deliberate and well planned act of provocation which was subsequently used as a justification for the imposition of a "state of emergency" and the arrest and detention of over 500 militants, mostly members of the JVP (Janatha Vinukthi Peramuna).

In the three weeks that followed, the police put into operation what I would call a "search and destroy mission", intimidating, assaulting, arresting and detaining people whom they suspected as being members of the Peoples' Liberation Front, or the JVP.

This continued until April 4 when in dire desperation, the rank and file members of the JVP launched a counter attack. They attacked a number of police stations throughout the island. The government then retaliated by imposing a 24 hour curiew and initiated a major offensive. For the next three weeks the army and police went on a rampage; a large number of houses were burnt down, and people were subjected to inhuman torture. In the beginning the working class was confused. Partly, this was due to the fact that the Communist Party (Moscow) and the LSSP, Lanka Sama

Rebels captured in Anuradhapura, Ceylon,

during anti-government upsurge last year.

Samaja Party, participated in the

Bandaranaike coalition and supported

class did not believe the government

these repressive measures of the govern-

ment. But most sections of the working

version of the events. Moreover, even

action. One can understand the trau-

matic effect of indiscriminate arrests,

assaults and murder of suspects; and

working class.

QUESTION

begin with?

ANSWER

those layers of the working class who knew

the true facts were too scared to take any

the effect of completely disorienting the

What in your opinion was the aim of re-

been launched in the countryside to

Well, it is clear that the purpose of the

government considered a revolutionary

leadership or nucleus, which may have

the state in a confrontation between the

government expected such a confrontat-

ion because they were contemplating

the imposition of heavy burdens on the

mass of workers. The government had

promised the World Bank that it would

introduce a number of austerity meu-

arres, and it was only on the basis of

these promises that the World Bank was

intervened against repressive forces of

working class and the state. The

repression was to get rid of what the

pression at the time, as it seems to have

ment was already about \$582 million and it could not even meet the service charges due on these loans. Therefore the repression was a necessary prerequisite for the imposition of massive economic burdens on the mass of people.

QUESTION Considering the overwhelming support given to the Bandaranaike government by the Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslavian and capitalist governments, what effects has this had on the JVP and on the proletariat?

ANSWER Obviously it confused the working class. As you know it was the most incredible popular front ever formed against a few hundred youth armed with rusty shot guns and a few hand bombs.

The response of imperialist countries was to be expected, but the role of the bureaucracies of the workers' states reinforced the confusion in the working class. At least for a short period of time the government succeeded in deceiving the masses. It is a different story with the JVP. The role of the great helmsman of China, in particular, has forced them to reassess their policies. However, more backward members of the JVP might succumb to Buddhist Sinhala chauvinism.

Beginning in March this year, the government launched another wave of repression. What effect has this had on civil liberties and on basic rights, such as the freedom to organize, publish, etc?

ANSWER Well, even before the government initiated certain repressive acts this year the question of freedom to organize and publish did not exist anyway, because the emergency regulations which were promulgated last year had already taken away these rights.

This year the government has attempted to intimidate those sections of the working class who were beginning to move against the government in an organized manner. Furthermore the Human Democratic

Rights organization and the Ceylon

Mercantile Union by their propaganda

had been able to draw attention to the

Gunnasekera, brother of a member of

Faced with the growing opposition of

the masses the government introduced

two bills in parliament which would

further restrict the rights of the people.

The Criminal Justice Commission Act

empowers the government to establish

Courts. Under this law they have the

power to hold secret trials, to permit

confessions obtained by means of torture

to be adduced in evidence. There is no

right to appeal against a decision made

could be exercised not only against the

present, but also in any situation which

breaksown of law and order; this means

16,000 detainees held in custody at

could be considered as a widespread

a strike by any section of the workers

illegal and arbitrary acts of the govern-

ment as for instance in the case of P.C.

could also be construed in this way and these powers exercised. The other bill the government has tabled in parliament takes away the rights of an individual to challenge its courts' arbitrary and legal acts, such as illegal arrests.

Since the 20th March this year the police have begun to arrest trade unionists and young people once again. In our opinion, all these acts are designed to intimidate the working class, because last year's budget, although it imposed certain economic burdens, did not help to resolve the economic crisis. Therefore the government has once again gone back to the World Bank cap in hand, I think the purpose of the present wave of repression is to maintain a climate of

QUESTION

The coalition government has recently decided to change the constitution in order to extend the life of the present parliament until 1978. What repercussions in general, in your opinion, will it have?

The new draft constitution which will be passed very soon will be no different from the existing constitution; it will maintain and preserve the capitalist property system and it will incorporate into its main body the repressive laws that existed in the past like the Public Security Act and so on, Elections will not be held for another seven years and thus the present government which was elected two years a o, will have a life of nine years. After a certain period the masses will realize that there will be no constitutional means of changing the government, which will have an . important effect on the consciousness of those sections of the working class who have still not broken completely with coalition politics.

QUESTION

ANSWER

parliament, who opposed the government. the last Bandaranaike government, against

Kangaroo Courts, akin to Hitler's Peoples' the government is implementing the

in these courts, Furthermore these powers these workers. In the last few months

Could you describe the measures taken by the government against the Tamil minority and its reason for doing so?

Well you see there are no particular

just maintains the discriminatory

minority by the present government. It

measures of past governments including

the Tamil minority. For instance, the

Tamils in Ceylon do not have the right

to use their language as an official

workers of Indian origin have been

horse-deal, made between Madame

Bandaranaike and late Indian Prime

Minister Shastri, whereby they agreed

attempts have been made to whip up

ment made by a representative of the

that is like Bangladesh, However, I do

hot think in the present period this is

Foreign Investment in Australia:

Sexual Oppression; the History of the CPA:

Subscriptions: \$2,50 for six ussues (posted)

Chile; Marxism and History; Lu Hsun

from P.O. Box 186, Haymarket, NSW

anti-Tamil hysteria by exploiting a state-

to deport 500,000 plantation workers to

language and Tamil is only used in a

deprived of their citizenship and presently

measures that are taken against the Tamil

going to work because at the moment chauvinistic propaganda has very little effect, and I think the action of JVP militants last April has substantially changed the consciousness of the Sinhala

OUESTION

What is the present relationship between the various parties in the coalition government?

ANSWER

Well, as you know, after the events last year in March and April, the only political force that opposed the government's repression consistently, was the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) (LSSP(R)) and the CMU. Throughout the last year the CP and the LSSP leaders were even more aggressive in their attacks on the JVP than Madame Bandaranaike, However, the consistent propaganda carried out by the LSSP(R) and the CMU had the first important impact in October when one member of the government party who is an SLFP member crossed over to the opposition.

This helped to galvanize mass opinion Differences which existed within the CP have now come into the open. Their trad union wings seem to have gained the majority within their party. When the Criminal Justice Bill was tabled in parliament, it was the CP paper which is called the "Truth" which openly campaigned against the bill and called it a fascist bill. I think this bill helped to tip the balance in favour of the opposition within the CP, and the Central Committee of the CP decided to oppose the bill. During the voting, the CP split, one member voting for the bill and others abstaining. I think what we will see in the near future is a split in the CP and the majority of the CP will be expelled from the Coalition government. At the same time, the section led by J.R. Jayawardene seems like joining the government.

Though the LSSP MPs still support the coalition, within its TU wing there has been a growing opposition. Two of their major trade unions, the General Clerical Service Union as well as the Ceylon Federation of Labour both led by stausch pro-coalition supporters, attacked the Criminal Justice Commission Bill. I think, in my opinion, the tide is beginning to turn against the government and we are beginning to see the fruits of our consistent opposition which we carried out under very difficult conditions last

QUESTION

outside of Ceylon?

ANSWER

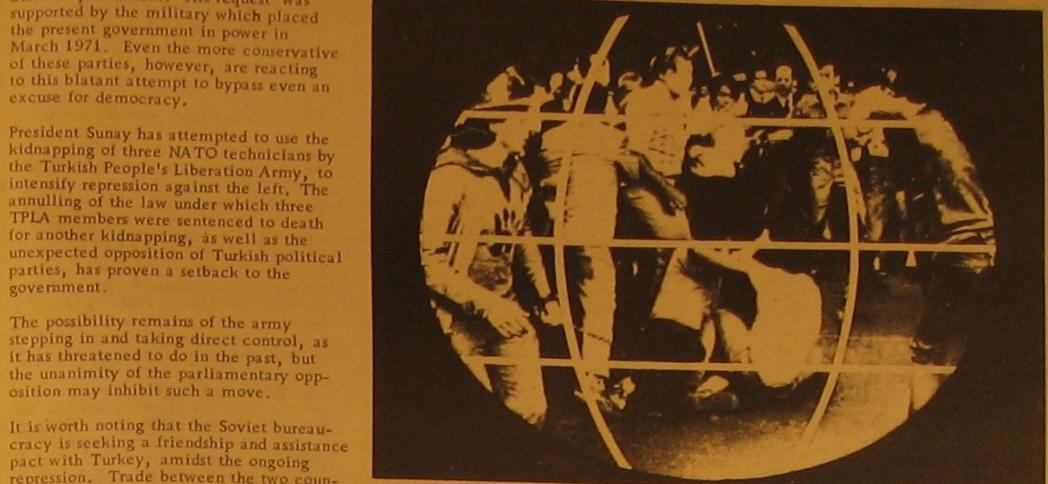
Well, I have already indicated the situation today; that is I think the tide

We should see the beginning of a proletarianization within the society in the next period when the mass movement develops. The government will try to destroy it by increasing the repression. At the momen this process is still developing at a very slow pace. The mass of the workers have not yet completely broken with their illusions regarding coalition politics; of class collaborationist and popular frontis politics. However, once the movemen picks up momentum, the flood tide of working class struggles will challenge the capitalist state and capitalist proper system. When the mass movement reach a certain point we should see the intens ication of repression. The government will try to arrest or eliminate the leadership of the mass movement. With the passing language, therefore Sinhala is the official of the Criminal Justice Commission Bill the government may try to bring to trial very limited way. Secondly, the plantation some of the 16,000 people who are held in jail today without trial. They may try to have some kind of show trial. In this situation the comrades outside Ceylon both in the International and sympathetic to it, can play an important role, firstly, by giving publicity to the repression by campaigning, however India; and this was done without consulting small, by trying to publicise what is going on in Ceylon and also the role played by the respective governments. Secondly, the comrades can raise money, because these people who are brought to Tamil bourgeoisie, calling for a Yal-Desh, trial will need a lot of legal assistance and most of these people in jail are people who are the sole breadwinners of their families. Thirdly, I think it 15 important for the comrades to try to organize some kind of international intervention of, say, leading trade unionists when these trials come up so that it would embarrass the Ceylon government. It would be much more difficult for the Ceylon government to justify in the face of World public opinion, these Kangaroo Courts which

In the present state of repression, what do you think can be done by comrades

has begun to turn against the government.

the government hopes to establish in order to bring these prisoners to trial.



REVOLUTION

Left) has pulled out following Allende's veto on April 6 of key provisions in a constitutional change. The constitutional throw the Pretoria regime. measure would prevent the government from nationalising private companies with- For six months before the trial, they were out prior approval from the oppositioncontrolled Congress.

A "march for democracy" and against "statist socialism" was staged on April 12th the subsequent ease with which convictin Santiago by nearly every opposition group from the Christian Democrats to the the government still resorted to torture ultraright Fatherland and Liberty movement. The march was said by the New York Times to have been the biggest since Allende took office, placing its size at around 200, 000 and "...heavily middle class."

Opposition to such moves is evident in high Reports state that Allende is predicting an answering march by government supporters on April 18th, covering the same route as the anti-government protest.

SOUTH AFRICA.

held in prison for more than one year were convicted on April 4th of violating the apartheid regime's notorious Terrorism Act. marketeering on the domestic scene is the Two days later, Judge Neville James sentenced them to prison terms rangins from five to eight years.

the African People's Democratic Union of de Tzquierda Radical- Party of the Radical Movement. They were convicted of con-

BANGLADESH.

The thirteen are alleged to be members of thousands of miles away. Unidad Popular coalition, the PIR (Partido South Africa and the Non-European Unity The mass destruction of Bangladesh ind-

spiring to raise money and recruit for political 'indoctrination' and plotting to over- co-operation.

held in solitary confinement, one, Mthageni Cutshela, being tortured to death. The law classes 'terrorism' as virtually any anti-government act, and ions are passed is ludicrous. Despite this of both defendants and witnesses.

The Bangladesh economy has finally reached a state of collapse and it would appear that Rahman and his Awami League are in a tight corner. The food situation is desperate; famine is expected if massive amounts of grain are not immediately distributed. The government's inability to deal with this crisis engendered widespread profiteering among low echelon bureaucrats.

Combined with corruption and blacktreachery and incompetence displayed on the international side where many thousands of tons of wheat and rice have either gone astray or arrived in other countries

ustry and the inability of the bourgeois

volutionary movement among the

Jordanian people; to give them full

support, and to work hand in hand with

Jordan and establish a democratic state

them to overthrow the puppet regime in

About the world revolution: the meeting

aries throughout the world and give them

full support and maintain good relations

with them, as they saw the Palestinian

revolution as part of the world revolut-

Committees were formed to ensure that

The Congress rejected the Allon (Deputy)

Prime Minister of Israel)-Hussein plan

decided to co-operate with revolution-

government to rebuild the transportation system have given rise to staggering unemployment rates, as refugees from the countryside flood to the cities.

Faced with government corruption, incompetence and inaction, sections of the Bengali population have begun to mobilize to deal with the crisis themselves. Rahman has reacted to this situation by issuing threats to the population and carrying out sweeping repression, and terror attacks on the far left. Despite this it is not likely that a hungry population will patiently wait while Awami League goons hunt for far left dissidents.

GREAT BRITAIN: UNION FINED IN BOYCOTT.

Britain's largest union, the 1, 250,000 strong Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) was fined £5,000 on March 29th for contempt of the National Industrial Relations Court. It is the first case of this kind to be brought up under the Tory government's new Industrial Relations Act. The fine involves the barring by dockers of two Lancashire container firm trucks from entering the Liverpool docks.

The Trades Union Congress and TGWU leaderships have made it clear that they will not appear at the hearing. If they do not recognize the court and the fine is not paid by a certain date, then the court will issue writs to sequester sufficient union property to pay the fine.

It will be a test-case in that it will test the ability of the government to force compliance with the Act in spite of union non-

Whether, however, the TUC and the TGWU leaderships will steadfastly maintain this boycott in the face of the threat remains to be seen.

Photo above: Chile, Street battle sparked by rightist goons during march by Santiago women last December.

The reports in this section have been compiled from Interconinental Fress. This weekly newsmagazine specialises in political analysis and interpretation of events from a revolutionary Marxist viewpoint, formal documents, reports, reprints and translations. Airmail subscriptions are available through PO Box 186 Haymarket, Sydney 2000 for \$20 a year, \$5 a quarter.

MOVES FOR RULE BY DECREE

demanded that all political parties agree

to a constitutional amendment providing

for rule by decree without prior consult-

ation of parliament. His request was

supported by the military which placed

of these parties, however, are reacting

President Sunay has attempted to use the

kidnapping of three NATO technicians by

the Turkish People's Liberation Army, to

intensify repression against the left. The

annulling of the law under which three

for another kidnapping, as well as the

parties, has proven a setback to the

The possibility remains of the army

osition may inhibit such a move.

stepping in and taking direct control, as

it has threatened to do in the past, but

the unanimity of the parliamentary opp-

It is worth noting that the Soviet bureau-

pact with Turkey, amidst the ongoing

repression. Trade between the two coun-

tries has increased sharply in the past six

or seven years. Such is the counter-rev-

olutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy

NIXON ORDERS NAVY TO

According to Wall Street Journal and

in which a ship, the "Johnny Express".

commanded by a Cuban counter-revolu-

tionary Villa Diaz, was seized by Cuba.

against Cuba with CIA co-ordination.

soon stopped following this and he has

U.S. government articles such as the

House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on

Latin America with complaints of "....

going back (sic) to the United States as

the 'policeman of the world'" Perhaps

possible embarrassment in the U.S. trans-

ferring ships- perhaps even from the Ton-

kin Gulf- to cruise the Caribbean protect-

The most conservative party in Allende's

ing a motley bunch of latter-day Black-

"RADICAL LEFT" PARTY

LEAVES CHILE COALITION.

Castro was able to present evidence that

the ship had participated in armed attacks

Public references to the incident by Nixon

now apparently chosen to move secretly.

New York Times despatches, Nixon has

instructed the Navy to protect "merchant-

ships" of countries 'friendly' to the United

This move apparently follows an incident

PROTECT PIRATES.

TPLA members were sentenced to death

the present government in power in

On April 3rd Turkey's president Sunay

IN TURKEY

excuse for democracy.

government.

in such situations.

States.

beards.

When the Palestine revolution reached a strong point that endangered the position of the Zionist state and the Arab reactionaries as well as the imperialist influence in the area, then plots to destroy it were planned in Amman and Tel Aviv with the support of the imperialist powers. The king of the puppet regime in Amman called on Al Fatch to co-operate with him against the democratic front, using the incident of the destruction of the aeroplanes at the revolution airstrip as an excuse. But Al Fatch refused the offer because they knew that they would be the next to be attacked.

In 1970, when the civil war was started with the co-operation of the Zionist state and US imperialism and with the shelling of Amman by Hussein, the Palestinian revolution was weakened in Jordan, but its mass support increased. Many other attempts were made to isolate the revolution, but the Palestinian masses became more closely tied to the revolutionary groups, until finally the revolutionaries decided to meet and discuss the whole situation. Four hundred delegates representing all the groups and parties of the Palestinian revolution met in Cairo from April 6-10.

On the agenda were included the following: the Palestinian revolution and the re-

To consider armed struggle as the way liberation for Palestine and the estabishing of a democratic state for all the Jews and Arabs (Moslem and Christian)

2. To unite the groups and parties struggling against the imperialists, Zionists and Arab reactionaries. This will mean unity in the armed forces under one command and unification of all financial resources under the Palestinian National Bank. There will be unity of all information sources and the use of one centre, and a united front in foreign affairs.

3. The Palestinian Liberation Organisation all decisions will be put into effect. executive will be comprised of delegates from all groups, and the PLO will be the single representative of the Palestinian

After the agenda was accepted by all delegates, they discussed the revolution's position and its relation to the Arab reactionaries. The delegates decided:

(a) To mobilise and prepare the Palestinian people for the war with the Zionists and imperialists as well as the Arab reactionaries, and to inform them that the war could go on for years.

(b) To co-operate with the Arab progressive groups, to make stronger ties with them, and to make the Arab world feel that the Palestinian revolution is part of the whole Arab revolution.

(c) To establish stronger ties between

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for the United Arab Kingdom, and sent the congress' greeting to the people of Palestine who rejected and resisted the game of "elections" which the Zionist state made after King Hussein's agreement.

The question now is, will the unity between all revolutionary groups in Palestine last for long? After the many lessons the Palestinian revolution has learned from its struggles, and when circumstances before the meeting assured them of the same future, one can say that this union of revolutionary forces looks as if it will remain until the victory of the revolution. What increases this possibility is that such a union is the wish of the Palestinian people and of the Arab world.



repared to extend further loans to the Ceylon government. Furthermore, the creal debt of the Ceylonese govern-





Both of the above photos were taken from a 1920 motion picture. The crudely doctored version below, eliminating Leon Trotsky and another person, is typical of the Stalinist falsification of history.

MAY

People attending Melbourne's Mayday committee delegates' meeting on Friday, April 14th, were witness to one of the most bizarre spectacles provided by the left for many years, In classical Stalinist fashion a motion was passed indicting the Trotsky-ists for being "agents of fascism, imperialism and counterrevolution" to name but a few of the more slanderous epithets. The motion was intended to become part of the Mayday platform and its content to be distributed in leaflet form on the day of the march. As if that wasn't enough, the Mayday leadership displayed its contempt for the Women's Liberation movement by presenting as a speaker for Women's Liberation a woman under censure by the Melbourne Women's Liberation Coordinating Committee.

This situation reflects the state of chronic disease besetting the Mayday committee. In the past it 21g-2a gged to the vacillations of the Stalinist CPA. Now, under Maoist domination, it reverts to gutter politics, nationalism and male chauvinism.

At a time when enormous opportunities for revolutionary socialists are presented by the new radicalization we should endeavour to utilise the celebration of Mayday to extend the radicalisation into the ranks of the working class. It is a time when workers can be brought out onto the streets with a socialist perspective and a sense of solidarity in struggle with their international counterparts. In the January issue of Direct Action we wrote:

"May Day...the day of the revolutionary proletariat and their allies; the day when past victories are recalled and further battles are foreshadowed; the day when we join with our comrades around the world to demonstrate our faith in the ultimate conquest of power by the dispossessed of the earth.

"There are some socialists who question the value of the celebration of May Ist. May Day they say, is not part of the tradition of the Australian working

class. They claim that socialists have attempted implant an activity which can have no relevant to the class struggle in this country.

"We of the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League, believe that the celeration of May Day should be understood as a me of politicizing Australian workers."

On a more humorous note a look at the manawhich the motion was presented may be intered. The display was spearheaded by renowned "letwing" charlatan and adventurer Dusty Miller, avid fringe dweller of Australian Maoism, be to orarily buried the Sino-Soviet rift to form a beam united-front with Moscow's Mal Mooney SPA. From the tragic, the debate went to the absurd when Mooney lumped the CPA into the Trotskyist camp and felt that in effect the modifical control of the control of the control of the modifical camp and felt that in effect the modifical camp.

To us Mayday means more than the policies of leadership of its committees, it symbolizes to proletarian revolution, the international class struggle. Mayday will live on whilst those who too stupid to learn the lessons of history will also As Trotsky said, they will finish in the rubble to finistory.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE ORIGINS OF MAY DAY

BY ROSA LUXEMBURG

The inspired thought of introducing a proletarian holiday as a means of obtaining the eight-hour working day first originated in Australia. As early as the year 1856, the workers there resolved to call for one day of complete work stoppage; the day to be spent in meetings and entertainment instead—as a demonstration for the eight-hour day. The 21st of April was designated as this holiday. In the beginning, the Australian workers thought of instituting such a holiday but once, in the year 1856. But even this first celebration made such a great impression on the proletarian masses of Australia that it was decided to repeat the holiday annually.

As a matter of fact, what else could give the working people greater courage and confidence in their powers than a mass work stoppage of their own volition? What could give greater courage to the eternal slaves of the factories and workshops than the mustering of their own forces? Therefore the idea of the proletarian holiday was accepted very quickly and began to spread from Australia to other countries, until it conquered the entire proletarian world.

The first to follow the example of the Australian workers were the Americans. They designated the first of May as the day of general work stoppage in the year 1886. On this day, 200,000 of them left work and demanded the eight-hour day. Later, the persecutions of the government prevented the workers for a number of years to repeat this demonstration. However, in the year 1888 they renewed their decision and designated the first of May of 1890 as the next holiday.

In the meantime, the labor movement in Europe had developed greatly and become infused with new vigor. This upsurge found its highest expression in the international labor congress held in the year 1889. The four hundred delegates assembled at this convention resolved to fight, first of all, for the eight-hour day. The delegate of the French trade unions, the worker Lavigne from Bordeaux, made a motion to give substance to this demand by a universal workers holiday in all countries. Since the delegate of the American workers called attention to the decision of his comrades in respect to the first of May 1890, the convention designated this date for the international holiday.

Actually, like the workers of Australia thirty years previous, in this case also the demonstration was thought of as occurring but once. The convention resolved that the workers of all countries would demonstrate together on the first of May 1890 for the demand of the eight-hour day. No one spoke of the repetition of the holiday in the coming years. Of course, no one could foresee how well this proposal was to succeed and how quickly it came to be adopted by the working class. It was sufficient to celebrate May Day once, in the year 1890, in order that everyone understood at once and realized that the May Day celebration should become a permanent, yearly institution.

. The First of May proclaims the slogan of the eight-hour day. But even after the attainment of this aim the May Day celebration will not be abolished. As long as the struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie and against the government will last, as long as all demands are not fulfilled, the May Day holiday will be the annual expression of these demands. But even when better times shall dawn, and the working class will have achieved its emancipation in the entire world, probably even then, in memory of the battles fought and the sufferings endured, humanity will celebrate the First of May.

