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The Issues Behind
The OIL STRIKE

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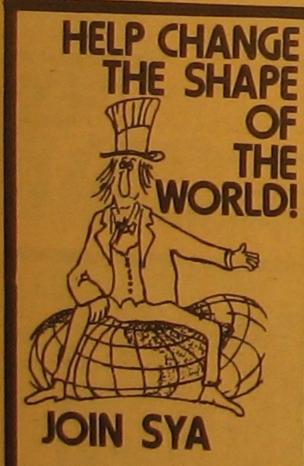
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night are plunging the Vietnamese The air war in Vietnam has reached homeland into mourning." immense proportions. There are a repor-

200 B-52's involved in wholesale destruc-

tion. The dike system in the North is coming under increasing attack by the

U.S. with State Department officials

predicting widespread and destructive

floods. The U.S. is attempting to blame

the dam system itself (constructed over

disaster is being planned in Washington.

The U.S. has been seeding clouds in

North Vietnam to artificially increase

rainfall; they have even refined this sort

of operation with a chemical that prod-

uces what one scientist called "rain that

had an acidic quality to it and it would

radars, trucks and tanks." The scientist

foul up mechenical equipment - like

did not say what the rain would do to

The air war against North Vietnam,

Anthony Lewis observed in the July 3

New York Times, "....is strategic

bombing of a most thorough and intense

kind. Strategic bombing is supposedly

desired for use against industrial power,

such as Germany in World War II. What

makes it so noteworthy now is that it is

Most Americans thought it grotesque and

spoke in 1965 of bombing the North Viet-

horrifying when General Curtis Le May

namese'back into the Stone Age'. But

something very like that is happening

The current offensive of the Saigon pup-

pet army, which is attempting to recapt-

ure Quangtri City, is being made literally

behind a curtain of bombs. The Saigon

forces were reported advancing behind a

and dozens of fighter-bombers, in addi-

tion to artillery and naval gunfire. The

attempt to take Quangtri can only be for

oused world-wide indignation

barrage laid down by thirty B-52's

there will be nothing remaining to

During the 1968 Tet offensive, a US

when he remarked that a city had been

"destroyed in order to save it". Richard

Nixon is now applying the same strategy

Meanwhile in Moscow and Peking the

bureaucracies gave up all pretense at

the mining harbours, the threatened

bombing of the dikes. Incredibly for a

and Mao grovel and scrape before him.

few crumbs thrown by Nixon, Brezhnev

Massive military aid flows everywhere from Moscow and Peking to prop up "progressive" regimes such as Pakistan and India. But only a trickle finds its way to Vietnam. It helps the Vietnamese

the US planes from the skies - to end forever the attacks on their country. And

mail) are these fine "communists" in Peking and Moscow subjecting the

Some indication is given by criticism

that appeared in Nhan Dan, the organ

Party. The paper said in an unmistakable

"It is obvious that in order for the chil-

being massacred and to live in peace, the

adults will have to oppose the American

imperialists and not recoil in the face of

their threats. All men of conscience must

That is absurd, between what is good and

The newspaper observed that on another

occasion, during a banquet, "Nixon

world of peace for all peoples."

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bragged that he would like to create a

Nhan Dan commented: "The president's

fine words are being drowned out by the

Anzac Pde, Maroubra Junction, NSW.

of the North Vietnamese Communist

allusion to the Moscow bureaucrats:

dren of the world to be able to avoid

responding to the stepped up aggression,

"capture."

to all Indochina.

Vietnamese to?

being used against a largely peasant

country with the barest beginnings of

industrial development.

people.

hundreds of years) but it is clear that any

ted 900 fighter-bombers and approximately Noting again that "Nixon says that the great powers must set an example and not let themselves be drawn into confrontat—
ions provoked by small powers, " Nhan Dan
ence of conscription and draft resign
as the as the primary issue of powers to follow the example being set by many of the student antiwar activity the United States in Vietnam? He threatens While the repeal of the National Sen United States have its way, and he denies itself, in the current period it divers this aggression. This kind of talk is coming from an international hooligan."

111.

Over the past years the International antiwar movement has been the most effective support to the Vietnamese National Liberation struggle.

International response to the mining of the harbours in North Vietnam was immediate. Potential existed for a really massive rebuilding of the movement until the complete lack of response from Moscow robbed the situation of urgency and generated illusions about a "peaceful settlement".

Another factor in defusing the movement was the situation of an election year in the US with a "peace" candidate making the front running in the Democratic Party. This has had an effect on the movement here as well and coupled with our own elections the anti-war movement is at a low ebb.

Unfortunately the activists in the movement have been affected by all this. The situation is similar to the state of the

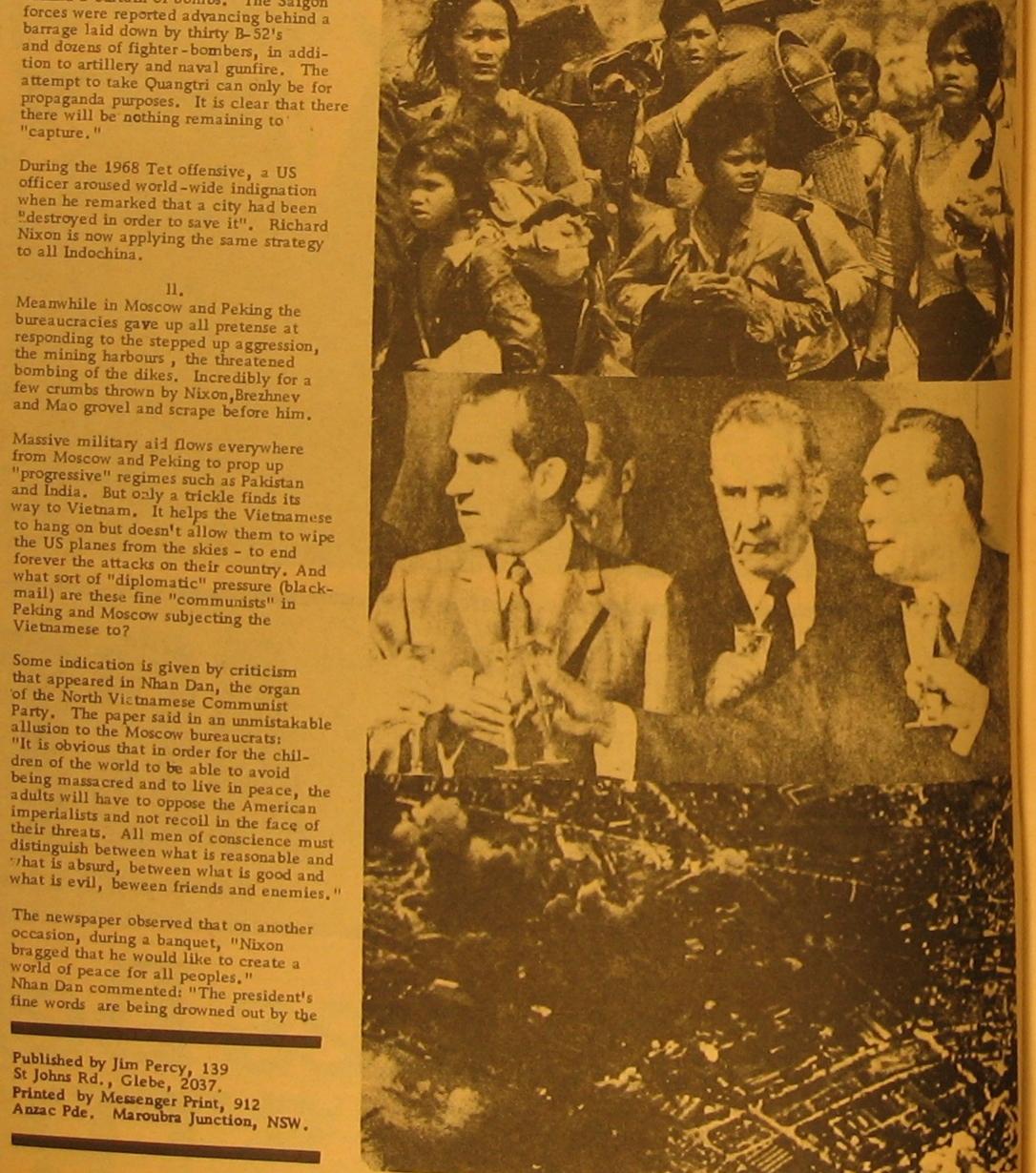
movement in 1968 after Johnson's f manoeuvre. Sections of the mo are looking for a formula other the demonstration around the demand U.S. forces out now!"

as the as the primary issue of concer Act is an important campaign in and attention from the more pressing needs continue our defence of the Vietnames revolution. In the way the draft-resis campaigns have been built, we see a a movement unable of unconvinced need to involve all antiwar activity a not just those interested in "advanced action"or confrontations,

Another formula has been put forwards people who have recently returned from North Vietnam and shocked at the dep tions suggest we should begin a civil; program. But the movement cannot be much in this sphere. Reconstruction the task of many governments with esous resources - what we could do in a sphere (except perhaps easing a few consciences) is totally insignificant,

Clearly, our main effort on behalf of the Vietnamese must continue to be political. Despite all the difficulties the antiwar movement is duty bound to continue its work along the same lines that have already had such impact, w must all now see the need to rebuild the movement around the central demand of "U. S. Troops Out Now!"

There should be no further hesitation by anyone in fulfilling this urgent task,



Top; Fleeing the bombing in the south Middle: The Moscow Summit Above: Bombing Haiphong Harbour

CAN WE LET VIETNAM STAND ALONE? NEW INCREASES IN UNEMPLOYMENT AS ECONOMIC CRISIS CONTINUES

BY SOL SALBY

The publication of the government white paper on the economy combined with the release of the Consumer Price Index and Unemployment figures have confirmed the floundering situation of the Australian economy. No such confirmation was really necessary but the extra information is quite useful in further analysing the situation.

The most significant feature of the treasury's white paper (annual White Paper on the Australian economy; Commonwealth Treasury, Canberra, July, 1972) lies in its first paragraph: "Nineteen hundred and seventy-one is sure of a place in international economic history. A year in which, while most advanced nations of the Western world continued to be plagued by growing inflation and high unemployment... The world situation has also been reflected in Australia. (my emphasis SS) This is one of the clearest statements by the representatives of the employing class of the world-wide dimensions of the capitalist crisis. The "recession" Australia has been experiencing hasn't been unique nor has it been caused by the accidental bungling of the McMahon government. On the contrary, unemployment in this country is only a total reflection of an international offensive by the ruling class against the working class. The Treasury white paper is quite explicit in outlining some of the facts which forced the McMahon government to take the measures it has taken. These facts overwhelmingly reflect a decline in capitalism on an international scale, a situation that no government, either Liberal or Labor, can escape from.

Output indicators are useful pointers in gauging the downturn in the Australian economy. Industrial output in the first ten months of 1971-72 declined compared with with a year earlier, particularly in some major industries such as iron and steel, motor vehicles and non-synthetic fibres.

The real cause of unemployment is reduction in investment. The reversal of the extraordinary expansion of the mining boom, coupled with a strong decline in gross fixed private capital investment, are reflected strongly in the unemployment figures. (The total figure for this item in the March quarter is 10.6% down on last year's figure.)

While reduction in output reduces the

standard of living of the working class, behind. it is through the increase in unemployment that the main prong of the employers' offensive becomes effective.

The use of unemployment to try to reduce inflation is quite explicitly stated in the government's document which states that we can expect to encounter unemployment for some time to come: "...it appears that a somewhat increased unemployment rate will not, of itself, significantly slacken the rate of wage and price increases unless sustained for a long time."

The white paper furnished no new information regarding unemployment. The factual material confirmed several trends which were slightly clouded in the past. That is, the general tendency of married women and migrants to be the hardest hit by unemployment. Another useful set of statistics concerned the growth of civilian employment: "The number of wage and salary earners in civilian employment is estimated to have increased by 1.3% in the year ended April 1971, and 4.4% in the previous year." Unlike the unemployment figures of the Department of Labour and National Service, these figures can't be manipulated to hide the effects of the decrease in migration and the variations in the Rural Unemployment Relief scheme.

Figures released by the Department of Labour and National Service on the same day gave the lie to one of the Treasury's more optimistic statements (the Treasury has used the words "a slowly rising trend of unemployment that has only recently flattened out"). The June figures showed unemployment to have increased by 2,566 to 99,201, the highest June figure since 1963. This increase of 3% brings registered unemployed to 1,77% of the estimated labour force and compares with increases of 2% over the last two years and a decrease of 3% in 1969. After seasonal adjustment, unemploy-1.87% of the workforce. June was the second consecutive month in which unemployment exceeded the hundred thousand mark, and the third month this year. With a single insignificant break in April, unemployment has been steadily increasing since January when it was "only" 90, 437 (after adjustment for seasonal factors). The worst affected state is once again Western Australia, where 2.81% of the workforce was unemployed. South Australia (2, 30%) and Tasmania (2.24%) followed closely

The situation with job vacancies was no better. Vacancies decreased by 1, 224 or 5% to 24,486. On seasonally adjusted figures unfilled vacancies rose by 616. Four unemployed workers for every vacant job is the worst ratio for a long

In the past we have pointed out some of the means used by the government to try and hide the real dimensions of unemployment. On this occasion new methods have become apparent. First and foremost is the manipulation of the Rural Unemployment Relief scheme. The government, anxious to dispel the image of massive unemployment, encouraged local councils to spend the money over the first few months of the year. This reduced the figures considerably, particularly in March, April and May, which in turn completely distorted the worsening trend in the economy. Similarly the reduction in immigration both as a result of the reduction in assisted passages and changes in migrants' employment prospects, serves to hide the real situation. The all round attempt to obscure the serious nature of the problem caused the Financial Review's chief economist, P. P. McGuiness to observe ".. the government seems to have made every effort to obscure what is happening in the labour market ..."

The significance of the unemployment situation in Australia lies in its international context. Almost all the advanced capitalist countries have recorded a downturn in their economies over the last year. Unemployment in the US averaged 5.9%. It is also high in Canada and has been increasing in France, West Germany, Italy and Japan. Britain has recently reached a record level of unemployment over the one million mark. Similarly inflation continued to hit these countries. The resultant decrease in the level of world tralia itself following the end of the mining boom have led to the crisis we are facing at the moment.

The ruling class has always tried to force the working class to carry the burden of 'adjustment". Now the Australian work- deals that result in unemployment. ing class is made to carry the burden of the cut backs in the growth of industrial (4) Guaranteed weekly wage for all. output in Japan - Australia's prime market. Forced redundancies form only (5) For a shorter working week with one expression of this burden. The other no loss of pay. main form is inflation. The current

inflation figures of 1.1% seem superficially at least, to be favourable to the employers in their offensive. For once they see 1 to be winning the battle, if not the war, . But the figures of the Consumer Price Index have been unduly influenced by temporary falls in the prices of certain food items. If these items are removed, then the general trend of galloping inflation seems to be continuing at approximately the same rate as before,

Economic conditions abroad seem to concern the bourgeois gentlemen of the Treasury more than any other factor. They express some hopes of an improvement of the situation. They realise the tremendous impact that Nixon's measures of August 15 had on the economic situation last year, and they wish for no repetition. Their hopes of the monetary situation being stabilised have been quashed by the recent floating of sterling by the British authorities in the face of speculative measures. Now the international outlook to them means more of the same, ie., continuing unemployment and rampant inflation.

The ruling class has traditionally laid the blame for inflation on the workers. In trying to obscure the real causes of inflation, such as "defence" spending, price fixing etc., the Commonwealth hired scholars who come up with some strange formulations at times. Currently they talk about "increased union pushfullness!"

The working class has to combat the employers' offensive. It should not be led off the track by some of the labour 'leaders". In this election year some of these leaders will try to reduce the class militancy. The election of an ALP government at the end of this year should not be counterposed to militant industrial action, such as the oil workers have been taking. Some of the measures needed to combat the employers' offensive are:

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

(2) Complete bans on overtime.

(3) Banning individual productivity

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either. But like it or not, they have the power, they have the They also have the press. Daily papers, weekly papers, monthly

nagazines, annuals, books.

There is the alternative press, though. Its resources are not based on the money-power of the capitalists, but on the enthusiasm and generosity of its supporters, people with ordinary incomes. That doesn't diminish its need for money in any way because there nothing in this world that the capitalists haven't put a price tag on. The socialist movement aims to change this state of affairs, but this can't be done overnight. It involves the building of a mass movement, a task that is going to take a lot of time and a lot of noney. The indispensable weapon of the socialist movement is its press, yet it is one of the most costly.

fou can help in an important way by making a contribution to the Direct Action Fund Drive.

Recently, we've moved into offices in Glebe in Sydney. This has made the new fortnightly Direct Action possible. But we need money to properly equip our offices and pay the landlord. That's why we're having our Fund Drive for \$2,000 by December. That's our most ambitious drive yet, but we need it and think we can get there - with your help.

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Teachers Strike Over Victimisation By Jim Mellroy

ted with a severe challenge to their democratic rights and political freedoms through the Education Department's actions in victimising dissident teachers. Two recent cases in particular reflect the need for avigorous and united response in order to prevent further repression, "Temporary" teachers at Coburg and Brunswick High Schools in Milbourne were dismissed without warning and without any clear reasons being given. The teacher at Brunswick, Ron Livingstone was later transferred to another school on "good behaviour" instead. The ostensible reason for dismissal in both cases was refusal to be inspected. This refusal was made in accordance with union (the VSTA - Victorian Secondary Teachers Association) opposition to the repress-

At this level alone, the victimisation was intolerable to fellow teachers. Eight teachers at Coburg and 33 at Brunswick High School went out on an indefinite strike. First Coburg and now Brunswick teachers have been forced to go back (after over 2 months on strike). The Department has been forced to make some policies followed by the leadership and some concessions on future cases of dismissal of temporary teachers. However, the lack of a united campaign around the victimisation issue has meant that the two teachers have not been reinstated and the Department's power has not been effectively challenged. It is essential to look at the lessons of this experience for the future.

The immediate issue raised, that of victimisation of teachers carrying out

their union policy should have brought a massive response from all other teachers and from the VSTA executive even if merely in terms of self defence. A union which cannot effectively defend members carrying out its policy lays itself open to further attacks.

But the need for full solidarity in this situation raises questions about the degree and nature of union consciousness/amongst teachers. Problems are created by the transitional position of teachers. They are neither the middle class independent "professionals" they aspire to be (as this case of bureaucratic control demonstrates) nor are they fully intellectual - workers with a consciousness of the absolute necessity for strong, united action in support of the principle that no individual should be penalised for carrying out a collectively decided union policy. The lack of a united, resolute response rebut also the vacillation of the VSTA leadership. They are obviously reluctant to call for strong action through fear it would only further divide their membership. But this partly reflects the past their perspectives. Encapsulated by their 'professional' ideology they have pushed the dubious issue of "tribunal reform" continually but without success, and now they find they cannot rely on membership support for any strike action.

"Tribunal reform" is a false issue because it obscures the fact that any official tribunal is going to be hostile to the essential interests of teachers. The whole

dealings with the arbitration system proves this. At the moment when Australian

workers are fighting to defeat a legal system which is being used increasingly against their very right to strike (through the Lynch Laws etc), the teachers' leadership directs teachers to seek an "independent" tribunal as a solution to their

Teachers must become aware that their interests are irreconcilably opposed to those of the government, the education bureaucrats and the employers who stand behind them. The present victimisation in Victoria (with the use of the Crimes Act against teachers in NSW) show that teachers are just as open to punitive action as other employees. Teachers interests in struggling against capitalism are identical with other workers. But an additional factor is the inherently political character of education - the fact that it deals with flects the backward ideas of many teachers ideas in the daily interchange of teachers and students. In the present period of student unrest in many schools, strong reaction is building up against "progressive" education methods and the increased emphasis on involvement in real social problems inside and outside the classroom. Certainly in the case at Coburg H.S., a clear example of political victimisation was involved.

The intention is to intimidate teachers especially "temporaries" who have no rights, into political quiescence. This must not succeed . The limited response of the VSTA executive shows that their promotion of autonomy as a "professional" goal is hollow when the question of a history of the Australian labour movements teacher's right to be radical is involved. It and in society in general.

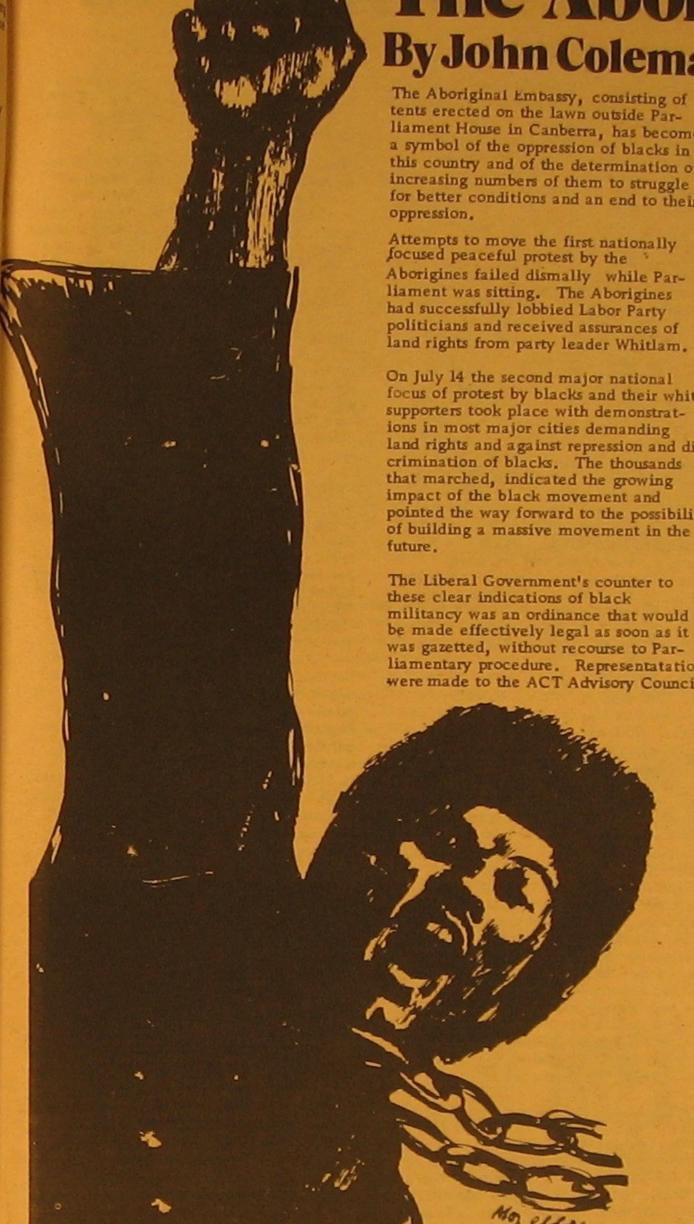
was only the vigorous action of the Pro wick HS teachers themselves which ented Ron Livingstone from getting the sack as Peter O'Hanessian at Coburg did.

The Brunswick teachers (with their Col. colleagues initially) developed their so by visiting other schools to speak to teachers about the situation. If other schools had gone out in support, this tactic of propaganda could have been spread into all schools and the comm generally.

Now that Brunswick teachers have gone back, the initiative for a continued car paign has been lost (obviously due to fault of theirs). But in any future case of victimisation, the VSTA leadership must be immediately forced to act de sively by broad rank and file pressure. Initially, the executive must be preto put into practice, for example, an wide, week long strike, as was supported by a Western Region VSTA mass meet Only with action like this can teachen protect themselves from intimidation

It is essential to build an alternative the present perspectives of the VSTA leadership. This must be based on street militancy, a consciousness of wider social problems, a democratisation of union structures and united action with other teachers, students, parents and the trade unions. As part of this process new rank and file body has been formed fight for these perspectives. A bulleting Teacher Action, is now being published pressing for defence of victimised teachers, assessing the history of VSTA action, proposing a popular campaign around composite fees, and calling for teacher support for the national student strike on September 20. Copies will be distributed to a large number of schools and donations, further contributions and contacts will be invited.

By building a strong progressive union teachers can make a leading contribution towards fundamental changes in educator



The Aboriginal Embassy, consisting of This prove and additional Embassy. government's action. This move ended

in failure when the Council rejected the

unexpected dissent within its own party

when Neville Bonner, a part Aboriginal

Liberal Senator, threatened to cross the

the Senate before it became operative.

floor if the ordinance was not debated in

The SEATO Conference passed, its main

venue previously planned for Parliament

House, changed to the Canberra Theatre

specifically because overseas attention

Aborigines, through the presence of the

Embassy, by foreign pressmen covering

the decaying throes of this imperialist

Similar embarrassment, caused by Aus-

risked again. The Commonwealth Prime

the ordinance came into effect on July 19

Aborigines and their supporters faced 150

ACT police. Police tore down the Em-

surrounding the main tent. Meanwhile

some of those responsible for this vicious

violation of the black people's peaceful

protest, and the right of people in Aus-

Parliament, watched from the balconies.

Eight people were arrested including five

tralia to protest outside their national

bassy and violently removed people

in the national Parliament opposite,

tralia's ruling class' racist policies to-

ward the black people, could not be

Ministers Conference is to be held in

On July 20 at 11.00 a.m. about 70

after Parliament adjourned.

Canberra in the next few months. So

would be focused on the plight of the

ordinance. The government found further

liament House in Canberra, has become a symbol of the oppression of blacks in this country and of the determination of increasing numbers of them to struggle for better conditions and an end to their

focus of protest by blacks and their white supporters took place with demonstratland rights and against repression and dispointed the way forward to the possibility of building a massive movement in the

militancy was an ordinance that would be made effectively legal as soon as it liamentary procedure. Representatations were made to the ACT Advisory Council,

> Widespread indignation erupted from the black community, resulting in busloads and cars of Aborigines from Brisbane, Sydney, Cowra and Wollongong coming to Canberra. About 100 Aborigines and supporters marched through Canberra streets on Saturday July 22 and held a rally in the city centre.

Discussions were held with senior police officials and Aborigines over the brutal police actions towards those at the Embassy on Thursday, and remarks made intended to intimidate individuals if they did not leave Canberra.

An injunction against the government for removing the Embassy was to be heard in court on July 25 and a decision was made to re-erect the main tent on Sunday July 23.

On Sunday July 23, 150 people, predominantly blacks, marched to Parliament House. The marchers erected the tent opposite Parliament House. The government's reaction was massive repression.

to apologise for their abandonment of

Parliament House and punched and kicked demonstrators defending the tent, An 18 year old girl had her head kicked. glasses broken and her stomach stood on and was taken to hospital; Paul Coe, an aboriginal law student was beaten unconscious and taken to hospital. In all. eight people were taken to hospital and numerous others sustained cuts and bruises; five police went to hospital two for knuckle lacerations, assaulted by demonstrators' teeth, one for a sprained shoulder, assaulted by a demonstrator's head. Altogether 18 people were arrested. A number were

bashed by police in the cells.

For 200 years the black people have been the most oppressed part of Australian society. As a policy of genocide on the part of the white ruling class was introduced here, they were segregated on reserves and completely wiped out in Tasmania. They didn't completely die out and as their labour became necessary to large pastoral properties, a policy of "assimilation" was adopted.

Despite Aborigines' high infant mortality rate, the highest in the world, despite the ravages of European introduced diseases, especially European introduced fly, the aboriginal population is increaing faster than the European population. Unfortunately for the government, the Aborigines are becoming a more effective force in presenting their claims.

More oppression to stifle protest is the answer of the Australian ruling class. The Gurindjis' protest on Wave Hill Station against the Vestey's company had embarrassing implications for capitalist companies using aboriginal tribal grounds and reserves for mining and pastoral purposes. Submissions on land rights made during the Yirrkala land rights case were rejected by the courts, though Maoris and Indians in America have legal title to reserves and

International publicity focused on the Embassy, the symbol of aboriginal demands for land rights and self determination of their affairs, was so effective that repression was the only through bureaucratic hannels, and this having failed, the police force was used to intimidate aboriginal protest,

However, far from frightening the people the ruling class has stiffened black militancy and moved it over to more direct action. Support came from workers students, trade unionists and sympath isers from all types of occupations for further action on July 30.



High School Rights Campaign Gains Pace

The campaign to organise a national high school students' strike on September 20 is off the ground in Sydney and

To organise the campaign in Sydney a coalition (The Education Action Group) has been formed. Its next meeting will be held on Saturday August 5 at 7,00 p.m. at the Boilermakers Hall, 232 Castlereagh Street, Sydney. All high school students are invited to this meeting which will set guidelines for the campaign's activity in the weeks leading to the action on September 20.

This meeting is important, as its success would ensure a strong base for this campaign for student rights. Already in some schools, students have been collecting names of people interested in the campaign. In this way, by knowing the campaign supporters within each school, activists at these schools can keep others up to date on what's going on. Students should try to start activities like these within their own schools, but most importantly should come to this next campaign meeting on Saturday August 5 at 7.00 p.m. to hea reports from other schools, and discuss building this student rights campaign.

For any further information ring Dennis on 42-5007.

In Melbourne the action is being called by the Education Action Group, largely responsible for the recent successful action involving 3,000 students. Support for the action is being sought from the Victorian Secondary Students Union. The Melbourne group can be contacted through EAG, PO

Review: The Compulsory Century By Dave Riley piece we are taken to Drummond Street

(At the Pram Factory, 325 Drummond Street, Carlton - 347.7493. Season to

The Pram Factory, a ramshackle two storey collection of rooms opposite the Carlton cop shop, is the headquarters of the Australian Performing Group. At one time for one brief hectic Easter in '71 amongst the masks, dummies and other theatrical paraphernalia SYA held its second national conference . . . but that's another story.

At present, where all good bolsheviks once stood, a mixed audience is treated to the APG's latest creation The Compwith resident playwright John Romeril). And it's not bad, being a critique of the Victorian Education System, a run down on its history and the why of its compulsion, plus a few projections on something better. During what amounts to a theatrical evening rather than the one straight

School - run by that master of the modern itarian institutions that teach submission educational system, Headmaster John Jackson Ainsworth - as it prepares for the centenary celebrations to be held within its environs. It's to be a boon for Drummond Street, especially in the Department's eyes, so everyone's keyed up. It's through the centenary pageant that we are taken back to the Education Act of 1872 and to the various commissions of enquiry that followed, and it's amongst the teachers that we are taken through much of the present polemic in education from arch conservatism to some of the most recent revolutionary

None of this comes out as sterile debate not even when the audience takes over and in the main, the clash of ideas and personalities (stereotypes from most schools?) is extremely funny.

Even with the comedy the APG outlines much of what it intends with the production. (Or rather more through the comedy than anything else.) 'Century is a three point submission: 1) Schools as they are

now organized and conducted are authorto authority and propagate the idea that people have to be organized into hierarchies of age, privilege, power and role. 2) While we retain an expensive school system, schools will, continue to hold an almost complete monopoly on what the community will accept as education 3) The school system has become the chief means of sorting people into their permanent social roles, mainly through the time-serving, certification, job selection process. The call is for open and equal facilities for self education and an end to compulsory schooling.

Submissions like that are enough to divide an audience on most nights especially when the staff at Drummond Street reflect the outlook of the many teachers that have come to the production, And when the floor is opened for a debate, and In this issue of Direct Action there is a the Staff Room is somewhat enlarged, the polemic continues. (I really like that - holding up a performance so that the audience can have it out with the actors.) this.

Although The Compulsory Century geared to and reflects the current ! discontent within the Victorian Educa Department (e.g. see Direct Actio "Teacher Militancy"), indeed it is left of that discontent, it fails in its limited recourse to look at the stude who are taught there. For instance, the season began Melbourne's second high school demo brought 3,000 oats the streets, and the only reflection of that in the production is a series of slides projected during interval . . . photographs of the first demonstration And the student body at Drummond Street (which is male, female and singular) is used more through theatric convenience than for any larger role.

Century is Staff Room debate, but it Victoria what Staff Room debate refles is turning many teachers into militants. report on one of the latest of the peren strikes here. Teachers are on the move and The Compulsory Century ably rel

HITLAM'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM CAPITALISM.

peaking in the Kew City Hall, Melbourne on July 25th, ALP federal leader Whitlam outlined the changes which ould occur under a Labor government, such films were brought back by the spoke of immediate implementation delegation, a process of reconstruction and reform. cialism and it is the duty of the ALP this process.

ation Whitlam does no service to the cialist movement, except to expose mself and the present ALP leadership s servants of capitalism rather than the orking class.

NTI-WAR DELEGATION "REPORT ACK" FROM HANOI.

Recently two members of the anti-war elegation to Hanoi reported back to a eeting of about 150 people in Sydney. fRAMand Ken McLeod of AICD. The ports were largely concerned with the broken morale of the Vietnamese

people despite the intensified bombing, the mining of the harbours and the bom- anti-war movement is to devote its bing of the dykes. A film was shown outlining details of some of the antipersonnel weapons currently being dropped "as well" will be impossible. If anyone on Vietnam by the United States. Several doubts that any contribution in terms of

e also said: "Few modern socialist would During the meeting McLeod said that it ow maintain that nationalisation is the was necessary for the anti-war movement lects \$4 million per year, China contrie, or most effective, method of ach- to do more to support the struggle in ring democratic socialist objectives." Vietnam than it had been doing recently: a the other hand no socialist can deny and few people would have disagreed hat nationalisation of industry and finan- with that. However, then McLeod went ial institutions under workers control is a on to outlinewhat he meant by "more". ecessary step for the achievement of He did not mean that the anti-war move- United States agression. s the party of the working class to lead unfulfilled demands of the old Moratorium remain the ending of the war. The movement; that thousands of people By soft pedaling on the issue of national- mand the withdrawal of US troops and an ese people. The failure to achieve that He meant that the anti-war movement of the Vietnamese revolution and the should ignore the fact that the war is politically motivated and that only political action will end it. He urged the anti-war movement to consider turning itself into a collecting agency to gather funds to send medical aid to Vietnam. Such a proposal, involves a complete abandonment of any clear perspective for struggling against the war and acceptance of the view that the war is a more or less permanent fact of The two delegates were Harry van Moorst life about which nothing can be done except to patch up a few of its victims, Both McLeod and van Moorst attempted

mass action perspectives by saying that their scheme did not preclude the possibility of mass action as well. However rules regarding hair length. As a result, activists in the anti-war movement know six students have been suspended. Such that a major problem has always been the victimisations are occurring more availability of resources necessary to mobilise large numbers of people. If the ing increasingly ready to struggle around energies to a charity effort which will of Melbourne and Sydney are planning a necessity be insignificant, mass action medical or financial aid from the movement would be insignificant, they should consider the fact that the largest charity organisation in this country colbutes around \$75 million to Vietnam - and campus, S.Y.A. candidates had one and even that is a mere drop in the bucket, member of the slate of five elected to Any medical aid which the Australian anti-war movement can raise will provide relief for a tiny few of the victims of the

ment should reactivate itself around the The aim of the anti-war movement must achievement of that aim will eliminate should be mobilised in the streets to de- the cause of the suffering of the Vietnam end to Australian complicity in the war. aim will ultimately mean the destruction enormous sacrifices of the Vietnamese will have achieved nothing. The most concrete aid which the Australian antiwar movement can give to the Vietnamese revolution at the present time is to maintain remorseless pressure on the government to end Australian complicity and through solidarity with the anti-war movement in the United States and worldwide force the imperialists to end their

in Sydney recently went on strike becau of an attempt by the school administrati to force students to comply with arbitrary frequently, as a result students are become such issues. Students in Brisbane, strike and demonstration on September 2 as part of an ongoing campaign against the bureaucracies which presently contro the schools.

SOCIALISTS POLL WELL IN SYDNEY UNIVERSITY ELECTIONS.

Running for the first time on Sydney the Students Representative Council. In the electorate of Men/Medicine, Ray Slobodniuk and Phil Jeans scored 18% of the vote, in the Men/Science electorate Rod Conder polled 14% and in Arts/ Women, Debby Payne and Mandy Wigley polled 28%. Mandy Wigley was elected as a representative.

Unlike most other left candidates, the SYA slate ran on a full socialist progran including demands for free contraception free 24 hour child care centres, suppor for the anti-war movement, special plas for black people, freedom of political activity on campus and an end to links between big business and the university. CPA candidates in particular chose to be elected on welfare issues rather than attempting to put their politics before the students. The figures on Sydney Campus compare favourably with our HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS VICTIMISED. first showing on the University of New South Wales campus two years ago when Students from Fort Street Boys' High School SYA candidates scored 5,5% of the vote.

THE FIGHT FOR VOLUNTARY MOTHERHO

The Contribution of Margaret Sanger By Jenny Ferguson

The fight of women to gain control over our bodies is an explosive and central part of the feminist struggle. The fight to control our own bodies is the first step to controlling our entire lives. Laws restricting the right to abortion; the luxury tax (271%) placed on contraceptives are an important underpinning of the slave mentality which this society imposes on women

The right of women to control their own reproductive lives could easily be provided by the advanced technology of this society, yet the female population is sentenced to a life of forced breeding or to suffer the consequences of social stigma, psychological and physical maiming or death. Throughout history courageous women have stood up alone and fought against barbaric laws that restrict the right of women to control their own bodies. One such woman was Margaret Sanger.

Margaret was born in 1883. In her early teens she studied to be a nurse in New York City. Through her profession the plight of women became more and more apparent to her. Mothers would confront her, begging for knowledge on "how not to have another baby". One after another came through with miscarriages, painful births, and haemorrhaging from abortions. The doctors and nurses supposed it was not "their business or anybody's business; it was just 'natural'."

Radicalism in manners, art, industry, morals and politics was on the rise and an era of new consciousness began. Das Kapital had been translated into English; Lincoln Steffans had published The Shame of the Cities; the IWW was organised. The Sanger's living room became a meeting place for socialists, anarchists, organisers, including Big Bill Heywood, Jessie Ashly, Jack Reed, Alexander Berkman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and Emma Goldman, Almost without knowing it you became a comrade. Margaret Sanger later joined the Socialist Party. It became her job to recruit workingclass women. Here again she was confronted with the painful position of women who suffered biological subservience to men. She began to write a column for the socialist magazine Call entitled "What Every Girl Should Know." in dealt with sex-education especially for daughters. It was censored by the printer.

In the mid - 1800's, advertisements for various contraceptive "powders and pills" could be found in most American newspapers. In 1873, however, the Vice Society, under the zealous leadership of Anthony Comstock, pushed a bill through Congress which classified birth control information as obscene and pornographic. The law prohibited doctors from giving patients birth control information even when their health was seriously in danger. It also prohibited the sending of birth control information through the mail. From 1873 on, the medical profession was compelled to bootleg advanced scientific thought in the area of birth control.

The catholic church combined forces with the state to keep birth control from spreading, particularly among the masses who needed it most. Margaret Sanger was to fight not only the church and the state, but also their propaganda arm, the press, in order to achieve "a conscious and voluntary motherhood, " which she saw as self-determination for women.

As a nurse working in New York City's lower east side, Margaret saw destitution linked with child-bearing, women whose "bodies were destined to be thrown on the scrap heap before they were 35". In 1912 she was called to a lower east side tenement to treat a young woman who had tried to abort herself. Working day and night Margaret and a doctor managed to save the woman's life. The doctor warned her not to "get caught"again. She pleaded with Margaret to tell her "the secret"; at that time the only secret was continence, withdrawal, or money to



Margaret Sanger (1893 - 1966) leaving court after arraignment in 1917.

purchase more advanced methods and securities. Three months later, Margaret was called to the woman's aid again, but this time her abortion was fatal. That night was a turning point for Margaret Sanger, a night of hallucinations: babies.. naked and hungry.. wrapped in newspapers to keep them from the cold.. old in concentrated wretchedness... pushed into grey and fetid cellars... black coffins, white coffins, white coffins, interminably passing.. She renounced nursing, knowing she, could not go back merely to keeping people alive., "I was finished with palliative and superficial cures; I was resolved to seek out the root of evil, to do something to change the destiny of mothers whose miseries were as vast as the sky.."

After spending three months in France with her husband and children she returned with her children to America where she decided to publish a woman's magazine. She believed women had to be "made aware of how they were being shackled. and roused to mutiny." I wanted each woman to be a rebel .. was she to be merely a washboard and one song? Surely she should be allowed to develop all her potentialities. Feminists were trying to free her from the new economic ideology but were doing nothing to free her from the true cause of her enslave-

The first issue of 'Woman Rebel' was published in March, 1914, with the slogan "No Gods, No Masters." The publication was barred under the Comstock Law. At that time she visualised the birth control movement as part of the fight for freedom of speech. She then founded a National Birth Control League and tried to get her pamphlet "Family Limitation" published. She had great difficulty finding a publisher for the pamphlet which dealt explicitly with the contraceptive techniques known at that time. It was finally published in 1914, but then she was under arrest for continuing to send Woman Rebel through the mails. Indicted on seven counts, she left the country on the eve of her trial. She had been refused time to prepare her case which was a political one. She enclosed a copy of "Family Limitation" in her letter to the judge, explaining she would stand trial when she returned.

In 1915 Margaret returned from Europe and the time was ripe for a birth control clinic. She wanted clinics as well organised as the public school system, but the law on the New York statutes was definite: no one could give contraceptive information to anyone for any reason. This did not discourage Margaret: "I wanted the interpretation to be broadened to protect women from ill health as the result of excessive childbearing, and equally important, to have the right to control their own destinies." When the clinic was opened in the Brownsville section of New York, a line of 150 women for these demands. We must reach out extended half-way around the block on the to masses of women with these ideas and first morning, children everywhere. The clinic was raided six months later, Margaret, her sister and two nurses being

arrested. Margaret served 30 days in where she studied the family backgr of women inmates and lectured on bi

After another visit to Europe, she inve tigated more advanced contraceptive methods which were being perfected In 1921 she was back in New York play ning a town hall meeting on the question
"Birth Control: Is it Moral?" The nigh of the meeting the police shut down the hall, on the orders of the catholic ate bishop. Margaret insisted upon getting arrested. She exposed the link between the catholic church and the police fore at her trial, and the intelligentsia were up in arms because their constitutional rights were being denied! The first articles on birth control began to hit the popular magazines. A Birth Control Conference was busted soon after and Margaret was again arrested.

In 1923 she opened a Clinical Research Bureau to do advanced medical and scientific studies on contraception, s worked fanatically at this time to pass legislation repealing the Comstock Law For years on end bills were introduced killed in Congress. In 1926 she publi "Happiness in Marriage"; in 1928, "Motherhood in Bondage" both directed at working - class audiences, Meanwhil the monied classes were practising birth control, and so were the legislators who opposed the bills. In 1928, Margaret set up the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control to facility public education. Meanwhile clinics were being established all over the US In 1932 Margaret Sanger received a gold medal on behalf of the American Women Association. In her acceptance speech she said it was a new experience for her to receive a medal instead of the usual police warrant.

The battle of Margaret Sanger for the right of women to control their bodies still remains one of our major battles today. Women are slowly asserting their right to decide, but we still have a long way to go. The fact is that politicians committed to maintaining this system with all of its manifold aspects of oppression of women, and still "representing" women speaking for women, are trying to tell to what is good for us. Because of this, ou goals have been distorted or hidden from masses of women and men in this country Most people still do not know what the women's liberation movement actually stands for in regard to abortion - the movement supports complete repeal of abortion laws, free abortion on demand, no forced sterilisation, free safe contraception, an end to restrictive laws preventing the advertising of birth control information, and the right of women to control our own bodies.

We have to build a mass movement of women fighting in the interests of women demonstrate through action the power of women to win these demands when we unite in struggle.

A Change in IRA Policy?

It was the public reaction to the execution of nineteenyear-old William James Best, who was shot as a spy May 19 by the Official Irish Republican Army unit in Derry, that apparently led the national leadership of the revolutionary organization to announce May 29 that it was suspending armed offensive operations in Ulster.

The IRA said that it was taking this step in response to an appeal from the executive of the Republican Clubs in Northern Ireland, the political organization of the movement in the area. The statement, quoted in the May 30 New York Times, said:

"The executive proposed to the I. R. A. that in view of the growing danger of sectarian conflict the I.R.A. should immediately suspend all armed military actions." The announcement continued: "The I.R.A. has agreed to this proposal, reserving only the right of self-defense."

Since the Official IRA has stressed repeatedly that it was following a defensive strategy, the effect of this decision seems to be to call off retallatory terrorist actions against the repressive forces.

The possibility of sectarian warfare, of course, does not depend on the policy of the IRA but on the intentions of the imperialists and their local allies, to whom large sections of the Protestant population are bound by their caste prejudices. But the renunciation of terrorism could improve the political position of the IRA by making clear the real source of the violence in Northern Ireland. It is doubtful that this will impress sections of the Protestant community imbued with a caste mentality, but it could have a positive effect on the national-

It seems clear that the retaliatory strikes of the Official IRA have not helped to further the struggle of the nationalist population, which is the main potentially revolutionary force in Ireland at the moment. Instead these actions have helped the imperialists and the Catholic "moderates" to split and demobilize the nationalist population. The reaction to the Best shooting is only the latest and clearest example of this.

ist community and world public opinion.

The May 29 statement of the Official IRA was, thus, politically unclear. By claiming implicitly that the movement had changed its policy out of concern over the reaction that might be provoked from the Protestants, the pronouncement turned the issue on its head and opened the way for dangerous confusion.

With the period of Orange marches drawing near, if the republican movement gives the impression that it is reluctant to confront the reality of the Protestant caste mentality, its abandoning terrorist methods could be seen as abandoning the struggle of the nationalist people. If this happens, the result is likely to be not only a resurgence of terrorism in general but the republican movement will probably find itself unable to control its own followers. Those who remain loyal could be reduced to the position of the tiny sects that make constant futile appeals for unity between Protestant and Catholic workers.

This confusion was made worse by the fact that the May 29 statement did not explain whether the Official IRA had changed its concept of organizing armed action.

Thus, it is unclear whether the Official IRA is rethinking its traditional positions or simply responding to pressure, which would be a very dangerous course in a situation as complex and volatile as the one in Ireland. In any case, in the wake of the Best shooting and the successes of the "moderate" peace offensive, it seems apparent that the republican movement is trying to reorient itself. It faces some profound problems; it also has some substantial achievements to build on.

Politics and Commando Actions

To try to estimate what turn events are likely to take, now that the situation is shifting so rapidly in Ireland, it seems necessary to reach some judgments about the policies of the Official republican movement, since it has provided the main political leadership to the struggle

It does not seem justified, for example, to view the Best

shooting as a local and accidental error. It is true that the Derry unit, which carried out the execution, is not typical of the Official IRA. Among other things, British ultraleftist and workerist groups have exercised a more marked influence in this area than in other parts of Ireland. Despite this, the shooting of Best seems to flow logically from some of the basic policies of the Official IRA. This act was merely the last of a series of assassinations of British soldiers. The rationale was the same as in other cases. "The army of the people" had punished the people's enemies.

When the Official IRA bombed the British paratrooper base in Aldershot, England, killing a number of nonmilitary personnel, it defended the action on the grounds that the base was a military target, that the paratroopers had gunned down Irish people, and that in acts of war, harming innocent persons cannot always be avoided.

Fundamentally, the defense of the Aldershot action was a moralistic one, in line with the ideology and traditions of terrorism. The Russian Narodniki could claim equally valid moral justification for gunning down or bombing the Czarist hangmen. In both cases, the result of these actions was the same-they tended to substitute for and disrupt mass political activity. Furthermore, they prevented the development of armed action by the masses.

If the IRA had taken advantage of the political mood that prevailed in the wake of the Derry massacre, they might have been able to organize mass self-defense, and in that event it would have been difficult for any of the repressive regimes active in Ireland to prevent them from arming a large section of the population. This opportunity was wasted for the sake of the essentially moral satisfaction of killing a few British soldiers, with politically negative and militarily insignificant results. Instead of being buoyed up by the upsurge that followed the Derry killings, the Official IRA found itself again isolated from the masses.

Like the team that bombed Aldershot, the members of the IRA court that condemned and executed Best were acting "on behalf of the people," since the republican movement in Derry has been unable to win the full, conscious involvement of the community or to give impetus to mass democratic organization of the people.

Such terrorist actions flow from the historical character of the IRA. Building a secret army that does not grow out of the struggles of the people and that engages in daring armed operations that are not an integral and teristics, and it has a certain specific historical form in

natural part of mass struggles - that is, not the acts of armed detachments of the people-can hardly help but lead toward elitist militarism. This holds true regardless of the social and political conceptions of those who lead this clandestine force.

The republican movement has a long experience of the results of recruiting on the basis of the appeal of armed action. Once young people begin to act in the name of the masses but without being under effective popular control or under the discipline of a mass revolutionary party, it is practically inevitable that they will engage in politically harmful adventures.

It is all too easy, moreover, for politically untrained or miseducated youth to become so dazzled with armed initiatives that they lose all taste or aptitude for the tasks of political propaganda or organization. Under these conditions, any propaganda that is put forward is likely to be reduced to romantic extremist appeals that cannot educate the masses.

A Political Battle Plan

The fact that the Derry unit of the Official IRA chose to carry out an action like shooting Best, apparently on its own, illustrates another key political weakness that has appeared more than once since the Irish crisis began-the inability to see the political situation in Ireland as an organic whole. Among other things, this was shown by the political character of the Official IRA's intervention in the Mogul silver mine strike in July 1971.

In this long, bitter strike against a foreign company, the Official IRA applied its policy of using terrorist methods in support of popular struggles. They tried to blow up a transformer supplying electricity to the mines. In itself this was not an unusual act of industrial sabotage in hard-fought strikes. Unfortunately a young IRA man, Martin O'Leary, was killed in the operation. At his funeral, the chief of staff of the Official IRA, Cathal Goulding, hailed O'Leary as "the first martyr of the new campaign in the South," a campaign against the "capitalist vultures" by means of the "bomb and the bullet."

The IRA had intervened in a similar way in the Shannon electrical workers' strike in 1966, but that action had not provoked the threat of a general repression. In 1971, however, Goulding received a summons on a sedition charge, and this move by the government seemed to fit into a general buildup for the introduction of the concentration camp system for political suspects in both North and South Ireland. The government in Dublin retreated when the extent of the resistance of the people in the North to internment became evident. But the situation in the summer of 1971 was extremely dangerous in the formally independent part of the country.

In the conditions since 1969, when a general crisis in the imperialist control of Ireland began, the intervention of the Official IRA in a local strike offered the Dublin goverment the opportunity it was looking for to move against the developing revolutionary forces. The whole system was at stake and the authorities moved in a concerted way to remove the threat. It was the revolutionists who could not see the implications of their action in the ntext of a unified strategy - a serious failing, certainly, from a military point of view.

The fact that the local labor leaders approved the action did not change its political effect. It is a syndicalist delusion shared by most of the left groups in Ireland that if they can align themselves with the workers in some partial struggle the government will automatically be embarrassed or discredited and restrained from attacking them. The fact is that the whole history of trade unionism shows that among the workers there is a fundamental difference between economic and political consciousness. This has been shown time and time again in the most dramatic way by unions giving political backing to bourgeois and reformist politicians directly responsible for strike breaking and even atrocities against the striking workers.

At the same time, one of the justifications given for actions like the dynamiting at the Mogul mine was a certain conception of the unity of the imperialist system in Ireland. Since it is imperialist capitalism that holds the country in bondage, according to this view, national liberation fighters should engage in all concrete forms of struggle against exploitation. In a general sense, no revolutionary Marxist could dispute this.

Moreover, the Official IRA has been anxious to reorient its members from the traditional pattern of concentrating on military struggle in the North toward fighting the imperialist system in the South and understanding that the Dublin regime is just as important an obstacle to national liberation as the fortress state in the Six Counties. This is also correct in a general sense. But the problem is that these conceptions are too static and general and, as such, in practice they cannot serve as a guide for a unified strategy.

It is true that the neocolonialist regime in the South is essentially part of the same system as the Unionist setup in the North and that an essential part of defeating Unionism is to mobilize the people in the South against the dependent capitalist system that exists in their own area. However, the whole development of the crisis since 1969 shows that there are important practical differences between the Belfast and Dublin regimes that revolutionists cannot ignore.

Despite the repressive legislation and inclinations of the Southern government, republicans have been able to operate more or less legally in the formally independent part of the country. It is ironic that this fact should be underestimated by the republicans while they place so much stress on the need for achieving the right of legal political activity in the North.

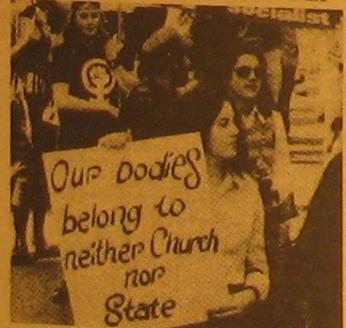
It is true, moreover, that it is the same capitalist-imperialist system which oppresses the Irish people in both parts of Ireland. However, this system has political and ideological aspects as well as directly economic charac-

THE ALP AND THE RIGHT TO ABORTION Picketing the Victorian Branch's 'Conscience' By Leitha Nilsen At all costs, one must maintain an untarn- would undermine the status quo. It has

of political anaemia then the only thing that remains is to retire and observe the votes rolling in. Such is the current poltical orientation of the Australian Labor Party in regard to the coming November elections. To this end it has been decreed that no issue must be raised which could possibly jeopardise the chances of an ALP victory. No line must be followed which could dissipate supposed electoral gains. This attitude has sent the ALP leadership into a political stupor, where fear of nsettling political waters has resulted n compromise, back-sliding and betrayal. n an atmosphere of political sterility nd uncompromising mediocrity, the eadership has succeeded in alienating self from working class interests, while iling to exert pressure upon, or create challenge to the present political system lass demonstrations and strikes, which ave in the past succeeded in building apport for labor, are regarded by the adership as actions to be avoided.

e abortion issue amply demonstrates e ALP's attitude to demands which

become the "enfant terrible" of their political platform. The Victorian Branch of the ALP has vacillated wildly on the subject. In 1968, the Victorian State Conference formulated a policy which stated that a registered medical practioner a non-party attitude, with individual could terminate a pregnancy on the following grounds - preservation of the



November 20 Abortion Action: Melbourne

life, mental or physical health of the mother, rape, or mental or physical abnormality of the child.

At a Federal Conference in 1971, the Party recommended that it should take members voting according to conscience, on the issue of abortion law reform, a measure aimed at neutralizing this as an election issue. In June of this year the Holding leadership of the Victorian ALP took further steps to suppress this question by removing the discussion of abortion law reform from the agenda of the Conference Session of the State Council.

A meeting of the Health and Welfare Policy Assembly in Melbourne on Sunday, June 15, merely echoed past ALP policy. This assembly was to formulate resolutions to present to a Health and Welfare policy committee, which will meet early in August . In a deliberate attempt to stifle discussion on the abortion issue, the actual meeting was not publicized amongst the rank and file of the ALP, with the result that only approximately thirty members attended

abortion laws, had been organized for the Assembly meeting by groups favouring repeal of the abortion laws including " Women's liberation movement, the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Aborti-Law Reform Association. The picket received good TV coverage and despite all attempts by the ALP leadership to stifle discussion a clear resolution was passed calling for the repeal of all abortion laws. The example of the Victorian Branch

A picket calling for the repeal of current

of the ALP indicates the futility of rely ing upon reform from within the present political system. It indicates the need to organize an independent mass movement around the issue which will force the government, present or future, to repeal the abortion laws. The demand for the repeal of abortion laws must be fought for in the coming election period. The right of abortion represents the first step on the road to the liberation of women in our society. The abolition of existing laws is essential and the building of a movement to force this a pressing need.

people in the Northern ghettos. This was the weakest were not united. By the point of the sociopolitical system of imperialist capitallist abstraction, this approach also distorts the nature of political situation would be difficult and complex processed in those places. The regeneration of the sociopolitical system of imperialist capitalsocial evolution. there. The crisis is not developing gradually in direct conjunction with general economic conditions but explosively as the historical lines of cleavage widen, partly under the impact of economic changes but also in response to political and social factors.

While the Mogul mine strike was related to the general economic problems of the Irish nation, it had no clear specific connection with the fight in the North, which was, and is, the main factor affecting the political thinkchallenge the system in Ireland in a direct way, did not point toward a solution of the crisis, and apparently did not increase the support for the IRA to any significant degree.

Frozen Thinking

mon Market entry in the May 9 referendum. That was Revolutionary Ways of Thinking its main demand. The republican speakers argued that if the crowds wanted to oppose British imperialism, they The revolutionary theory of social change, Marxism, is. Common Market membership. This appeared logical, but it did not take into consideration the political dy-

the weakest point of the capitalist-imperialist structure is, to a period of crises. as a whole at that particular time and thus they seem to In the long phase of capitalist stability and expansion most powerful upsurges in recent Irish history.

is the idea of building people's power street by street and and a routinist and legalistic mentality. neighborhood by neighborhood. By trying to develop One section of these "progressives" saw a German victhe challenge of the state's policy of all-out repression. passed into the "democratic stage." But unless the concept of revolutionary democracy is Along with James Connolly, Lenin was one of the few he policy of the Official IRA is apt to end up in a utolian impasse.

The barricaded areas are politically important primary as a challenge to the state and the status quo. By howing the power and logic of an independent mobiliation of the masses under the leadership of sincere revdutionary militants, the incipient forms of popular selfrule that have appeared in Derry, in particular, point

It is a dangerous delusion to think that just by "runing their own lives" on a few streets or in a few besieged eighborhoods people can make any basic and lasting mprovement in their condition. Instead, the politically nost advanced section of these communities can wear semselves out in isolated community-betterment projects nd in maintaining the basic services, while, under the ressure of the surrounding society, life becomes more and ore difficult for the general population and the politilly backward masses slide into indifference and evenal demoralization.

inevitably, the people of these small, isolated, marginal mmunities will tire if they do not see their fight as part a much larger struggle that has a chance for victory nd offers a real possibility for solving their social probns. Eventually it will be easy enough for sections of the ommunity to begin to say: "Let's just have peace and ave the street cleaning to the corporation."

Rooted as it is in an essentially vague and static conption of society, the populist notion of people's power reading from neighborhood to neighborhood seems to sort of a left version of the concept of revolutionary tages" that underlies the Official republican strategy in e Northern conflict. According to this theory, the Britsh have to be forced to introduce bourgeois democratic cedoms in Northern Ireland before a revolutionary struggle in the full sense of the word can take place. Civil equality for Catholics is necessary to eliminate the secarian divisions in the working class. Republicans have to have the opportunity to talk to the Protestant workers order to be able to win them over to the idea of a aited Irish workers' republic.

This concept was expressed clearly in the January 1972 Issue of the Official republican organ, The United ishman, where the editors argued that it was impos-

Ireland. The fact is that the crisis of capitalism in Ire-sible to think in terms of a socialist revolution in the over, the fight to overthrow it had to begin where the little contradictions were most acute, and the little contradictions were most acute, Ireland. The fact is that the crisis of capitalism in Ire-land has arisen from the struggle of the nationalist North as long as the Protestant and Catholic workers contradictions were most acute, where the lines of clear people in the Northern ghettos. This was the weakest were not united. By reducing the working class to a popuage had first opened, and it was highly likely that a

Just as the struggle against imperiously of the working had falled to respond to the revolutionary challenge of

a pragmatic point of view. Obviously we have to be able of the system, siphoning off its discontents and diversity of the system appropriate point of view. to walk before we can run, as the saying goes. Furthering of the people throughout the island. Thus, it did not the idea of "progress," in the sense that the present soclety is supposed to be in the process of steadily "evolving into something better. The pragmatic approach, moreover, can have its attractions when the only alternative presented is ultraleftist disregard for the real process of the masses learning through experience.

But an objective look at history shows that it does not The same kind of one-sidedness seems to have parparticular, there has been a succession of great social the revolutionary forces in time. Only a well-timed, well-planned political and move in such neat patterns. In the twentieth century in The same kind of one-sidedness seems to have paralyzed the Official IRA's political strategy during the upcrises throughout the world that have either led forward
coordinated, and well-planned political offensive could be a fundamental change in the organization of society
lead to victory. The party had to help prepare the

should oppose the plans of imperialism for Ireland, that denies that history moves in even patterns. It distinguishes certain general phases of historical development in order to determine the direction in which society is moving and the underlying tendencies. But the essence Mass upsurges also have their logic. By nature they of Marxist analysis is to show, by referring to these abare short-lived. They dissipate harmlessly unless they are stract patterns, how these phases combine in the real given a concrete and immediate focus. In the week after world. Marxists see society as a dynamic, constantly shiftthe Derry massacre, there was a mass challenge, in es- ing balance of forces that inevitably develops in an irsence, to the system in Ireland. The Official republicans regular pattern, where long periods of slow evolution did not understand how to direct this pressure against lead up to abrupt leaps forward-or backward-that

have failed to make any substantial gains from one of the in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a tendency developed in the workers' movement to interpret Marx's Thinking in general concepts divorced from dynamic concepts as meaning that social evolution was a simple, realities, the republicans display an essentially schematic automatic process. When the capitalist system went into and static notion of the way social change takes place. a deep crisis with the outbreak of World War I, it be-The same approach is shown in the Official IRA's slogan came apparent that this interpretation was an adaptation parties. They commanded a vast network of trade unloss flower classes in Ireland is alof reconquering the country mine by mine, factory by to the trade-union and party bureaucracies, which had ctory, and so forth. The other side of this in the North acquired a certain stake in the established order of things

the primitive forms of popular power that have arisen in tory in the war as the way forward, since Germany was he embattled nationalist ghettos, the Official IRA has economically the most advanced of the contending powers shown its devotion to the ideals of revolutionary democ- and had the best-organized working class. Another secracy and in some cases has responded very effectively tion looked to the Western allies, which had long since

ntegrated into a general strategy based on politically leaders of the prewar socialist movement to reject such educating and organizing the masses of the Irish people stages' theories. Lenin's opponents, the Mensheviks, aror a centralized assault on the entire imperialist system, gued that since Russia was a backward absolutist state there was no possibility for making a workers' revolution until a long period of bourgeois democratic devel- socialist revolution could occur in Russia when the work and by force. The economic dis-Lenin and Trotsky argued, on the other hand, that

the capitalist system had already reached the phase of a global system-imperialism-in which the primitive repressive systems in the colonial and semicolonial counthe way toward a new and higher form of society. How- that bourgeois democracy was beginning to decay even ever, the barricaded areas are the front lines of a bitter in the countries of its birth. Therefore, despite the terstruggle that will decide the fate of the Irish people; they rible difficulties of making a socialist revolution in a backward country like Russia, with all of its bitter internal Marxism was not a form of vulgar materialist sociological and aristocrats of England

cisely in those places. The regeneration of the works Just as the struggle against imperialism is supposed to movement also had to begin there, since the worker had falled to respond to the revolution. class is expected to develop in a steady progression as the war had shown that they were no longer worker the result of propaganda and piecemeal economic strugand determined to intervene in the crises of capitalism This scheme of things seems reasonable enough from overthrow the system. They in fact functioned as pan

Moreover, since revolutionary opportunities ar in abrupt and relatively brief crises, because of the regular movement of history, parties had to be created bicularly to this part of it [the at once to lead the workers in the task of overthrowing bourgeois society. Since the capitalist system had beco reactionary on the world scale, every deep social crisis and of the population of Ulster now posed the possibility of a fundamental attack on the ne their political leanings to a system itself. A leadership was needed that clearly under, extent than is the case in any alyzed the Official IRA's political strategy during the upsurge after the Derry massacre. As angry crowds of to a fundamental change in the organization of society lead to victory. The party had to help prepare the work of say that, politically speaksurge after the Derry massacre. As angry crowds in or backward to even more brutal forms of repression ers to strike with daring and decisiveness at the proper concentrating the political blows. moment, concentrating the political blows on the key lines of cleavage in bourgeois society.

Against this revolutionary conception of social develop in Catholics is, likewise, pecument, the opportunists and pacifists who led the bureau its political trend. cratized workers' parties in the West raised vague schemas that put off any possibility for socialism to the indefinis untism has in general made for future. In the countries where the deepest crises occurred in freedom and political Radithe reformists could argue that the "democratic stage" it has been opposed to slavish had not been completed. In the case of Austria, where I of kings and aristocrats. the crisis was exceptionally violent, the centrist leader. in Ireland, the word Protestant ship tried an approach somewhere between pure reform. Ist a convertible term with Toryism and a revolutionary program. They tried to guar espittle loyalty, servile worship antee that the "bourgeois-democratic stage" would be car. "ocracy and hatred of all that ried through to the end by maintaining soviets the of genuine political indepenapparatus of a workers' government, parallel to the rec. on the part of the 'lower classes.' ular bourgeois institutions. They even had a militia. But in the same manner, Catholithe bourgeoisie was not willing to accept half-way solv tions. Because of its slowness and indecisiveness, the workers' movement was crushed, opening the way for fascism

To prove that they were the authentic Marxists, the opportunist leaders could argue that they led mass workers and educational institutions. They had in some cases shown their abilities in leading the economic struggle. of the workers. If the socialist revolution was going to taking of solidarity with all strivcome about as a result of the development of the work. ward of those who toll. ing class, surely they would lead it. In any case there a curious phenomenon is easwould be no socialist revolution until all the workers perstood by those who know wanted it, and the fact that the evolutionist parties re thory of Ireland. Unfortunately tained their hold on a large section of the working dass fir spiritual welfare - and I am proved that they did not. In some cases, as in Austrie, she word 'spiritual,' not in its Catholic parties and unions maintained their grip on many workers. How could you make a socialist rev. pirolling mental and moral deolution when sections of the workers were still under the ment upward - the Protestant eleinfluence of clerical reaction?

And most important, how could it be hoped that a which the owners had been disopment had been completed and the working class had ing class there was relatively so small and culturally retion was, perforce, accompanied backward? The Russian workers would have to wait at ballitical and social outlawry. least until their Western brothers were ready to join in every attempt of the disposthe fight with them. Wasn't it proof of the non-Marxism esto attain citizenship, to emerge of the Bolsheviks that their support tended to be among their state of outlawry, was easily the youth, the intellectuals, and marginal layers of the moted as a tentative step toward working population, rather than in heavy industry and mag the plantation and towards the most powerful unions? Such forces could never make to ing the Catholic and dispossessa revolution.

national divisions and religious fanaticisms, there was Such a view, in fact, could only give an essentially state reland were opposed by the peo-Since capitalism as a world system was in crisis, more to revolution. Marxism, in contrast, was a method prizing that it was but an easy of analyzing social development that took into const. of regard his cause as identical eration the underlying tendencies and the interrelation of a reirs. They had a common enfactors. Since it saw society in motion, it also saw that and he began to teach his chilevery fact of life had its contradictions. Since the word in at they had a common cause. capitalist system as a whole had become reactionary, the minon ideals most backward areas were likely to be the places where the Catholics, for their part, and most acute contradictions existed—the weak points of inderstood I am talking only the whole interlocking machinery of world capitalist to a Catholic workers, have been

However backward the consciousness of the popular strata in-these areas, they could not solve their elementary problems without striking out against the capitalist sys prodution. Just as the Socialem as a whole, which condemned them to permanent was that the working class, bemisery and slavery. Therefore, not only was it likely that revolutions would occur first among backward sec tions of the workers, it was likely also, for better or lot worse, that the more advanced workers would have to the Irish Catholic has realised be set in motion under the impact of these rebellions, the ely that he, being the most Calling on the disadvantaged sections of the workers to wait until more powerful but conservatized sections were ready to move meant in fact turning off the driving of social recognition for himself force of revolution.

Thus, the process of the world revolution itself would be irregular, involving violent conflicts and splits in the working class before higher unity could be achieved Uniting the workers would not be the result of routine propagandistic and trade-union work, as the reformists claimed. Unity could be achieved only through a complex and often violent, and above all political, struggle in which the revolutionists would have to stand resolutely on the side of the interests and aspirations of the most exploited and oppressed sections of society. Full unity might in fact only be achieved after the completion of a successful socialist revolution.

in the Working Class

oved away from the ecoematism of his earlier work understanding of the place al revolution in emancipatish workers, James Connolame to understand the conin the working class of his ntry. In his article "British nd Irish Politicians," written

ime to time I propose to Protestantism of the North d has no parallel outside this and that the Catholicism of

hich in most of Europe is synwith Toryism, lickspittle loyrivile worship of aristocracy ared of all that savours of geninonymous with rebellious ten zeal for democracy, and in-

cal but in its better significance Ireland were, in the main, don of strangers upon the soil

beation as they were unfortuplaced for their political and towest in the social system. emancipate itself without as emancipating all other classand disfranchised, could any modicum of political freewithout winning it for all others in the revolutionary aspirations of the berehip and the leadership of the Of- olutionary struggles that can lead to

tion. He has learned that his strug- culcate reformist concepts into the ferent tasks appropriate to each, the do it. gle is, and has been, the struggle of minds of generations of militants who "stages" theory was at least an advance In order to train and discipline their all the lowly and dispossessed, and may have begun with revolutionary over the previous romantic and moral-revolutionary instincts, the youth need he has grown broadminded with the aspirations. These false ideas have istic absolutism of the republican tradi- to learn that you can exploit the conbroadmindedness of the slave in re- become part of the general baggage tion. At least partially under the in- tradictions of capitalist ideology withof the left. In some cases, they have fluence of this theory, they seem to out becoming entrapped in it. Connolly used the historical Marx- even had a fitful revival in the re- have moved away from the old dead- For example, a republican in the ist method; he did not argue about cent period, as some youth have tend- end notion of trying to restart the civil-rights movement does not have the real economic differences in the ed to romanticize the Stalinism asso- guerrilla war of 1919. They moved to say: "If policemen did not carry position of Protestant and Catholic clated with the great class battles of instead toward the idea of mass so- guns and were under effective civilian workers like a vulgar bourgeois so- the 1930s and the expansion of the cial struggle based on demands control, they would be respected memciologist. Of course, he ended his ar- Soviet sphere of influence immediately arising out of the most acutely felt bers of the community." A revolutionticle with the assertion that with the after the second world war. A reacprospect of home rule, that is, dem- tion against the ultraleftism of the tors of the population. ocratic reform of the British system, early phases of the youth radicalizathe differences between Protestant and tion has also produced a certain nos-Catholic were fading away. But from talgia for the "organization" of the breakthrough against the repressive honest revolutionists. But a socialist his own argument this seems to have Stalinist parties and the "realism" of system since the war of independence. can say: "If the British and the Unionbeen just a hope. And the "civiliza- reformist trade-unionists."

tion" he saw coming to Ireland with The romantic populism and workthis reform has not only been delayed erism of some young radicals fits in licans set for it; instead it created an our democratic rights." in that country but throughout the very well with the general underpinworld; civilization in general has tend- nings of Stalinism, just as many ased to go backward. The age of re- pects of Narodnikism did with Stalinform was already over when Connolly ism during the period of the rise of any consistent way, and seem not to is no point either in relying on pawrote those lines. In the age of cap- the bureaucracy. (The theory of So- have wanted. Now the "stages" theory per rights. But you can demand that italist decay, it is hard to imagine cialist Realism, for instance, represents is obviously holding them back. Only the British authorities who stand bethe British ruling class definitively giv- largely a revival of Narodník theories a consistently revolutionary social the- hind the Northern Ireland regime as the Orange caste, at least not as ists, including Lenin.)

Stages and Revolutions

long as there is any threat of a na-

Lenin and Trotsky did not see the

ionalist revival in Ireland.

concealed its contradictions and weak- matic ways of thinking, the "stages" the mass struggle for civil rights. But will be a spur to further struggles. nesses. Most of all, they looked at theory in the Official republican move- by failing to see that in Ireland demo- On the other hand, projecting comthe workers from the standpoint of ment clearly has a Stalinist source, cratic and socialist tasks are insepa- plete plans for democratization prethe system as a whole. They knew that although it may not be direct. The rably intertwined, they seem to have sumed to be acceptable to one or anthe workers had had to fight sections formulation in the Manifesto of the promoted dogmatism and adventur- other section of the British establishof their own class in Russia in order Irish Workers' and Farmers' Republism in their own ranks. to win. They knew that the working lic," reprinted in August 1971, is the In a period of deepening crisis, the sibility of democracy under the Britclass revolution had been inseparably classical Stalinist one, touched up with lack of a bold and unified revolution ish system. The effectiveness of the and directly combined with struggles some of the scholastic fuzziness typical ary strategy will inevitably give rise new Whitelaw regime in Northern Ireor civil rights and national libera- of the British Communist party:

tion. They knew that when the work- Both the national independence rev- movement that are more undisciplined ises of reform to split the nationalist ing class itself melted away in the olution and the socialist revolution or feel more acutely the forces of "or- population is eloquent ting the are two stages of one democratic trans- der moving in for the kill. historic interests of the class had pre- formation of society, separate in time, Furthermore, the youth in North- lusions. served the historic foundations of each stage of which entails political ern Ireland know that the capitalist The problem of revolutionists is not workers' power. They had no sym- and economic change in the interests system offers no future for them. For to try to figure out what concessions pathy with the successors of the Na- of the mass of the people. How long three years they have fought the re- the ruling class can give, or how to rodniki who thought that the party a time elapses between the establish- pressive forces largely on their own, make it easy for them; the problem should serve the people." Russian ment of real national independence without following the directives of any is to mobilize the masses, to expose Marxism was built in a fight with and unity and the establishment of political or military organization. The the system and prove by experience this theory of dissolving into the mass- a socialist form of society will depend young intellectuals, in particular, in that it has to be overthrown. In the es and carrying on an aimless round on the interaction of the democratic the midst of this social turmoil can period of capitalist decay, the impeof economic struggles. The party had forces of the Irish people and British see the capitalist system faltering all rialists do not give reforms in gento be the general staff of revolution imperialism together with the allies over the world. Only four years ago, eral because the demands are reasonand intervene in history in a single- and clients of the latter within the they saw it come to the brink of col- able; they give them under the threat minded, purposeful, and scientific country. In Javourable conditions this lapse in the neighboring country of of development toward revolution. If may become a malter of gradual steps; France. And everywhere they have, the leaders of the masses accept the

When the Stalinist bureaucracy rose o power in the Soviet Union and de-By stressing the separateness of the These potential cadres of the rev- italists to grant any concessions. stroyed the party that had made the revolution, workerism and the "stages" two stages of the revolution, this pas- olutionary movement cannot be per- What is important is that the detheory made a comeback. These con- sage in effect denies that socialism suaded to accept the utopian concept mands seem reasonable to the masses cepts served the Soviet bureaucrats or socialist demands and perspectives of a long "democratic stage" ahead, and that they expose the fundamentalin the same way they had served the have any relevance for the present, especially when the most enthusiastic ly and irreparably antidemocratic natrade-union bureaucrats and electoral except as ideals. In the last sentence, proponents of this idea are the dismail ture of British rule in Northern Irepoliticians of the Social Democracy - it even holds open the prospect of reformist backs of the Northern Ire- land. This kind of demands can cut as a justification for reformism. The peaceful evolution to socialism. The land Communist party. Only a rev- the ground out from under reform-Kremlin bosses lost all interest in ex- concept is clearly a reformist one in olutionary conception of the role of ists, or promisers of reform, who want tending the revolution, which might all its practical implications.

> proach can paralyze practical polit- a revolutionary mass party. entirely reasonable and the opposite ical action. In an age when capitalism It has to be explained to these youth of reformist in this context, in that mass struggle tends to run up against the system, reaching a point where it can only be carried forward by raising socialist demands.

Whether or not the possibility exists for carrying the process all the way, at such times important ideas can be gotten across to the masses and advanced positions gained for the next wave of struggles.

However, unlike the Communist parties, it seems that most of the mem-

Ireland. Every upward step of the people they ruled. Like all interme- ficial republican movement have not the overthrow of the capitalist system Catholic has emancipated some one diate social layers - including the con- drawn outright reformist conclusions in the "short run," and not at some of the smaller Protestant sects; every servative "nationalists" in Ireland- from this and other formulas. In fact, problematic future stage. This is exsuccessful revolt of the Catholic peas- they maintained their position by bal- the "stages" theory seems to have had actly what the history of the civilant has given some added security anding between the fundamental forces a rather contradictory history among rights movement shows.

landlord. And out of this struggle the ty that they in fact liquidated, the learned that there are different phases olution are political—the science of Catholic has, perforce, learned tolera- Stalinist bureaucrats were able to in- and levels of social struggle and dif- knowing what to do and when to

However, this movement did not ists claim this is a democratic sysachieve the modest goals the repub- tem, they must at least give us all explosive, potentially revolutionary It is not necessary to accept the situation, which they apparently did framework of the parliamentary sysnot expect, were unable to exploit in tem to make such demands. There ing up such a strong prop of reaction that were combated by Russian Marx- ory explaining the interaction of dem- either maintain democratic rights or ocratic and socialist struggle can point get out. How they do it is their probthe way forward.

The Official republicans were proved for democracy is maintained, without correct in their fight against the ultra- making any compremises with the working class in a romantic glow that Although reinforced by general prag- lefts who wanted to liquidate or divert British system, any formal concession

to adventurism in some sections of the land in using completely false prom-

it is not possible to be dogmatic about seen capitalism become steadily more limitations of the system from the repressive and reactionary.

the civil-rights struggle can win these to split and demobilize the oppressed endanger their positions by reviving Because of that, this dogmatic ap- youth to accepting the discipline of community. Calls for democracy are

> as a whole is in crisis, partial strug- that by mobilizing the masses around they reach the masses at their present gles cannot be conducted effectively modest and reasonable-seeming de- level of consciousness and lead them unless the leaders understand that any mands, they can set in motion rev- in a revolutionary direction by ex-

were most zealously defending the By exploiting the prestige of the par- To the extent that the republicans the basic techniques of making a rev-

ple want is democracy; they would .The civil-rights movement led by the be satisfied with that." That is repul-

lem. As long as the mass pressure

the dangers of encouraging such il-

start, there is no incentive for the cap-

ploiting the contradictions of the system. This is the transitional approach, the revolutionary method of mobilizing the masses.

But if mass work is regarded as "reformist" activity by nature, and in the long run subordinate to the revolutionary job of creating a people's army," then it is obvious that as the young members of the republican movement radicalize they will become more and more attracted by revolutionary tasks, which are defined by this method as armed action. And, what is equally bad, the leadership in mass work will be left to genuinely reformist elements.

Aimless Generalities

At the same time, while the core of

opportunities and new dangers.

ment tried at some point to give crit- become very grave. ical or conditional support to a mili- If any of the republican leaders are tant move by a section of the Catho- really intellectually committed to the lic establishment, a move that might "stages" schema - that is, are ideologidevelop under the pressures of the cal centrists in the full sense - the onsituation, the ranks would be disori- ly direction they can go now is toented. All the propaganda is devoted ward the right. The course set by to denouncing these elements without one of the republican movement's poexplaining their contradictions in a litical advisers, Roy Johnston, is scientific way. By nature such gener- probably a good example, After reic concepts are static. In practical pol- signing from the movement, he pubitics, they leave no room for any lished an "apologia" in the March 31 stance but head-on attack or, perhaps issue of the liberal Dublin biweekly more accurately, marching in place. Hibernia, in which he suggested that

of uniting the workers without explain- civil-rights movement was a mistake. s, for dogmatism in this field.

workers, in this view the fight obvious- have emerged naturally. ly should be conducted on a purely "This was beginning to happen. By workers have the same interests. If etc." the republicans do not understand The natural tendency for the centional argument that civil rights are key element.

in historical evolution, while economic forces are the fundamental drive. Is committed to a terrorist containing the stablish a socialist regime could not be expected that abstract dealing now with much more fundamental. ic forces are the fundamental drive, is committed to a terrorist campaign. In their own country, regardless of education could make up for this demental questions than it has before other secondary factors can reflect. The Civil Rights Association, on the back on and even change the course, other hand, has only said that the move of the course of the back on and even change the course other hand, has only said that it will historically backed by imperialism. He ranks is obviously an esment will have to make some changes. of economic development. If this were not cooperate with the government unnot true, the great Marxists have extil at least the consentration of the focus shifts sential task in developing the movein its methods of organization in or-

Marxism is not a theory of econom- The IRA and Religious War c determinism; economic determinism is essentially a bourgeois theory with

The propaganda line taken by the ference, waiting for salvation from revolutionary core of the Official re
The various tendencies that exist in and the masses will fall into indifference, waiting for salvation from revolutionary core of the Official re-

specific situations or an assessment of The danger now is - since the civillike a revolutionary combat party to litically for the actual results—that pressed community definition will set in. Under the cede apologetically that the Catholics ment back to a lower level, to its cal government, education will set in. Under the cede apologetically that the Catholics ment back to a lower level, to its cal government, education will set in. Under the cede apologetically that the Catholics ment back to a lower level, to its call government, education will set in. blows brought on by the political and organizational weaknesses of the moveorganizational weaknesses of the moveland?

are largely or even equally response to the bigotry in Northern Ireward evolution of centrist elements, tation, especially given the If, for example, the republican move- ment, the disorientation could quickly land?

In the same way, raising the slogan the whole idea of a mass, militant

ing the contradictions in the working "In retrospect, I am now convinced class in a scientific way, without ex- that the timing was wrong. We know plaining the historical dynamics of that the mixture was explosive, but socialist revolution, opens the way for we underestimated, seriously, the difromanticizing economic struggle, that ficulty of controlling the magnitude and direction of the blast.

It is easy for sectarians to say that "If the republican clubs had had a the civil-rights struggle has polarized chance to find their feet, get engaged Catholic and Protestant workers rath- in local political activity, draw a few er than brought them closer together. conclusions for themselves, establish Since political struggle against the some links with the students, etc., the caste system alienates the Protestant idea of a civil rights movement would

economic basis, or at least there 1966 the Belfast republicans were beshould be a relatively long economic ginning to be interested in tenants asstage." On this level it is presumed sociations; there had been successful that both Protestant and Catholic agitations about pedestrian crossings,

what the civil-rights movement has trists will be to try to reduce the civilaccomplished, if they do not under- rights movement to a liberal pressure stand how it challenges the funda- group linked to the "democratic" esmental structures of the capitalist sys- tablishment in Britain. The position tem in Ireland, they may have a dif- of the British Communist party in the ficult time answering these arguments. trade-union movement and the vari-The sectarians can also add the emo- ous respectable left groups will be a

condition of the workers or alter their ceeded in splitting the nationalist coma militant action movement can draw olutionary education is the program advance it. This policy seems to lead munity and restoring the position of in nonrevolutionists and even sections of the organization. It now seems the IRA to think in terms of avenging In the first place, the republicans the moderates, moreover, all the presof the establishment behind it. The clear, and the republican leaders the people, of small-scale commando

Stalinists and Social Democrats, econthe Official IRA argument that it is matter how "broad" the support of come to a crossroads. The situation to develop their positions fully and omism is a way of justifying political immobility. Trade-union activity backlash. The logic of this argument that it is matter how broad the support of come to a crossroads. The situation to develop their positions the movement, or how many respectcalls for a bold reorientation. The see them tested in debate and pracical immobility. Trade-union activity backlash. The logic of this argument able personalities or "mass workers' movement, however, is in a good potice. Otherwise, the fundamental questions are present.

The workerism of ultraleft sectarians the part of the nationalists; it is the Building the Vanguard in Action itrarily interpret all economic agiciety in northeast Ireland. If the The explosive development of the in the South offer the possibility for Official IRA has many advantages.

the republican movement is organized sistent in their orientation toward the be carried off without serious resistion with the capitalist system has been phase is opening up. All den the republican movement is organized sistent in their orientation toward the be carried on william movement is organized sistent in their orientation toward the be carried on william developing for the last three years. freedoms are precarious in this as the ultimate limit of what is point as the ultimate limit of what is step to eliminate the threat of future move on from this to other acute is sues facing the country of the country able to mobilize world opinion in sup
In these circumstances, shifting back ent situation, it is essential that it

ment of the nationalists on the one of ultraleftists who are anxious to lead time should expose the contradiction Ireland, sections of the Protestants themselves are, to some extent, the ly to generate more real activity and

breakup of the Unionist bloc. But fun- sciousness of its revolutionary per- campaigns and by giving clear pomass movement in Ireland and inter- Revolutionary education is not a into the best political fighting force nationally can overcome the Protes- smooth, automatic process compar- in Europe. The main instrument of

Now that the imperialists have sucis, by exploiting its contradictions—

The most important element in revdefense of the Irish people rather than could point out that it is an over- sures of the establishment will be ex- U.S. antiwar movement is an example would probably acknowledge it, that actions, and seems to keep it from simplification to say that all work- erted to drive the mass movement to of this. It has pulled the whole con- the political program of the Official turning its mind to the tasks of orconditions of scarcity and insecurity. A New York Times editorial of June and opened up the way for substan- ficient and dangerously equivocal in needed to defeat imperialism. sensus of the country far to the left republican movement has been insuf- ganizing the mass popular militias even minute economic or social ad- 1 was a good illustration of this tentia! growth of the revolutionary forces.

some respects. Therefore, it could not

Effective political education is pos-And, in a stagnant system, it is not "Catholic leaders are now participat- however, by mobilizing the masses ed political education to the ranks. In the framework of a party that has going to do very much good to ex- ing with Protestants in an advisory independently in the streets, maintain- The leadership itself was learning a fully developed program and a conplain how unimportant these differ- commission appointed by Mr. White- ing the campaign even in periods of from experience and from reality, sistent way of looking at things. In ences are in an absolute sense or rel- law and the Social Democratic and steep decline in activity. It mobilized which apparently did not develop as such a context, developments can be ative to the advantages all the work- Labor party has added its powerful the masses on the basis of principled it expected. The republican move- continually analyzed and the analyses ers could have if they combined. Such voice to the demand for an end to demands that challenged the basic ment's most important educational constantly and systematically reevala line would presuppose a socialist violence and for Catholic cooperation contradictions of the system in a contools are its paper, its political stateuated and deepened through demopolitical consciousness on the part of with the British administration to give crete way. In this case, the demand ments, and the political discussions, cratic discussion. peace a chance.' The Official I.R.A. was for immediate withdrawal of While the republicans were clearer on But fundamentally, the republicans withdrawal leaves only the Provision- American troops, which meant in some fundamental questions than the As a result of its unique history, could explain that these sectarians als and the Northern Ireland Civil practice that the people of the U.S. other tendencies in Ireland, such as the republican movement is a very have a one-dimensional, static view Rights Association as holdouts on the had no interest in suppressing the Viet- the need for political struggle and broad organization which has been not see capitalist society as a complete political, social, and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious and economic is obvious. The Official IPA has a complete political and economic is obvious and economic is obvious. plete political, social, and economic is obvious. The Official IRA has, presystem. They cannot understand that sumably withdraws from which the source of the probedge. This can only be a problem of branches and allows considerable system. They cannot understand that sumably, withdrawn from using terin historical evolution, while economic torist methods. The Provisional IPA

> ing of reformists in bureaucratic and liberal organizations, political energy Next Stage for the Republicans will be drained out of the movement

on a military basis, it is politically Protestant workers. Fortunately, the tank (and to quite what is happenvery loose. Agreement is on very genrepublicans are inconsistent, or their lic opinion to realize what is happenli will lead eventually either to vicand especially so in Ireland, in the long of them to long or defeat. If it is defeated, consystem can be for very loose. Agreement is on very genrepublicans are inconsistent, or their lic opinion to realize what is incompletely so in Ireland. But the
real concepts: We are for the ordinary activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason for them to tory or defeat. If it is defeated, consystem can be forced to grant a compose it. A terrorized Catholic popuditions will not return to where they eral concepts: We are for the ordinary activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing), there is no reason to the ideal ing activity would be as sterile as the ing). oppose it. A terrorized Catholic popus unions and lation will be all the more grateful for were before the civil-rights movement which must be used to advantage North and South; we are for social- ers. But the situation in Ireland seems lation will be all the defeat is complete, the small concessions. The position of the started. If the defeat is complete, the Through their campaign against a small concession in republican circles to have reached the point where the "moderates," moreover, will be rein- situation may well be thrown back Common Market, the small concessions. The position of the started. It is the capitalists regain conpragmatic, usually confined within the they develop a consistent approach forced, because the prejudices of the further. If the capitalists regain conpear to have gained valuable exp pragmatic, usually confined within the they develop a consistent approach lorced, because the property of the situation, it is foolish to ence in conducting centralized as the ultimate limit of what is politilimits of a few commonly accepted based on utilizing the positive lessons assumptions. You seldom hear a sys- of the civil-rights movement, its revolu- as the ultimate limit of what is politi- think that they will not take every tions around key issues. The

past predictions. Such an organization rights movement has not proceeded cannot help but be politically as expected and the republican lead-ulation when the leaders of the op-sent a change in tactics but the concus and challenges. ulation when the leaders of the op- sent a change in tactics but the con- cus and challenge the weak a very slow moving. It cannot maneuver ership was evidently not prepared polike a revolutionary combat party to litically for the actual results—that cede apologetically that the Catholics ment back to a lower level, to its Elaborate schemes (

> ward evolution of centrist elements, tation, especially given the reson The fanatical opposition to change the revolutionary youth, who have of the republican movement A is of 1,000,000 Protestants, more than been given only very general notions simple themes are needed on which one fifth of the total population of of socialist struggle, are likely to move all the propaganda of the movement Ireland, is a formidable obstacle to in a more and more adventurist di- can be focused, that is, transition revolution in Ireland. But the balance rection. The centrists moving right demands. Such demands should seem of forces does not come down to comand the leadership displaying political reasonable to the people they are inparing the organization and equip- immobility would strengthen the hand tended to appeal to and at the same

> tors both in Ireland and internation- the republican movement sometimes economic agitation stand in secondary ally come into play. As long as they complain that the speed with which place for a revolutionary party. The are mobilized on a reactionary pothe crisis has developed has prevented most important thing is to give political basis, the Protestants remain them from politically educating their litical direction and to wage a conin the last analysis under the control ranks. That is a general problem in centrated campaign against the enemy of the bourgeoisie. Thus, their fight- an age of crisis by no means confined ing capacity is limited by the will to Ireland. It would be an elitist ilof the bourgeoisie, that is, by the po- lusion to believe that great social litical strength of the capitalist sys- movements can be turned on and off tem in Britain and internationally. If to suit the convenience of vanguard and lead all local activity. Getting

may become neutralized or susceptible product of broader movements and on a higher level. to revolutionary propaganda. That conditions. Deep changes have taken is, they may come to realize that the place in the consciousness of the Irish cialism and its uncompromising fight caste system cannot be maintained people as a result of the civil-rights against all the conservative forces in movement, and it is probable that Ireland, the Official republican move-In such a context, gestures of good- these changes have been reflected in ment has won the support of a large will and reassurances from the rev- the internal life of the republican number of dedicated revolutionary olutionary forces can promote a movement and in the leadership's con- youth. By waging centralized political

tant caste mentality, which is reac- able, say, to the programming of stud- this process, however, cannot be an les in universities or trade-union "army of the people"; it must be the Therefore, international support is schools. By its nature, it involves con- party of the Irish revolution. vital to the success of the nationalist flict, argument, and learning from expeople's struggle. Although it is es- perience. It involves teaching a rev- The perspective of armed struggle sential that this movement be as broad olutionary view of the world and a must be brought into closer consoas possible, it needs a revolutionary precise technique for overthrowing the nance with realities. The truth is that present system, not general philosoph- trying to stick to the old-fashioned By focusing pressure on the lines ical concepts alone, or the views of structures of a "secret army" is likely

Stalinists and Social Democrats, econthe Official IRA account that their influential Triends." Then, no publican leadership seems to have embryo have to have an opportunity and piecemeal agitations are presented as the way toward progress. The
militaris further and further as the way toward progress. The militants further and further onto the political, party of the working class defensive, and eventually parally and eventually parally of the working class defensive, and eventually parally p olitical party of the working class defensive and eventually paralyze radical gestures) have given it their ly shaken, if not yet entirely elimibe resolved but will be left to fester ally work and loses all perspective

The altruism of the IRA cannot refor the establishment to smash the for casting away archaic forms that able ways. And, most importantly, and this has opened up the way and express themselves in the control of the organimaking a centralized attack on capduce or head off Protestant reaction.

The classical motto of reThe fanaticism of the projected attack on capalism. The classical motto of reThe fanaticism of the projected attack on capduce or head off Protestant reaction.

Movement or render it harmless. The stand in the way of carrying out the the political program of the organi-The classical motto of reThe fanaticism of the proimperialist history of Social Democracy and Stareal tasks of making the revolution zation will remain on a vague gen-

on as topso facto revolutionary. EvOrange fanatics see a chance to put civil-rights movement has no doubt effective revolutionary propaganda

But like every new revolutionary force strike is a revolutionary episode. the Taiga in their place once and for made many nostalgic for the relative- campaigns. By demanding the right that has emerged in this period (and goal becomes lost in similess "mil- less of professions of brotheshand by goal becomes lost in aimless "milless of professions of brotherhood by
sgitations and phrase-mongerany section of the retionalist route."

If y peaceful economic agitation of preto engage in legal political activity, the Official IRA is basican,
vious years, which was only a nuithe republicans can defend themselves radical movement, despite its long traany section of the nationalist population.

The section of the nationalist population. threat. It is possible that activity will pression and at the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time contities think that a general normal state of the same time continues the the republicans of being "incon- ities think that a general pogrom can understood that a general confronta- does not mean that a "democratic proach.

cal government, education, etc. an

ish army on the other. Political facish army on the other ish army on the other. Political facish army on the other ish army on th of the system. In a period of general class, which itself is highly centralized and conscious of its general interest. It is not necessary, furthermore, for itate in defending the status quo in Furthermore, revolutionary groups and direct a broader vanguard is like

der to handle these effectively. Some more systematic form of discussion eral level and be largely useless as In particular, challenging the ban a practical guide to action for achiev-

BRITISH LABOUR UPSURGE FREES DOCKERS British workers responded overwhelmingly

to the recent gaoling of five picket leaders for contempt of court. Within hours, all dock workers went on strike. The Australian Associated Press (AAP), quoting trade union sources reported on July 21 that every port in Britain was closed. Over the following few days up to 140,000 were on strike while two million others were on the verge of taking similar action. Even the leadership of the TUC (Trade Union Congress, the British equivalent to the ACTU) was forced to call a general strike for the first time in over a century.

The five gaoled dock workers were engaged in what the court itself admitted was a peaceful picket outside the Midland Cold Storage Depot in East London. The packing of containers at the depot to be loaded aboard a ship as a unit, deprived the wharfies of the job of handling cargoes and threatened the dockers' jobs.

The contempt of court charges against Derek Watkins, Bernie Steer, Vic Turner, Cornelius Clancy and Anthony Merrick arose from the men's refusal to abandon their picket. The act under which the National Industrial Relations Court acted was the notorious Industrial Relations Act. The act was put forward by the Tory government soon after its election victory on June 18 1970. This anti-labour act belongs to the same stable as the Lynch laws in Australia. It is one of the most vicious weapons used in the bosses' offensive against the working class. The Tories are bent on using the act against the trade union movement in order to coerce the working class into accepting a lower standard of living and staying off their own problems.

The passage of the bill through Parliament was marked by strong labour opposition to it, accumulating in huge strikesof over a million workers on March I and March 18 1971, 140,000 people marched against the Tory bill on February 21 the same year in the largest ever demonstration held in England. The attempt to'bring Great Britain in line with all other advanced industrial countries" imposes severe restrictions on the labour move-

The act imperils the following basic

(1) The right to freely combine: under the act registration of unions is compulsory. This leaves employers free to launch financial attacks against unregistered unions. The limitations enforced on "authorised officials" destroy the power of the shop stewards and the negotiation strength of those union officials who are willing to fight.

(2) The right to strike: most strikes are made illegal, in particular "political"

and sympathy strikes. The act gives the government power to impose a 60 day cooling off" period during which all strikes are illegal.

(3) The right to organise on the job: closed shops are illegal. Any action taken against scabs is also illegal,

(4) The right to make independent decisions: the government is given the power to impose a legally enforceable contract whenever no such contract has been achieved through negotiations.

(5) The right to free speech: anyone, including the press, found guilty of "inducement" for an "illegal" strike can be forced to pay damages. The Sunday Times suggested that this provision "will clearly imperil the newssheets of militant left wing groups".

The bill has been challenged by the union movement several times since it came into full force on February 28 1972. This is the biggest action to date against the bill.

The choice of the waterfront for this major confrontation under the Industrial Relations Act has not been accidental. The waterfront has been experiencing

increased redundancies over the last four years. The introduction of containers has led to a tremendous increase in productivity. The employers' attempts at "rationalisation" have led to large numbers being laid off. This is evident in the statistics covering registration of dock workers: there were 60,000 dockers registered in 1968 compared with 45,000 last year. Out of the current registration of 41,000 only 33,000 are employed at the moment. More are expected to lose their jobs in the near future. Even after the release of the five, the union delegates voted 38-28 to reject a joint employer-union report which suggested further retrenchment. The dockers rejected the recommendations of the report drawn by the Aldington-Jones committee as inadequate to relieve its fears of ever increasing redundancy caused by containerisation. The union delegates considered the doubling of severance pay to \$4,000-\$8,000 to be insufficient. As Direct Action goes to press, a national

The quick response by the British workers to the gaoling of their comrades was responsible for their release. As well as the dockers, 10,000 Merseyside lorry drivers and tugboatmen, 3,000 ground

dock strike is taking place.

The militant action succeeded in forcing the TUC to call a general strike and the economy approached a standstill. staff workers in Lond on Airport, over

The actions both taken and threatened were enough to scare the Tories. The government used the Tficial Solicitor, a public servant, to appeal to the court to release the men. Norman Turner, the Official Solicitor, claimed that keeping the men in gaol any longer "would cause useless suffering or what is worse, self imposed martyrdom". What he really meant was that the direct action taken by the workers forced the Tories to retreat. And no wonder. The world cable service of The Australian from London on July 23 carried the message, "Treasury officials fear the impact on sterling when the markets open tomorrow This could lead to a catastrophic run on the now floating pound and undermined any hopes of economic growth during the coming year".

35,000 miners in South Wales, Yorkshire

and Scotland, gave a characteristic dis-

A Port of London Authority's spokesman

told the London bureau of The Australian

"We have no dock labour force to do any-

Britons began to feel the squeeze today

as the wave of industrial walkouts over

the gaoling of five dockers for contempt

"The irritations and inconveniences are

"Fruit and vegetable prices were edging

"London commuters had trouble getting

"London Airport may as well have been

fogbound. Most flights were cancelled.

Virtually no imports were getting into

the country. Virtually no exports were

to work and the city's buses ran only a

of court spread wider every hour.

growing more serious. By today:

upward in southern England.

limited service.

getting out."

thing with". On the following day, July

26, United Press International reported:

play of class solidarity.

The mass upsurge had an impact on the trade union movement: it forced the Vic Feather leadership of the TUC to take actions it wouldn't usually dream of. Last year Feather announced that the Tory government is the same as any other government. Now he has called the first Minister Heath "we do not recognise either the Act or the Court".

The lessons to be drawn from the struggle are plain: the only way to combat the Lynch laws and their international counterparts is through massive direct action. The action of the TUC secretary Feather in being forced to call a general strike is indicative of the radicalisation of the working class in Britain and the successful results of strong rank and file

REVOLUTION THE McGOVERN ILLUSION

BY JIM PERCY

It is important not to breed illusions in McGovern...."

The above sentence appeared in an article by Denis Freney in the Communist Party's paper, "Tribune" of July 4 - 10. continuing mass movement after the Unfortunately the whole thrust of Freney's elections.' article is to instil illusions in the readers of "Tribune" about the nomination for and possible election of George McGovern campaign is precisely built on the defusion to the U.S. Presidency.

Freney argues that if McGovern were elected and he fulfilled his promise to withdraw all forces from Indochina, the world revolution would have won a major victory. That is, electing the representative of one capitalist party in the U.S. would be a major victory. Comrade Frency, this breeds illusions.

What we must understand is that it is the independent strength of the mass antiwar movement that has so far limited the ability of Nixon and the previous "peace" candidate Johnson to wage the war in Vietnam. It will be the pressure of this movement that will force the withdrawal of troops - not the election of the "dove" McGovern, Although he does not say it, it is implicit in Freney's analysis that we should support McGovern:

All those qualifications stated, a McGovern victory would undoubtedly be seen by the anti-war movement and the radicalized youth as a major victory.

Youth would build a massive campaign

for McGovern's election and Freney tells

"Provided that that mobilization did not mean an end to the independent mass mobilization around the war and other issues, it would provide the basis for a

But, this is the whole point! McGovern's of the independent mass movements. It is by channelling the radicalizing youth into the electoral farce in the U.S. that McGovern is so important to the U.S. ruling class. So it is not surprising that McGovern refused to endorse the last antiwar mobilization called in the U.S. (and internationally.) He knows the score its a pity Denis doesn't.

And how does Denis justify the following:

'McGovern as president would not simply be a new Kennedy. His presidency would mark a new and total reappraisal of the policies of U.S. imperialism both internally and externally!

Is U.S. imperialism going to change its nature? Is the ruling class going to allow McGovern to damage its interests? Are we supposed to support a "progressive" ving of the ruling class? Can change then come through the system? It would seem Freney implies a yes to these questions. We prefer to think that would be an illusion as it was with Johnson, Kennedy etc .

Two other illusions:

loses the nomination duet to the manipulation of the Democratic Party machine bosses, he or some other liberal politician could lead the formation of a third party, with a very big mass following. That party could in turn evolve towards a Labor the nature of the two party electoral

This is a novel view of how to form a labour party in the U.S. I am sure that it will be seized on eargerly by socialists in the U.S.A. who have been grappling with through the system, they must struggle the problem there for some time. Why didn't they think of it? Instead of having the Labor Party based on the trade unions, the institutions of the working class, of fabour, have it based on a section of one of the bosses' parties - the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Is Denis here preparing the ground for the acceptance of illusions about a breakaway liberal party dressed up as Labor Party as being in the interests of the working people? We hope not. Charitably we'll just put it down to the ignorance of one who has dropped all pretense of class analysis of events and drifts on the fringes of Stalinism.

A harsh comment? Then how does he account for this:

"Revolutionary parties in the U.S.A., such as the Communist Party.... "Since when, Denis? To call the monstrosity that goes under the name of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. a "revolutionary" party is not to have illusions, but to be totally blind. For forty years this outfit has played a counter-revolutionary role

in misleading the left in the U.S. One of the most slavish followers of Moscow, it has supported every criminal act to the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the recent Moscow summit meeting. It has bred "It is quite conceivable that, if McGovern illusions in generation of radicals about liberal Democrats from Roosevelt to - yes -

> It's true that the task of revolutionaries is not to breed illusions: they must expose force, they must expose the role of Mc Govern as a defuser of mass movements, they must expose his rotten record on social issues, they must expose the idea of change - of "total reappraisals" for a labor party in the U.S. based on the working class, they must expose the class collaborationist role of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

Unfortunately Frency does exactly the opposite.

These questions are not academic for us in Australia. In the 1968 Presidential elections, the mass antiwar movement was defused by the actions of Johnson and partially also by the peace candidate Mc Carthy. Even Nixon's "plan" for ending the war bred a legion of suckers. Currently interest centres around the McGovern campaign because he promised to end the war. But for those who wish to support the Vietnamese and not leave them to the whim of capitalist politicians it's necessary to see through this game and continue to build the mass movements for social shange and offer active support to the Vietnamese fighters in the form of international demonstrations. Only in this way can we affect the course of history. We certainly can to illusions about the likes of McGovern.



A CONTRIBUTION TBOTSKYIST TBOTSKYIST PUSBBE FRANK

[This is the fourth installment of our translation of Plerre Frank's The Fourth International: A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement.

Chapter 4: From 1933 to 1938. Preparing for the Fourth International

A slight economic recovery occurred from 1933 to 1938, due largely to preparations for a new world war. The spread of fascism in Europe was barely held in check by the mass movements in France (June 1936) and in spain, where fascism unleashed a civil war that was to nd in tragedy for the laboring masses. In the Far East, Japan embarked on what was to prove

a hopeless war against China. In the Soviet Union, execution of the five-year plans was accompanied by a nonstrous lowering of the standard of living and suppression of the rights of the working masses, by the exermination of the Bolshevik cadres and the entire revlutionary vanguard.

The dissension of the previous years between Socialist and Communist parties was replaced by a policy of "unity" n order to build "popular fronts." This class collaboraon with sections of the bourgeoisie had results as disstrous for the cause of socialism as those of the pre-

The economic crisis of 1929 had important political sequences, beginning in 1932-33.

at the end of 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt became presnt of the United States. In an effort to revive the econy, he inaugurated the New Deal, which proved favore to development of the trade-union movement in the ited States - in a proletariat hitherto under the sway craft unionism, where workers in the huge plants had

not been organized. (The rise of the CIO would take care of that.) But aside from the United States, this change had no immediate repercussions, the American proletariat's big step forward on the political level still remaining to be taken. No doubt this will be the result of the next great crisis, which in the United States will not necessarily be exclusively economic in-origin.

a result of the combined consequences of the policies of the two working-class leaderships, reformist and Stalinist. For different reasons and in different ways, both were opposed to united action by the workers. Both engendered inertia, passivity, and lack of resistance in the German proletariat as a whole, in face of the growing Nazi movement. Both acted like competing shopkeepers and placed their interests as opposing cliques above the interests of the class they claimed to represent.

A turn in our general orientation took place when Hitler came to power. We abandoned the struggle to reform the Third International and set our sights on building a Fourth International and new revolutionary parties.

This decision was not taken at once. We began in the early months of 1933 by abandoning the struggle to reform the German CP, because it was obvious that a party which had failed in so serious a situation was historically doomed. (See Trotsky's article, "The German Workers Will Rise Again - Stalinism, Never!"11) We were waiting to learn the reactions in the other CPs and in the Communist International. These reactions were negligible, and the Executive Committee of the Communist International unanimously approved a report by Heckert endorsing the whole previous Stalinist policy in Germanyeven though, in their heart of hearts, most of the leaderships of the CPs were hostile to those policies. Stalinism had definitively triumphed in the Communist International. As the revolutionary International of the proletariat, the Comintern was dead.

Following this vote of the ECCI, an International Plenum of our movement during the summer of 1933 almost unanimously decided on the change in our international orientation.

Until then we had spoken in terms of reforming the Communist International, reforming the Bolshevik party, and reforming the Soviet state, without always making a distinction among them in our statements. The orientation towards building new revolutionary parties and, by extension, a new party in the USSR, called for a clarification of our position vis-a-vis the Soviet state. At that time we made a careful distinction between reforming the Bolshevik party, henceforth an impossibility, and the still possible reform of the Soviet state, which remained a proletarian state. Later, in 1935, our point of view developed on this question, too, and led to our affirming the necessity of a political revolution in the USSR, a degenerated workers state—a political, not a social, revolution, because what was needed was not a funda-

11. Available in The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany, by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York. - Trans-

mental change in the Soviet Union's relationships of production but the destruction of the omnipotence of the bureaucracy and the reestablishment of workers' democracy,

The preceding period of our history had been chiefly characterized by the grounding of our movement in the bedrock of principle. In the new period, we added a large measure of organizational flexibility. At the time of our struggle for reforming the Third International, we assiduously separated ourselves from all currents that had an equivocal attitude, no matter how tiny, on this question of reform. But declaring that the Third International was no longer capable of being reformed meant placing on record an enormous setback to revolutionary consciousness, and it was not possible to tell in advance what a new International and new revolutionary parties would be and in what ways they would be established. Certainly we intended to try to gain acceptance for our program, as being the most complete expression of the proletariat's experience to date; but we could not foresee how we would reach this goal, i.e., what organizational paths the construction of revolutionary parties would follow. Nor could we foresee what the evolution of our relationships with other revolutionary currents in the working-class movement would be.

Two experiments were made in this regard - one limited in scope, the other much larger - during this period.

The "Declaration of the Four"

From July-August of 1933, the question of regroupment of the revolutionary forces was placed before us in concrete form following the British ILP's (Independent Labour Party) calling of a conference, open to all organizations outside the Second and Third internationals, for the purpose of examining the world situation and the situation of the labor movement in light of the Nazi victory. We decided to participate in this conference to make our position known and to try to get together all the

organizations that were willing to promulgate-to the working class of the world - the need for a Fourth International. This participation was somewhat similar to that of the Bolsheviks, in other circumstances, at Zimmerwald and Kienthal. The result was the "Declaration of the Four" -a document signed by our international organization, the League of Internationalist Communists; by the Ger-Hitler came to power in Germany early in 1933 as man SAP (Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei - Socialist Workers party); and by two Dutch organizations, the RSP (Revolutionair-Socialistische Partij - Revolutionary Socialist party), and the OSP (Onafhankelijke Socialistische Partij - Independent Socialist party).

> The SAP consisted of some of the left socialists who, critical of its reformist line, had broken with German Social Democracy in 1931-32. Shortly before Hitler came to power, leadership of the SAP passed into the hands of Walcher and Froelich, two former leaders of the Communist right opposition (Brandlerites) who had broken with the latter to join the SAP.

The Dutch OSP corresponded in origin to the German SAP. The RSP was led by Henricus Sneevliet, a Communist leader for many years, who had come into conflict with the Communist International over trade-union policy in Holland, where he was an official of the NAS (Nationaal Arbeiders Syndikaat - National Workers Union), a labor federation that included Communists and anarchosyndicalists. In his struggle against the latter, Sneevliet had been led to organize his union faction into a political party

The "Declaration of the Four" proclaimed the need for a new International, for new revolutionary parties, and defined the main points on which they should be built. While it did not set forth our whole program, the Declaration did contain our essential points.

On a world scale, the results of the "Declaration of the Four' were minimal. In Holland, nevertheless, the two organizations held common rallies, and then merged to form the RSAP (Revolutionair-Socialistische Arbeiderspartij - Revolutionary Socialist Workers party). Later this party joined our movement, then split with us during the Spanish revolution, when it supported the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista - Workers party of Marxist Unification). The opposition to this line in the RSAP was based on the youth, led by Sal Santen. During the war, it was these youth who organized the Dutch section of the Fourth International. Sneevilet, who led the RSAP and who broke with the movement for the Fourth International on the question of the war in Spain, nevertheless remained extremely close to us. He died a hero during the war, shot by the Nazis.

As for the leaders of the German SAP who lived in exile, they behaved like inveterate centrists. Shortly after having signed the "Declaration of the Four," they became the bitterest enemies of Trotskylsm and were at the bottom of all the centrist groupings (the London Bureau, etc.) that spread indescribable confusion among the vanguard in the period preceding the second world war.12 After the war, Walcher became a functionary in East Germany; Froelich, on the other hand, was a sympathizer of our

12. See below for the struggle against centrism.

The First Draft of a Transitional Program

movement.

Before going into the second experiment, by far the more important in building the revolutionary party, a few words should be said on the political situation resulting from Hitler's accession to power.

The Nazi victory cut off the prospect of revolution in Germany for an entire historical period. Throughout the rest of Europe, reaction was sharply on the rise, but not without resistance.

In Austria, where the working class was completely under the influence of the Social Democracy, the clerical reaction, led by Dollfuss, propelled the workers into armed struggle under Social Democratic leadership, and they fought for one week in February 1934. The crushing of the Austrian proletariat by Dollfuss opened the way to the Nazi victory in Austria - the fascists took power after killing Dollfuss and eliminating his party.

The center of the European working-class movement shifted to France after 1933. Hitler's victory upset the equilibrium established in Europe at Versailles in 1918; this, in turn, laid bare the most formidable crisis in government France had ever experienced - a crisis that continues to this day. For the first time, it was apparent to all that France was no longer a first-rate power. To reestablish its position, or rather to maintain it, French capitalism had no other recourse but to lower the standard of living of the masses - which could only be done by inaugurating a "strong state." French capitalism tried to get rid of parliamentary forms by means of the reactionary coup of February 6, 1934. But, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, the blow was struck prematurely. The French working class, literally whipped into action by this blow, awoke to the fascist danger, and there was a great deal of political tension in the country as a result.

Against the growing fascist danger, we advocated a united front of working-class organizations in France. But to implement this, a program of action was needed on the basis of which the working masses could mobilize

In our efforts to move toward a stronger organization, we were to pass through a stage in which the Trotskyist group would temporarily lose its organizational independence by entering a mass working-class party. Trotsky himself raised the question of the Ligue Communiste entering the Socialist party (SFIO). The move was decided on in September-October of 1934. This policy, called entryism, was subsequently extended to other countries. At first it aroused a great deal of disagreement within our international organization, even causing splits. It was with a great deal of resistance that the October 1934 International Plenum ratified the policy of the French Trotskyists' entering the SFIO. Since then the majority

of the organization has considered this tactic admissible. For an entire initial period, the activity of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group 15 in the SFIO was conducted with remarkable political clarity. This attracted numerous young people, particularly the whole Jeunesses Socialistes (Socialist Youth) tendency, organized under the name Jeunesses Socialistes Révolutionnaires (Revolutionary Socialist Youth), into the organization's ranks, thus renewing its membership.

On the other hand, our exit from the SFIO while the Popular Front was being organized took place under very unfortunate circumstances, and the split among the Bolshevik-Leninists occurring at that time caused us to lose part of the benefits obtained from our entry.

In other countries, notably Belgium and the United States, entryism had better results. In Belgium, where the organization had a working-class base in the Charleroi Basin, it acquired a strong mass base in the Borinage. In the United States, the Socialist party never recovered from the blow it suffered when the Trotskyists left 16

On the contrary, Nin and Andrade in Spain, who had opposed the entry of the French Trotskyists into the SF10, did not delay in uniting - on an incorrect programmatic basis - with the Worker-Peasant Bloc in Catalonia, thus forming the inveterately centrist POUM.

The Rise of Fascism and the War

activity, in raising all kinds of obstacles to theoretical and political clarification among the vanguard militants who were disgusted with the old parties and disoriented

by a terrible decline in the working-class movement. During the second world war, the London Bureau showed no sign of life. The same held true for the SAP and the PSOP. In England, the ILP was nothing more than an empty husk.

3. The struggle against the Moscow trials was one of physical defense, a struggle, literally, for the very existence of our movement, a struggle against an avalanche of slander, of frame-ups, of widespread brutality and Stalinist crimes against Trotskylst militants, in a whole series of countries outside the Soviet Union. (In France, Leon Sedov, Rudolf Klement; in Spain, Erwin Wolff, Moulin; in Switzerland, Ignace Relss.)

From 1936 to 1938, three big trials took place in Moscow, in which the role of prosecuting attorney was played by the ex-Menshevik Vishinsky, who became foreign minister after the war. In the first trial, the defendants (Zinoviev, Kamenev, I. N. Smirnov, etc.) "confessed" to having plotted against Stalin out of greed for power. In the second trial, the defendants (among whom were Pyatakov and Yagoda, organizer of the first trial) "confessed" that they and the defendants in the preceding trial had conspired to reestablish capitalism in the Soviet Union. In the third trial, the accused (Bukharin, Rakovsky, etc.) "confessed" that they all, including those executed following the previous trials, had for a long time been spies in the service of the (German) Gestapo, the (British) Intelligence Service, the Mikado, etc. In addition to these "trials," this period saw the execution, also as plotters, of the most important heads of the Red Army (Tukhachevsky, Gamarnik, Putna, etc.).

In all these trials, the main defendants were Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov. Trotsky was pictured as a counterrevolutionary agent-from time immemorial! These trials served to prepare the groundwork for the assassination of Trotsky and Leon Sedov and for the liquidation of the Bolshevik Old Guard who, in the difficult period of the war then looming on the horizon,

to extricate themselves from the situation capitalism had plunged them into. That was when (spring of 1934), with Trotsky's collaboration, the first Bolshevik-Leninist program of action was drawn up. This document is of interest mainly because it constitutes the very first draft of a transitional program. The following year, the Belgian comrades drew up a similar program (against the decree laws in their country), and comrades in other countries followed suit. Thus the Transitional Program 13 adopted in 1938 by the founding congress of the International, far from being an improvisation, was of various earlier experiences in the different sections of the International.

As we said, the French Trotskyist organization, the Ligue Communiste, waged a systematic campaign for the united front. In the week after February 6, a united front was established between the Ligue and the Seine Federation of the Socialist party, which was under the influence of Marceau Pivert.

Mass pressure for united action intensified from February 1934 on. In July of the same year, the Socialist and Stalinist leaderships, forced to respond to the pressure from below, signed a pact for unity of action. This pact did not rest on any concrete revolutionary policy; but the very fact that the two leaderships, who had fought each other so violently for so many years, called on the working class to counterpose a common front to the fascist gangs, aroused enormous enthusiasm in the mass-

This pact had another result that concerned us. At the very moment that our campaign for an SP-CP united front was to a certain extent successful, paradoxically enough the consequences of this victory were unfavorable for our organization. All the sympathetic response we had met with, partly in the CP and much more in the SFIO, 14 which had recruited a substantial number of workers, often former CP members - all this sympathetic response was lost to us. This was not due to hostility, but rather to a lack of political clarity on the concept of a revolutionary party and the need for such a party-especially in the united front-and to the very strong attraction exercised by the CP-SP united front.

Our meetings were no longer attended; our organization became very much isolated, as it had been before. Inevitably, an organizational crisis developed. We searched high and low for a way out of this isolation; for a way to establish connections with, and links to, a mass movement the likes of which had never before been seen in France and which was growing larger with each passing day; for a way to be with the masses in action.

"Entryism"

Our second big organizational experiment, aimed at building a revolutionary party, took place at this point.

13. See The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International, by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York. - Translator

14. Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvriere - French Section of the Second International, official name of the Socialist party. - Translator

On an international scale, this entire period was dominated by the rise of fascism and the approach of the new imperialist war, despite high peaks of workers' struggles, notably the movements of June 1936 in France and a few other countries, and the civil war in Spain.

In the course of this period, three large struggles dominated the activity of our international movement:

1. The struggle against the Popular Front policy, especially in reference to Spain and France. With a tenacity born of desperation, our organizations fought the classcollaborationist policy by means of which Stalinists and Social Democrats - this time united, not divided - prepared the worst of catastrophes for the working-class movement. The Popular Front constituted the first big period of classcollaboration for the Stalinists. On that occasion, however, they were not (except in a very limited fashion in Spain) seeking ministerial posts. This came later, and became widespread, in another period of class collaboration by the Stalinists-the period following the close of World War II.

2. The struggle against centrism. This struggle was characterized by a denunciation of the policy of the London Bureau and centrist organizations, such as the Spanish POUM, the English ILP, the German SAP, and the Norwegian NAP.17

The struggle against centrism also required entering the PSOP18 - an unhappy experience because of the French Trotskyist movement's state of disintegration at the time.

In Marxist literature, the characterization "centrist" is applied to all tendencies or groups that fluctuate between revolutionary Marxism and reformism. Some very diverse organizations are thus included in this category. There had even been some mass organizations of a centrist nature, for example, the Independent Socialist party of Germany (USPD - Unabhängige Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands), which broke with the Social Democracy during the first world war and part of which participated in forming the German Communist party in 1920.

But in the working-class movement there have always been small centrist groupings-traditionally and congenitally centrist. In the period preceding the second world war, these groupings sought to break the masses away from the old parties, without, however, developing a cohesive program as a basis for a new, revolutionary International (that's what they called the "sectarianism" of the Trotskyists!). They did not, of course, attain their objective. But they did succeed, and that was their main

15. The name adopted by the Trotskyist organization when it joined the Socialist party.

16. See James P. Cannon's History of American Trotskyism. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York.

17. The NAP (Norsk Arbeiderpartiet - Norwegian Labor party) was a mass party that broke with the London Bureau and fulfilled the traditional social-democratic role in Norway.

18. The PSOP (Parti Socialiste Ouvrier et Paysan - Workers and Peasants Socialist party) was formed by the "revolutionary left' tendency in the SFIO, which Blum expelled when the Popular Front fell apart. The PSOP was led by Marceau Pivert, who joined the "old house" after the war and who turned out to be an assiduous anti-Trotskyist the rest of his life.

could have become the center of a revolutionary opposition to the Stalinist faction.

Despite our campaigns, despite the irrefutable evidence placed before the Dewey Commission 19 proving that these trials were infamous political machinations, Stalin attained his objectives - with the seal of approval of representatives of American big business, such as Ambassador John

This period as a whole was characterized by great demoralization in the vanguard of a working class more and more on the downgrade. For our movement, the most painful example of this was the fragmentation of the French Trotskyists, which reached such a state that at one point the International declared it could no longer accept responsibility for their actions.

In 1936 an international conference of supporters of the Fourth International was held. Trotsky wanted the birth of the Fourth International announced then and there, but his proposal was not accepted by this conference, which called itself merely "Movement for the Fourth International."

. . .

[To be continued]

19. A commission of socialist-minded and liberal intellectuals formed to investigation the charges against Trotsky made in the Moscow trials of 1936-37. It was headed by John Dewey, the most reputable bourgeois philosopher and educator in the United States, and brought in a not-guilty verdict for Trotsky. For a transcript of Trotsky's testimony at the commission's hearings, see The Case of Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, Inc.,

DIRECT ACTION **FORUM** Socialism and the ALP"

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criticism and opinions. It should not

BY JIM PERCY

"In our epoch, which is the epoch of imperialism, i.e., of world economy and world politics under the hegemony of finance capital, not a single communist party can establish its program by proceeding solely or mainly from conditions and tendencies of developments in its own country. This also holds entirely for the party that wields the state power within the boundaries of the U.S. S. R. On August 4, 1914, the death knell sounded for national programs for all time, attempted by the CPA The revolutionary party of the proletariat can base itself only upon an international program corresponding to the character of the present epoch, the epoch of the highest development and collapse of capitalism. An international communist program is in no case the sum total of national programs or an amalgam of their common features. The international program must proceed directly from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political system taken as a whole in all its connections and contradictions, that is, with the mutually antagonistic interdependence of its separate parts. In the present epoch, to a much larger extent than in the past, the national orientation of the proletariat must and can flow only from a world orientation and not vice versa. Herein lies the basic and primary difference between communist internationalism and all varieties of national socialism." (From Leon Trotsky, The Draft Program of the Communist International - A Criticism of Fundamentals)

In this issue of Direct Action we print a letter from Brian Aarons, (see page 15) discussing the article by Gordon Adler on Internationalism in Direct Action No. 20. I want to take up here some of the points raised in Brian's letter and have a brief look at the views of the Communist Party of Australia of which Brian is a National Committee member.

But firstly some comments on the view expressed by Trotsky in the above quote. Trotsky writes: "The international program must proceed directly from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political ions and contradictions." The ideal expressed here is fundamental to an understanding of internationalism. The fact that internationalism is something more than an idea of solidarity or support for other working class struggles but is most importantly a programmatic question, that is, it is inseparably linked to an international program which is but a reflection of world reality today.

If you have a program that is international then you will need an organization which assesses its tasks on an international national orientation of the proletariat scale, whose strategy flows from this international program. That is, as with Marx, Engels, and Lenin you will have to build an international socialist party.

So your program determines your party. If you have a reformist program - you don't need to build a Leninist revolutionary party. If your program is only based on national reality, you won't build an international party either.

mean subservience of some parties to others, nor can it be judged by whether you formally belong to a "disciplined international organisation.

Now I want to show why this limited view of Internationalism is espoused by the CPA and why they reject Lenin's and Trotsky's views on the question. In the CPA's 1970 Congress document we find the following:

"A full Marxist analysis of the problems of these socialist nations has yet to be

The CPA intends to devote attention to the further understanding of the processes at work within these nations. In order to learn the lessons of history and gain a deeper understanding of the principles which should govern socialsim and the activities of communists, and the reasons for the achievements and deformations, it is essential to make an objective analysis and assessment of socialist development, particularly of the Soviet Union, Such assessment should include our own past attitudes to and relations with the CPSU."

Now without this analysis (and a full two years later the CPA still has not made one) the members of the Communist Party of Australia can have no idea of the "world political system as a whole." They cannot base their program on an understanding of international reality but only on parts of it. They can't analyse the process taking place in the workers states, or in the Communist Parties throughout the world that are linked to these states. They cannot therefore even understand themselves.

But stark reality keeps knocking on the CPA's door. In 1968 the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia threw the CPA into turmoil. A majority of the party opposed the invasion but there was no understanding of why. It was like the liberals who regard the U.S. invasion of Indochina as a "mistake" of U.S. foreign policy. They were not able to analyse the nature of the society that led to this situation and then formulate political tasks accordingly. The CPA's response to events such as these has been a partial retreat from the Moscow school of "internationalism".

"The Communist Party of Australia is an independent Australian socialist party. (1970 Congress document of the CPA)

"The CPA, an independent revolutionary party of the Australian working class... (1972 Congress document of the CPA)

So the party will work out its own road to socialism based on Australian reality, not Russian, or American or whatever. But as Trotsky wrote in 1928 : "The must and can flow only from a world orientation and not vice versa." This is even more true today.

But says the CPA: "We are international-

Going on from the above quote:

"This does not mean that we isolate ourselves from movements internationally. On the contrary we take part in all possible And it is not surprising that the CPA exchanges and discussions on international

MALE WALL LONG LIVE THE III Rd INTERNA nds the opening of the First Congress of the Comintern in Moscow.

with these preliminary remarks, let's ok at what Brian Aarons says in his

. . . the CPA works for genuine nationalism both at a mass level, in the revolutionary movement ernationalism should be conceived of follows: real debate in the world olutionary movement over aims, tegy and tactics; theoretical discussion questions of major importance; solidy actions with revolutionary and libon movements, especially those ing the brunt of the struggle at any moment; exchange of experiences, questions, presenting our views and subjecting to criticism on a reciprocal basis both our own policies and those of others as they affect international devel-

We believe that international relations should be based on equality between peoples and states, and reject any concept that identifies internationalism with the state or national interests of any individual people or country.

We believe that our main contribution to world progress is to intensify the struggle for fundamental social change

ionary policies of our own ruling class and its imperialist allies.

In addition we give consistent support to the socialist based countries and to

And from 1972 Congress documents:

"Solidarity against imperialism does not prevent fraternal criticism on issues which affect the world revolutionary process and the struggle in Australia, while recognising that solutions to these problems can only be implemented by the peoples of these countries."

I think these quotes sum up their views on internationalism (there is very little else in their recent documents).

Therefore the CPA ' will have "views" on international questions, but these won't be part of its own program, they won't call for a political revolution in the USSR because "solutions to these problems can only be implemented by the peoples of these countries". We will mind our own business if you will mind yours. This error of course flows from the mistake that a program can proceed "mainly from conditions and tendencies of developments in its own country". So their contribution to internationalism will be to struggle here - their program is in fact a national one and not an internationalist one.

Of course, the place anyone struggles is where they are at, i.e., here. But in what way do you struggle? Around what That's good enough. (See article this

Brian Aarons rejects the view that it is choice between Stalinism and Trop all revolutionary and liberation movements ism i.e. revolutionary Marxism, I have shown that this is a I have shown that this is the choice, the the analyses of Trotskyism since the r 120s tracing the degeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the subsequent events is the unbroken tradition of Marxism, is the continuation of Lenin's views and is in fact the only full Marxist analysis of the events in the workers movement of the last 50 years that is consistent with revolutionary practice today. The question remains - when the CPA at last gets round to analysing the degeneration of the Russian revolution, will it come up with a new (or old) apologia for Stalinism or will it come to grips with our analysis and at last understand just what it means to be internationaling?

Before ending this regrettably long article I will make a few more points,

"Action", cries Brian, "You've hit the nail on the head". Our record on this question is clear. Throughout the work the Fourth International has played a role far out of proportion to its modest forces in defending the Vietnamese revolution. In this country our few members (of the time) played a big role in building the movement and also orienting it to a revolutionary position. When, in 1967 the CPA was pushing: "Stop the bombing - negotiate" as the line for the movement, only Trotskyists spoke out and organised against this class



A delegate to the Second Congress of the Comintern addresses a Red Square rally

program? Around an international program collaborationist position. Our international of socialism based on an analysis of all of world reality. Or around a national program with some solidarity actions with overseas struggles thrown in? Of course one is going to say that internationalism should not be identified with the state or national interests of an individual people or country". But disclaiming this is not enough. Your program must reflect it. Internationalist programs start from an analysis of international reality and the CPA admits it hasn't made this analysis.

The question is not a quibble. Socialism cannot be achieved on a national scale only an international system is possible and this the CPA does not recognise in its rejection of an internationalist program which it intends to struggle for and propagate everywhere.

should have this view. It was distorted in the school of Stalinism and Stalinism's phoney "internationalism" was built precisely around the national interests of the USSR. It is clear also that the CPA values the links it continues to maintain with the Moscow-wing of Stalinism. The "exchanges" is to merely get an international policy that is a sum total of national programs" as Trotsky put it. Anything that the overseas parties say or do is taken as good coin unless it affects the milieu that the CPA swims in here. So they will be critical of the Czechoslovakian invasion, support Bangla Desh, ambivalent about the Middle East (conflicting interests), slightly critical of the Moscow summit (some people are waking up) but there will be no consistent internationalism. That would involve a fundamental reassessment, That would mean a choice between Stalinism and revolutionary Marxism.

So when Laurie Aarons reports back on the "international situation", the current manoeuvres of the French Communist Party are lauded, it doesn't matter that this is the party that sold out the 1968 struggles and countless other workers struggles. The similarity of the past to what they are doing now is ignored. Again in commenting on the U.S. elections, Denis Freney merely picks

alist program was responsible for this we were responding to the needs of the Vietnamese - not bourgeois public opinion here!

On the question of Lenin's views on organisation the point is again missed by Brian Aarons. Lenin adopted a revolutionary form of organisation not because he wanted power for himself, or even merely because of Tzarist repression, it was adopted because of his program. A program that seeks to overthrow a centralised state and puts this task on the order of the day needs to be centralised along Leninist lines, If you don't see your task this way then of course you need a loose collection of individuals willing to engage in action occasionally.

Today we have an extremely powerful centralised state backed by an international system of imperialism. From this flows your need for an international party with a program to combat imperialism and Stalinism. In these circumstances a revolutionary party will be like the Bolshevik party before its degeneration at the hands of the conservative bureaucracy in the USSR.

To conclude then, this reply to Brian Aarons' letter was an attempt to show that the CPA is not internationalist as Brian seems to think, I have not dealt with his bluff about "distortions and half-truths" supposedly contained in Gordon's article. Where is his evidence?

I have also attempted to show that you cannot pick and choose, that is have a little bit of Moscow, a little bit of the CPUSA, a dash of Trotskyist criticism and so on. You will put yourself against the revolution on an international scale and you will still be trapped in the Moscow cage - albeit as an "independent Australian party". The analysis of the CPSU and the USSR still needs to be made by the CPA and we look forward to seeing a start at least. But the question remains, where do you differ from the revolutionary Marxist analysis of the left opposition and the Fourth International? This question cannot be avoided forever by the C.P.A.

LETERS TO THE EDITOR

Lenin saw the necessity of using popular

discontents and popular organisations as

Luther King's reformism be seen, in retro-

spect, as an "objectively necessary" stage

in the radicalisation of the Black Civil

All successful revolutionaries have found

that at certain stages there are advant-

Unlike the issues of the S. Africa Rugby

tour or even the Vietnam war, the ruling

class cannot simply defuse the consumer

and environmentalist movements by a

Women's Liberation and still-nascent

Workers Control movements and you

grown revolutionary movement that can,

at a pinch, by-pass the institutionalized

parties and trade unions and confront the

and consumerism need careful analysis;

maybe even a revision of some theory to

Justin McDermott.

accomodate such phenomena.

INTERNATIONALISM.

Gordon Adler's analysis and criticism of

the CPA (DA No. 20, May 22nd) leaves

much to be desired as a fair and logical

critique. For instance, there are many

factual errors about CPA policies, attit-

udes and actions. Thus the account of

events in the NSW Teachers' Federation

radical activist teacher could testify.

Given space, many assertions made

rather than rely on bits of gossip.

is so false as to border on fantasy, as any

evidence) could be shown to be distortions

and half truths at best. I will merely state

that anyone wishing to know what the CPA

really stands for, and what it really does,

In this reply I wish to examine two major

issues raised by Gordon: Internationalism

and revolutionary organisation. In his

for simplistic explanation - failings

analysis of these, GA displays a narrow

which are at least as bad as his factual

errors. His bold assertion that the CPA

"has repudiated some of the most basic

ment, the need for party organisation, and

importance of the international move-

the necessity of viewing every question

from the standpoint of the class interests

evidence, but perhaps more important is

as "supreme importance", "international

CPA according to his own conceptions of

the absence of definitions of terms such

conception of Marxist theory and a liking

The Editors,

Direct Action.

whole capitalist system. Therefore Nader

have the basis for a genuine home-

single cabinet decision. Add the

ages in the United Front and in the

considered use of the judicial system

a starting-point, Could not Martin

Rights movement?

against its own interests.

Dear Comrades, would like to know more about the "Socialist Youth Alliance" I am'already a subscriber to your paper "Direct Action". Could I level a criticism at "Direct Action"? Why aren't there any letters to

the Editor? Sincerely, Gavan McCarthy.

(Thanks for the criticism, although the absence of a letters column hasn't been through any desire on our part. Space is always a pressing problem in a sixteen. page socialist paper, especially before we went fortnightly. However, we hope to have a regular letters column from now on. Letters are welcome; comments, criticisms, contributions, or even praise, but try to keep them to less than 300 words. Keep a copy yourself, we won't be returning contributions.)

I was interested to read Sol Salby's article "Miners Fight Clutha" in your issue of 22/5/72. Comrade Sol points out that this was a first; this may well be true. However, I would like to point out to your readers that the Hunter River Coal Miner's Protection Association formed a co-operative coal mine, in the Newcastle area, in 1863. This mine employed at its peak 300 men, although a lack of capital to replace worn machinary forced its sale after three years, and it provided a very healthy precedent to our comrades in the coal mining industry.

Those who wish to follow this up, might consult Brian Fitzpatrick's definative work "A Short History of the Australian Labour Movement", recently re-published by Macmillan.

> Yours Fraternally, J.P. Butland.

The Editor, Comrade,

Sure Ralph Nader is a reformist. He admits it himself. But Sol Salby's "analysis" (DA 14/7/72) was superficial and useless, except to show us where we stand, which is against Ralph Nader. It is as illuminating to dismiss Nader as an apologist for capitalism as it would be to accuse General Motors of the same thing. There are fairly significant differences between the two.

What Nader has done is to have implanted almost single handed, in masses of people the idea that the giant corporations can be challenged effectively by their victims. If the challenge has so far only been on the quality of their products and the safety of their cars, this may at least be the thin end of the wedge. Any truly objective analysis would have to admit that Nader has achieved more in 10 years than many Western revolutionary movements in 20.

What sense is there in Sol Salby's statement that "the evils of capitalism cannot be eliminated by appealing to its courts"? The fact is that Nader has eliminated some of these evils and, more important, has founded the beginnings of a ginuine mass-based movement of "consumer action" which, once established as a principle in the minds of people, is obly amenable to the promptings of

A CPA delegation led by its national

secretary, Mr L. Aarons, last month

visited a number of countries and had

parties. Mr. Aarons reported on the

talks with twelve or thirteen Communists

results of these talks to a meeting at the

What did these various parties have to

as isolated as some people think. The

with the Communist Party of the Soviet

friendly welcome by a number of import-

ant parties. There were certainly differ-

Union, but it was accorded a warm and

ences, Mr. Aarons reported, but there

was also a similarity of outlook on many

issues. The CPA has much in common w

with other parties in advanced capitalist

Let us take internationalism first. GA concedes that the CPA places stress on solidarity actions (if only he knew it, he has hit the nail on the head - concrete actions are needed most of all, not sterile countries such as France, Italy, Japan, and Britain, as well as those of Spain and countries living under more oppressive

regimes. Apparently, the views and the

up the real issues involved.

policies on which there is agreement now outweigh any differences. Mr. Aarons was particularly impressed by the electoral coalition formed by the French Communist and Socialist parties, which a Boilermakers' Hall in Sydney on July 13th. are expected to have a good chance of forming a government after the next gene general election. talk about? It appears that the CPA is not a The Communist Party of France with which country, without interfering in what is of

no concern to it. delegation was unable to arrange a meeting the CPA finds such accord today, is the same party that capitulated to soviet pressure after initially denouncing the invasion of Czechoslovakia. And that initial denunciation was made, not from any fundamental analysis of the reasons for the invasion, but from a fear that failure to do so might hinder its electoral chances. statement of opposition to the sentence The French CP stood aloof from the great

narrow methods of those who read Lenin in a formalistic way, instead of seeing his and we'll continue your subscription to works on party organisation as a theory revolutionary struggles of May 1968, it has been silent about the imprisonment of dissidents in the Soviet Union, it has had nothing to say about the betrayal of the Vietnamese people by the Soviet and Chinese leaders, and as the price for its alliance with the corrupt socialist party it has abandoned its opposition to NA TO". Czechoslovakia is forgotten, repression in the Soviet Union is forgotten, the past is forgotten. All that matters is that each CP should stick to its own tasks, in its own Why are the American able to bomb the

Mr. Aarons did admit, under pressure that he was opposed to the imprisonment of Pyotr Yakir in the Soviet Union. Without an analysis of the reasons for the long series of such trials, however, a mere carries little conviction. Mr. Aarons

abstract talk and "yet it fights against of revolution appropriate to certain those who strive to build an international revolutionary party". By this latter he means the section of the FI supported GA can criticise the CPA for not adoptby the SWL. But the real issue is what ing the policies of the FI or certain international party, based on which forms of organisation. But he should say programme and undertaking which i so, and specify exactly which policies actions. There are at least four trends in and what methods instead of using the worker's inovement each claiming that abstract, undefined terms. Then we their line is the best one, their internatcan have a debate about real issues, ionalism the truest. Like the Stalinists, based on facts, not a ritualistic slogan GA wants to judge the CPA's internationmatch based on gossip and distortion.

alism according to whether it supports the

the FI to CPSU or CPC and one has the

Nor is it true that "...the CPA identifies

all international organisations with Stalin-

ism...". Rather, the CPA works for

genuine internationalism both at a mass

Internationalism should be conceived of

as follows: real debate in the world rev-

olutionary movement over aims, strategy

questions of major importance; solidarity

actions with revolutionary and liberation

movements, especially those bearing the

brunt of the struggle at any given mom-

ent; exchange of experiences, criticism

and opinions. It should not mean subser-

vience of some parties to others, nor can

In the present state of the world movement

it be judged by whether you formally

belong to a "disciplined international

the most pressing need is for genuine

principled debate on the other. But

solidarity actions on the one hand and

rather than attention to this, the content

of internationalism, we get formal argu-

ments from all sides about whose party or

organisation represents the true Internat-

ional. It is not surprising that the argu-

than content should be formally the same.

Thus GA asserts that by attacking the 4th

International the CPA is lining up with

simply to point out that pro-Soviet com-

the CPSU, is lining up with Trotskyism"

the only alternatives for revolutionary

munists argue that the CPA "by attacking

GA's argument stems from his belief that

socialists today are Stalinism and Trotsk-

not agree completely with the CPSU, the

CPC or any of the Trotskyist Internation-

interests and attitudes on some questions

with all of these. Our internationalism

can be judged from our documents and

amazing organisational fetishism. He

quotes Lenin: the proletariat has no

other weapon but organisation in its

struggle to power. Fair enough . But

that what gave the bolshevik party its

strength and brought it victory was its

"Leninist" speaking, for there is no reco-

gnition of ideas, policies and platforms

here - everything is reduced to a single

was due as much to their ideology as to

organisation - or more precisely, to a

type of organisation we need in present

bolsheviks were specific to the needs of

past, and present differences of approach

is attempting to develop an organisation

conditions. Many methods of the

a party operating illegally under an

suited to the conditions of advanced

ted action around party policy, as we

shevik organisation with Stalinism";

publications. We do not "identify bol-

what GA should really have said is that

CPA organisation no longer adopts the

combination of both.

cause. The victory of the bolsheviks

organisation. This is hardly a true

als, although we may have common

yism. The CPA begs to differ. We do

Stalinism! Perhaps the best reply is

ments of those more interested in form

organisation.

our actions.

should study its documents and publications then we have the astounding assertion

elements of Marxism, such as the supreme In any case, the real question is what

of the workers" is simply not true. As usual autocracy, as Lenin himself stressed.

usual, there is complete lack of supporting The CPA, despite the problems of its

movement" and "party organisation". The capitalism. Such an organisation should

The fact is that Gordon wants to judge the combine the widest democracy with uni-

what these terms mean, and avoids taking have stressed in recent documents and

and tactics; theoretical discussion on

SPA or the CPA(ML) talking.

organisation he wants it to support. Change

Brian Aarons.

(* Gordon Adler, a long-standing member of the Communist Party of Australia, contributed an article on Internationalism and the CPA to DIRECT ACTION No. 20. In the article Gordon explained why he supported the SWL's position on Internatlevel, and in the revolutionary movement. ionalism and other questions.

On the abbreviations used:-

F.I. - The Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Trotsky in 1938 after the degeneration of the Third International under Stalin. S.W.L. - Socialist Workers League, the organisation supporting the F.I. in Australia.

C.P.S.U. - Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

C.P.C. - Communist Party of China S.P.A. - Socialist Party of Australiapro-Moscow split from CPA. CPA(ML) - Communist Party of Australia Marxist - Leninist, pro-Peking split from CPA.)

We always find your paper a real encouragement in this country Once the international movement to provide a new banner for revolutionary Marxism, the Trotskyist movement, was small and isolated. Now as is evidenced by the SYA, SWL.

the SAL and SOCIALIST ACTION and papers and groups the world over the revolutionary potential of the oppressed could not be better attended to in the current period.

Keep up the good work, and of course," renew my subscription.

Comradely, Skip Ball. Denver, Colorado, USA.

CONCERNED PARENT

The Editor,

Dear Sir, Your periodical has arrived today, and I must emphatically request you to stop sending it. Lester is under age and in my care and I do not find it a suitable paper for him, especially with exams looming near, I do not know whether he has sent a subscription for it or for how long, but if he has been using his pocket money for this, then he deserves to loose it as I have

asked him to concentrate on school work.

This is the plea of a very concerned parent - who is at the end of patience. I am likely to take further action unless you do not concede to my request.

> Yours faithfully, F. I. J-

And please remove his name from your records, now and for all time.

(Editor's note. This letter is GENUINE! Don't despair Lester ' If this copy of DA reaches you, find a safe friend's address

disputed figures contrasting the miserable quantity of Soviet- Chinese support for the Vietnamese with the massive military investment by the United States. But on questioning he agreed that the Soviet Union could do a great deal more to help the Vietnamese. He offered no explanation, however, for the failure of the Soviet Union to do its utmost to support the Vietnamese revolution. Why did the Soviet leaders invite Nixon to Moscow? dikes with impunity? Why is Yakir in prison? Why was Czechoslovakia invaded? Why does the Soviet government provide arms for the government of Ceylon to cursh the renolution? Why? Why? Why? The CPA seems no closer to the answers to these sorts of questions than it was in the t time of Stalin.

Gordon Adler. 29th July 1972.

The Issues Behind The Old Strike

The recent decision taken by Justice Moore, representing the Commonwealth Arbitration Commission amply illustrates the extent to which he and the representatives of the twenty-three oil Companies involved are prepared to go in smashing the oil workers. This decision will enable the oil magnates to apply to the Commonwealth Industrial Court for a bans clause to prevent further stoppages in the oil industry. Fines will then be imposed on the unions and these will amount to \$1000 per day the strike continues—clearly an attempt to impose on Interest the continues of the continues o

The intensity of the struggle between capital and labour in the oil industry shows that oil officials are preparing a show-case in destroying any form of militant action proposed by the oil strik-

To this end they have two forms of weapons to use against the strikers. O is the use of the penal powers and the second (which shall be dealt with later on) is the role of the union officials.

THE DEVELOPING FIGHT
The spate of strikes in the oil industry
has at its nub the question of the 35 hour
week. This was one of 48 demands that
the four unions involved in the dispute—
the Electrical Trades Union, Australasian
Society of Engineers, Federated Ironworkers Association, and the new
Amalgamated Metal Workers Union—
presented to the oil representatives as
a log of claims for a new two year award
in the oil industry.

Initially the oil companies wouldn't even consider discussing the 35 hour week demand which lead to a strike in Victoria and Queensland on June 9 and NSW and South Australia on June 22. On June 26 union officials called the men back to work which allowed the oil companies to resume distribution of petrol and this, of course, weakened the unions position somewhat. But on June 30 the nationwide strike continued despite vague offers of wage and conditions settlements if the workers returned.

At the same time there appeared in the capitalist mass media both threats of severe petrol cuts to be imposed, and home heating oil restrictions. Also coupled with the scare tactics on petrol were threats to many thousands of workers throughout Australia. These tactics are strikingly similar to those used in the big power strike in Victoria — the power cuts which weren't necessary and the use of the unemployment threat if the strike continued. The oil companies have admitted now that the BP refinery which is unaffected by the dispute can supply most of Victoria's needs which gave the lie to the threats of dismissal, in that state at least.

On July 1, the oil companies applied to arbitration to intervene and to end the strike; refusing at the same time to call for negotiations with the representatives of the unions involved. This however failed and the strike continued nationally with about 1500 men involved. On July 11th, as could be expected, the Minister for Labour and National Service Mr. Lynch intervened strongly urging employers to use arbitration and accused the unions of picking on a particular industry in an attempt to "create urrest". A few days later Justice Moore, following behind the oil officials said he wouldn't discuss any claims until there was a return to work. This was after a hearing in which eleven claims were presented before the court; these including a \$27 per week rise, special and overtime rates and shift allowance and conditions.

gate vote taken nationally the workers decided 316 to 271 to return to work, with Victoria voting 187 to 27 against.

As Justice Moore refused to grant an interim pay rise other than a miserable \$3.60 to \$4.80 the workers decided to go out again, against the union officials' advice. This was the excuse Moore was looking for — he once again refused to discuss any claims while the workers were out.

THE ROLE OF THE UNION BUREAUCRATS
The whole outlook of the position of the union officials can be summed up in a statement from C.A. Dolan, the ACTU Junior Vice-president and the union representative in the Arbitration Court:
"...And if Arbitration is not going to settle this, then God help us." Very clearly he recognized the threat of rank and file action if the dispute couldn't be resolved through "the right channels". The position of union officials in this capitalist epoch, with few exceptions, is tied to the role of arbitrating any fights which occur. Due to their privileged social position, they must seek to defend their own interests against the rank and file and the working class as a whole. They also must play a contradictory role – that of appearing as the genuine leaders of the rank and file and that of dispersing and dampening any militant action from below.

ACTU president Bob Hawke, as a mouth

ACTU president Bob Hawke, as a mouth piece for the union officials has once again revealed his role as a labour-faker, urging consistently that the unionists return to work in order to have their claim brought before arbitration. Arbitration, as has been mentioned before, has never served the interests of the working people. Other labour-fakers in the oil dispute have also urged a return to work as against militant proposals to continue the strike action.

Communist Party member and Victorian Secretary of the AMWU John Halfpenny has also played a questionable role in not politicizing the struggle or seeking to extend it in any way either in publicity or in solidarity strikes.

ACTU president Hawke must seek to contain the labour unrest by channelling militant actions into Arbitration. In this way he tries as does Whitlam and other top leaders of the ALP, to win the "moderate" or "middle of the road voters". Granted that the Labor Party will give far more 'concessions' to the working class than the brute force of the Lynch Laws, the ALP will seek to introduce productivity deals etc to the detriment of the workers.

Despite the negative role of the union officials and Hawke, the rank and file are beginning to take the initiative themselves and this was well illustrated when spontaneous (or "unofficial") strikes occurred when Justice Moore refused to hear claims presented by the unions. In many disputes in the labour movement occurringtoday, the rank and file are seiring the opportunities ahead of the union officials. However it is crucial that in order to

ensure maximum efficiency, organisation of these "unofficial" strikes is needed, both to win maximum support and to act as a counter-weight to the union bureaucracies. Strike committees cannot act weight a vacuum but are organized on and around the demands at the rank and file, seeking to gain as much solidarity action as possible.

action as possible.

THE ELECTIONS AND THEIR EFFECTS With rumours of an early election in the air both the Liberal/Country party coalition and the Labor party are concentrating heavily on the issues raised in the labour movement as these are continuing to become even more restless. The intransigence of the oil company officials in their every effort to smash the oil strike illustrates in a vivid way the split between sectors of the bourgeoisie over how to deal with labour militancy. The uncompromising attitude of no negotiations on the oil dispute until the workers return to work, no concessions whatsoever, represents one wing of the capitalist class who wish to see labour unrest put down with force and who would welcome the return of McMahon in the forth-coming elections. forth-coming elections.

forth-coming elections.

THE PLANS OF THE GOVERNMENT
The Liberal Country Party coalition has
considered the dispute as a god sent gift
to improve its electoral prospects. Trying to extract as much advantage,
they have undertaken a course designed
to encrease the employers' intransigence
as well as intimidate the strikers. Strong
pressure has been put on the employers
designed to harden their stance. Statements by various politicians threatening
the oil workers with deregistration, fines
et have been made with increasing
frequency. Leaks from government officials concerning enforced payment of any
fines imposed by the arbit tration court
were only matched by leaks warning
of the possible use of troops, The
intimidation of the unions was carried
through the media as well. The media
speculated about the use of troops and
without comment printed news items such
as the presence of Major- General Kenneth
Mackie GOC Eastern Command during
Ministerial discussions of the situation.

On the other side, there are those who

On the other side, there are those who express doubt about the effectiveness of this method of shackling the working class and smashing their mions. They favour a more subtle approach through the machinations of the Australian Labor Party, through the Cameron Proposals etc.

Should the strike be won by the militant efforts of the unionists it will shake even more the confidence of the ruling class and this can possibly lead to a further split with some putting their support behind the DIP — which is advocating a Chifley Style settlement, (Chifley the ALP Prime Minister in 1949 used the army to smash a strike within the coal mines in NSW), in all future showdowns.

THE HAWKE PLAN

The oil maintenance workers strike took a new turn on Tuesday July 23 when the ACTU president presented the socalled

"Hawke Plan". The essence of the plan was to offer to a group of small oil companies, in particular Ampol the opportunity to provide for emergency supplies, by getting the men to go back to work in a few refineries. The reaction of the oil companies was a strange one: they kept on changing their mind. They were not sure whether or not they were prepared to accept the ACTU's conditions which included the limitation of distribution to five companies only and which challenges the basis of the oil industry cartel. The aimsof the Hawke plan is to dvide the employers, It is based on the assumption that the big oil companies: Esso, Shell, and Mobil have been the main stumbling block for the industry accepting the unions demands. The other five: Caltex, Total, HC Sleigh, EP and Ampol are regarded by the ACTU leadership as being more likely to accept the demands. The Hawke plan, which actually was initiated by Laurie Carmichael—the Assistant Secretary of the AMWU, and a leading member of the Communist Party—was endorsed overwhelmingly by the oil industry workers. The national vote was 559 to 62 in favor of the limited return to work. As DIRECT ACTION goes to press it seems that the return to work which only effects a small minority of the workers is going to be of an extremely short duration. The oil magnates have made it clear that the ACTU terms are unacceptable to them. As soon as the men return on July 31 they will be required to fill tankers belonging to the banned companies and this will lead to either a lockout or an immediate walk out by the unions.

FOR STRIKE COMMITTEES! LET THE RANK AND FILE MAKE THE DECISION

LET THE RANK AND FILE MAKE THE DECISION

The attempt to divide the employers rank under a militant leadership should be commended. If successful it can lead to a reversal for the ruling class. But let us not forget the role of the current leadership and its attempts to get the men back at any cost only a week previously. The plan has several advantages: it stops the employers from laying off any workers by providing fuel to industry. No longer are they able to exercise pressure on the strikers through the ranks of other unionists. It also points out clearly the intransigence of the bosses and that it is they who are "holding the public to ransom," On the other hand the Hawke scheme might be an elaborate roundabout plan to get all the strikers back to work. The only way the oil workers can safeguard themselves is by taking control of the dispute into their own hands and the setting up of strike committees. Hawke and Dolan (of going back to work fame) should not be allowed to control the situation. Only a rank and file leadership can carry the struggle through to victory. through to victory.

defeat for this strike would be a felt throughout the Australian working class, as it would lead to far more string-ent measures to smash any workers'struggle

FULL SUPPORT TO THE OIL STRIKERS FROM THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS! It is essential to win support amongst all sectors of the working class, Only the full strength of workers can enable the oil workers to break the isolation which has been imposed by the capitalist mass media and only the full strength of the Australian workers can ensure the victory for the oil strikers demands. Full publicity must be given to the oil strikers demands with solidarity action being taken by other workers. Only united action will result in victory!

NO ARBITRATION! Arbitration has always been the instrument of the bosses in suppressing the working class through "legitimate" legislation. Arbitration can and will lead to the defeat of the oil strikers demands; it will negate the militant actions already taken by the

NO STATE INTEFERENCE!
NO TROOP INVOLVEMENT!
The threat of using troops as scab labour
in the dispute is intimidatory and must be
opposed by all the trade union movement
— other unions will be next:

