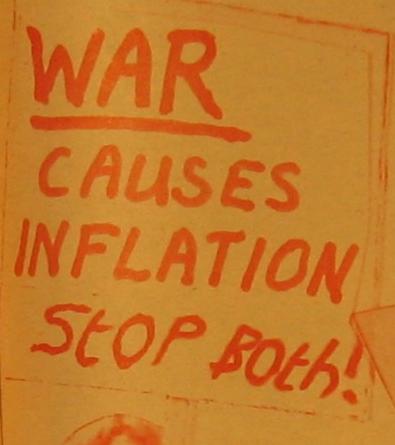
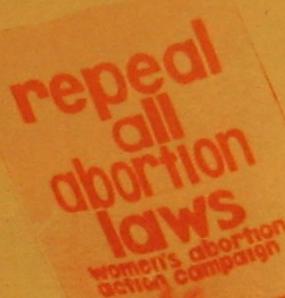
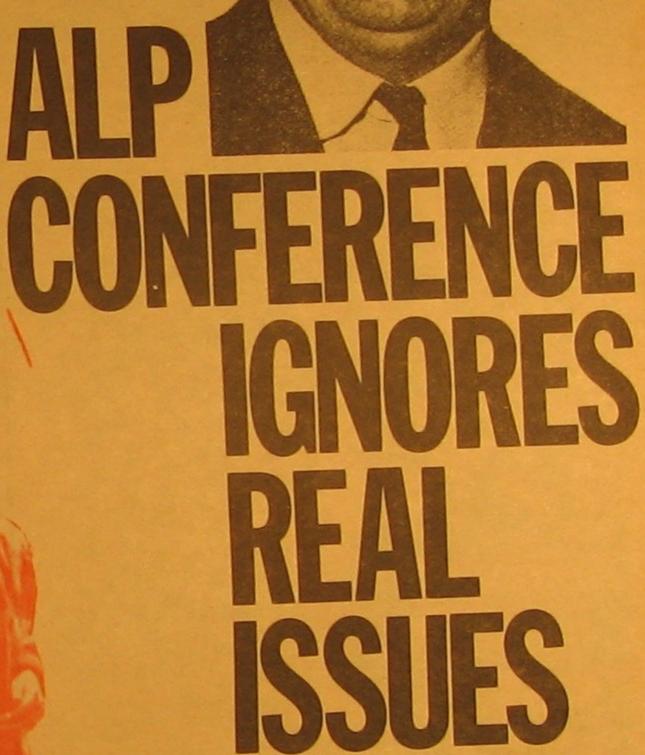
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POMPIDOU BANS FRENCH TROTSKYISTS

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EDITORIAL

On June 28 the French Council of Ministers, following the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior Marcellin, banned the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organisation. Alain Krivine, the general secretary of the Ligue, and central committee member Pierre Rousset have been arrested and warrants have been issued for the arrest of other Ligue leaders.

The attack on the French Trotskyists is an attack on the entire French left and workers' movement. The right to political organisation and activity is a basic democratic right and if the Pompidou Government succeeds in suppressing the Ligue Communiste it will be encouraged to move against other sectors of the working class movement.

The most encouraging aspect of the situation is the widespread support received by the Ligue Communiste. Almost the entire left in France including the Communist and Socialist



Picket in New York

parties and the major trade union groups have expressed their opposition to the ban, irrespective of political differences they may have with the Trotskyists. International solidarity has also been forthcoming including from Australia.

In order to "camouflage" its attack on the Ligue Communiste, the Government simultaneously banned the neo-fascist Ordre Nouveau, This false "symmetry" confuses nobody. Ordre Nouveau's special relationship

and will no doubt be unaffected by any formal ban. All the evidence points to the Government using the Ordre Nouveau to set the stage for the outlawing of the Trotskyists

The outlawing of the Ligue Communiste followed clashes between police and anti-fascist demonstrators on June 21. The demonstrators were protesting the blatantly provocative meeting in Paris that night which Ordre Nouveau had called as part of its campaign against immigrant (especially Arab) workers. Ordre Nouveau is notorious in France for its antisemitic and xenophobic propaganda and agitation and its attacks on the labor movement and there was great pressure from the left and anti-racist groups for the Government to enforce its own laws forbidding racist propaganda and ban the provocative Ordre Nouveau meeting.

When the Government refused, the Ligue Communiste and other left groups organised a counter-demons-. Clashes developed with the police, who were protecting the meeting and with the well-armed thugs of the Ordre Nouveau.

uniste and the jailing of Krivine and Rousset in "democratic" France is all the more serious in the context of other attacks in the last few years on the Trotskyist movement internationally. There have been the bans on entry into numerous countries of well known leaders of the Fourth International such as Errest Mandel, Tariq Ali, and others, apart from the imprisonment, torture and repression carried out by more openly dictatorial regimes. It is vital that the ban on the Ligue Communiste be rescinded and that its imprisoned leaders be released. The broadest campaign of international solidarity must be developed. The Socialist Workers League appeals to all sections of the Australian left and labor movement to express their solidarity with the Ligue Communiste in its struggle to regain its legality and free its leaders. We ask that protests against the repression be lodged as widely as possible with French consular offices in order to show the French Government that the outlawed revolutionists are not alone and that its repressive measures have not gone unnoticed abroad.

LIFT THE BAN ON THE LIGUE

COMMUNISTE!

FREE KRIVINE AND ROUSSET!

CONTACT SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

If you would like more information about the Socialist Workers League or the Socialist Youth Alliance, write to or phone the addresses below.

SYDNEY: SWL, SYA, 139 St Johns Rd, Glebe 2037. Ph 6606672 MELBOURNE: SWL, SYA 136 Queensberry St, Carlton 3053. Ph 3473507 ADELAIDE: SWL, SYA, 287 Rundle St, Adelaide 5000. Ph 234539 BRISBANE: SWL, SYA, 40 Union St, Spring Hill 4000 CANBERRA: SYA, PO Box 1733 Canberra City, ACT 2601. Ph 477306 (John) HOBART: SYA, PO Box 1255N GPO Hobart 7001.

The dissolution of the Ligue Communiste brought forth a quick response by a wide section of the Australian left. Emergency pickets were held outside French consular and commercial offices in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane on July 3 and again on July 13.

The July 3 picket in Sydney was held outside the French consulate in the heart of the city. Some 35 people participated including representatives from most of the city's left-wing organisations the Socialist Workers League (SWL) and the Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA) (the Australian sympathising groups of the Fourth International), the Communist League, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists, and a member from the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). A delegation comprising representatives from all the participating groups presented a joint statement of opposition to the ban on the Ligue to the French consul and expressed their intention to build a broad campaign to press for the lifting of the ban. The picket was held for over an hour during the evening rush period. Placards carried by the demonstrators included: Stop the Repression in France, Lift the Ban on the Ligue Communiste, and Release Alain Krivine.

The July 13 picket in Sydney gained TV coverage. The 6.30 pm Channel 7 news that night opened with a one minute coverage of the action clearly showing the placards and stating that the protest was against the banning of a "communist faction" in France.

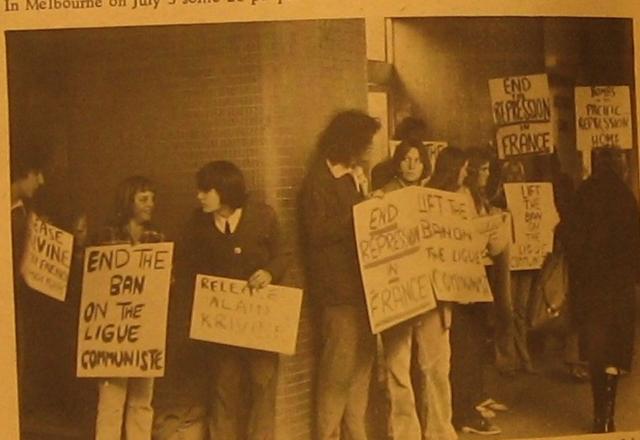
In Melbourne on July 3 some 20 people

demonstrated outside the French Co. Several groups participated, Jim Me of SWL, an organiser of the action, vinterviewed by the national radio programme PM. McIlroy explained interviewer what had happened to the Ligue Communiste, and the role the Labor Government should play in the campaign against its dissolution, T July 13 action in Melbourne drew to-30 people who marched from the City Square to Air France. The participation groups included almost all the local organisations including the Communic Party of Australia and the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA). The action was covered by ABC-TV.

Small pickets were held in Brisbane o July 3 and 13 outside the French Consulate and involved SWL and SYA Communist League and, in the latter instance, the Communist Party.

It is encouraging that almost all of the groups to the left of the Labor Party have responded to the outlawing of the Ligar Communiste whatever may be their political differences. It is also to be noped that left-wing activists in the Labor Party will participate in the defeace effe-

The stand of the Communist Party is significant. As well as taking part, if or in a limited way, in the actions so far, it carried a report of the attack on the Ligue Communiste in the July 10 issue of its paper, Tribune. National Secretary Laurie Aarons, speaking for the CPA national executive, denounced the ban and called for protests to be sent to the French Embassy by labor, antiracist and civil liberties groups,



Picket outside French Consulate in Sydney, July 3

To Protest Ban of Ligue Communiste

STOP THE REPRESSION IN FRANCE! LIFT THE BAN ON THE LIGUE COMMUNISTE! FREE ALAIN KRIVINE AND PIERRE ROUSSET!

Initial list of organisations sponsoring the meeting: Communist League, Communist Party of Australia, Socialist Labour League, Socialist Party of Australia, Socialist Workers League, Socialist Youth Alliance and International group.

8.00 pm, Wednesday August 1, Main Hall, Trades Hall, Goulburn St, Sydney

Mass Protest in Paris

BY CAROLINE LUND

On July 4 in Paris a mass meeting was held in defence of civil liberties in France, Between 10,000 and 15,000 people attended. The two mass parties of the left, the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Party (SP), and the massive trade-union federations participated. Originally called in defence of civil liberties in general, following the Government crackdown on the Ligue Communiste it became more and more a protest against the dissolution of the

This is the first time in recent years that the Communist Party has openly defended the democratic rights of the Ligue Com-

muniste or any of the groups to the les of French Stalinism.

The breadth of the defence came as a surprise to the Government which no doubt expected a far smaller reaction from the mass working class organisal Speakers at the rally represented major components of the Union of the Left at well are all the left at well are all the left at the left well as civil liberties organisations. Albert Detrae, leader of the CFDT (Confederation Française Democratiques du Travail - French Democratic Con federation of Labor), the 2nd largest ion federation in France, declared are face to face with the result of 2 pt vocation by the Government, a pro-

CONTINUED ON PAGE It was undoubtedly this initial support

BY JON ROTHSCHILD

"The world today is being swept by a

Thus did Georges Pompidou, French

President and heir to the mantle of

On June 28 the French Council of

profound drift toward tyranny. We are

The defence of liberty requires firmness.

Gaullism, try to justify the suspension of

one of the most basic democratic rights

Ministers, acting on the recommendation

of the notorious pro-fascist Minister of

the Interior Raymond Marcellin, out-

lawed the Ligue Communiste, French

On the same day, the regime ordered

for the arrest of known leaders of the

Ligue. In the early morning hours of

June 29 sixty-five apartments in and

around Paris were raided by cops who

broke down doors and ransacked houses

looking for Ligue leaders. The dragnet

managed to snare about a dozen persons,

several of them members of the Ligue's

Among those seized was Alain Krivine,

the Ligue's general secretary. He was

June 29 and has been charged under the

"anti-wrecker" law with responsibility

for violent incidents that occurred on

June 21 during a clash between anti-

fascist demonstrators and police who

Mutualite in Paris, (Under the anti-

wrecker law, one can be charged with

responsibility for violence that takes

Also in prison is Pierre Rousset, a

member of the Ligue Communiste

central committee. His crime was to

have been present in the Ligue's head-

But the regime's repression has not pro-

broad spectrum of political organisations

have declared themselves opposed to the

Most important, the Socialist Party and

the Communist Party have issued state-

ments in support of the Ligue's democra-

ceeded unopposed - far from it. A

ban and in solidarity with the Ligue.

tic rights and have acted on those

quarters on June 22 when it was ran-

place in one's absence).

sacked by police.

statements.

were protecting a fascist meeting at the

taken into custody in the evening of

central committee.

the state security court to issue warrants

section of the Fourth International,

- the right to form a political party.

that induced the regime on June 30 to release all the Ligue members arrested in the June 29 dragnet with the except-

ion of Krivine. In an attempt to make the banning o the Ligue appear just and reasonable, the regime simultaneously outlawed the neo-fascist group Ordre Nouveau (New Order). The ban is window dressing. There is no reason to believe that the special relationship Ordre Nouveau has maintained with the cops will alter.

In fact, that special relationship was itself at the root of the June 21 events.

For some time Ordre Nouveau had been trying to mobilise the French population against "wildcat (illegal) immigration," Using typically racist and anti-Semitic rhetoric, these fascists had succeeded on several occasions in provoking assaults on immigrant workers. As part of this campaign, they scheduled a "mass" meeting for June 21, to be held in the Mutualite in Paris.

All the leftist and anti-racist groups in France demanded that the regime enforce its own laws forbidding racist agitation and ban the Ordre Nouveau meeting. The Government refused,

In light of government inaction, the Ligue Communiste and a number of other far-left organisations-la Cause du Peuple (People's Cause), Revolution, the Alliance Marxiste Revolutionaire (Revolutionary Marxist Alliance), and five other groups - called for a demonstration to protest the fascist meeting. Other organisations, including the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the major trade-union federations - all of which had asked the regime to ban the Ordre Nouveau meeting - were invited to cosponsor the demonstration, but they declined to do so.

Ordre Nouveau's usual practice when holding public assemblies has been to turn the meeting hall into an armed camp. This time was no different. In the morning and early afternoon of June 21, the fascists began delivering weapons to the Mutualite. Truck-loads of people drove up and unloaded iron bars, sticks, and molotov cocktails,

The police, who were present, merely observed, functioning in effect as a defence guard enabling the Ordre Nouveau goons to turn the Mutualite into a fortress.

The anti-immigration meeting itself was a failure. Despite an energetic propaganda campaign and the selection of a meeting hall with a seating capacity of several thousand, not more than 1,000 persons showed up. Some reports indicated the turnout might have been as small as 500.

The anti-fascist counter-demonstration was estimated as being as high as 4,000 strong. Anticipating that the Ordre Nouveau goons would be armed, many of the counter-demonstrators wore helmets and carried sticks for defending themselves in confronting the fascists.

The Gaullist regime had mobilised more than 2,000 police to defend the racist meeting. The cops, who earlier in the day had functioned as guards, guaranteeing the fascists the opportunity to arm themselves, formed up in the evening



Georges Pompidou

in defence lines to protect the outnumbered fascists. At about 8,00 pm some clashes broke out between the counterdemonstrators and the police. As police attacks on the marchers escalated in intensity, the demonstrators fought back, Before long, fighting spread to various other sections of the Latin Quarter,

In some places barricades were built. The fighting lasted for more than four hours, during which time many incidents

occurred that were clearly not under the control of the organisers of the demonstration. In the course of the battle several police were badly injured. Police sources reported on June 21 that seventythree police had been hurt, sixteen of were seriously burned by molotov cocktails, two of whom reportedly were

Paris, June 21. Club-swinging cops charge anti-fascist demonstrators.

critically injured. Le Monde reported on June 23 that about fifty demonstrators had been taken to police headquarters June 21 for identity checks; twenty-one of those were turned over to magistrates for possible prosecu-

The June 26 Le Monde published a report on the arrests made during the clashes. The list is an interesting one. Among anti-fascist demonstrators, four persons were charged with illegal possession of arms. Oddly enough, three of these were Arabs. Abdel Salam Boulbayim, a twenty-six-year-old Moroccan, was accused of having thrown some stones with a slingshot; he pleaded not guilty and was bound over for trial. Muhammed Soyah, Alain Goubaux, and Hedie Kheffi were also charged.

Among the Ordre Nouveau fascists, there were many more arrests for "carrying arms." But the penalties handed down and this for people "caught in the act" were less than severe.

Cops Raid Headquarters

News of the June 21 clashes gave rise to vigorous reactions throughout France. The fighting was the most extensive since the May 1968 "night of the barricades." As will be seen, there is some evidence that the police authorities and the Minister of the Interior deliberately set up the situation so that the police would take inordinately high casualties and so that this could serve as an excuse to launch repression against the far left.

The first step in that repression occurred the morning after the demonstration. At about 6,00 am on June 22 some 700 cops appeared in front of the building that houses the Ligue headquarters. The building was surrounded and police announced through speakers that they intended to enter the headquarters.

At that time there were twenty-five members of the Ligue present. This

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amounted to the normal defence guard left at the building each night and a few extra marshalls who had come to protect the headquarters from possible fascist attacks. One of those present was Pierre Rousset, the only central committee member on the scene,

The Ligue members decided to let the cops in. When the police entered, they announced that they had come to search the place. They had no warrant of any kind. When Rousset demanded his right recognised under Franch law - to accompany the police on the search, he was refused. The twenty-five Ligue members were held in a room while the ing literature, throwing typewriters on the floor, and so on.

The police later announced that they had found "arms." These, as it turned out, consisted of bars and sticks, and some molotov cocktails. In addition, the police claim to have found two hunting rifles and a hand grenade.

The twenty-five Ligue members were taken to police headquarters. Fourteen of them were charged with possession of arms. The others were released. Of those charged, thirteen were released the following day, June 23, Pierre Rousset, who is serving a ten-month suspended sentence for allegedly carrying explosives (and who therefore has participated in no demonstrations and has not even participated in street sales of Rouge, formerly the Ligue's newspaper), was held in gaol, where he remains at last

The Initial Reactions

On June 22, while the police were occu pying the Ligue headquarters, various organisations began to express their views on the previous night's events. The PSU(Parti Socialiste Unifie -United Socialist Party) issued a communique expressing its "indignation at the behavior of the forces of order toward the demonstrators who were attempting to oppose the holding of the racist meeting of the Ordre Nouveau neo-Nazis.

"Not content simply to tolerate a meeting whose declared aim was to incite racial hatred, the French Government makes its police forces the accomplices of the fascist gangsters."

The PSU turned its offices over to Alain Krivine to hold a press conference at which he told reporters about the police occupation of the Ligue's headquarters. Some of his remarks were reported in the June 24-25 issue of Le Monde, "It (the "search") was totally illegal, ' Krivine said, "for the police ransacked our offices without any witnesses. I'm surprised they didn't 'find' machine guns and tanks... The incidents that took place (on June 21) are not the main thing. The most important thing, and the most serious, is that a Nazi, fascist, racist, and anti-Semitic meetng took place right in the middle of

Paris. The Ordre Nouveau meeting, protected by the regime, throws some light on the politics of the regime

Also present at the press conference in the PSU headquarters was Michel Rolant, a member of the national bureau of the CFDT (Confederation Frincaise Democratique du Travail -French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the country's second largest trade-union federation). "The CFDT, Rolant was quoted as saying, "does not believe in the politics of molotov cocktails. But the holding of a racist meeting against the immigrant workers is in itself a provocation. The powers that be must bear the responsibility for the situation since they authorised such

The June 24-25 Le Monde also quoted the initial responses of several other organisations to the June 21 events:

"It is appropriate to stress," declared the Mouvement Contre le Racisme, l'Antisemitisme, et pour la Paix (Movement Against Racism, Anti-Semitism, and for Peace), "that under the protection of the police a xenophobic, racist, anti-Semitic meeting took place in our capital, in flagrant violation of the law enacted just one year ago to repress such undertakings."

The Syndicat National des Enseignants du Second Degre (SNES - National Union of Secondary-School Teachers) stated: "The Government rounded out the Ordre Nouveau provocation by placing the meeting under the protection of the police force ...

"The SNES denounces the police violence and calls on all democrats to observe the greatest vigilance and united action against the fascist operations that are going on at the same time that the regime is trying to strengthen its authoritarian character."

Most significant was the initial response of the Communist Party. The June 22 issue of the CP's daily l'Humanite laid the main blame for the violence of June 21 on the Government: "... The regime bears the main responsibility in this business. It well knows that Ordre Nouveau is a fascist organisation that includes helmeted and armed shock troops. The Ordre Nouveau meeting had an open xenophobic, racist character and was therefore against the law. While it was aimed essentially at the immigrant workers, it also gave vent to anti-Semitic manifestations, Such a meeting should have been banned, as

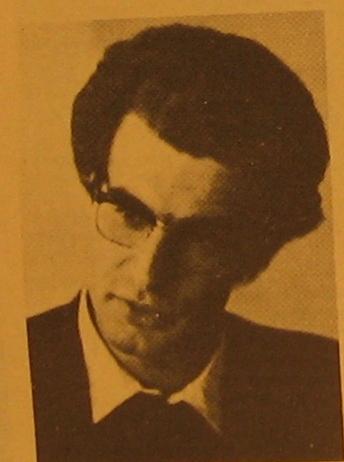
"By authorising the meeting and by granting Ordre Nouviau police protection, the Government indulged in a deliberate provocation."

the left organisations asked.

The Alliance Marxiste Revolutionaire (which is headed by Michel Pablo), one of the sponsors of the June 21 counterdemonstration, stated: "What is a scandal (to the cops) is that the French police, known for their systematic

brutality, had to go up against demonstrators who would not let themselves be clubbed. And this while they were openly protecting a fascist meeting and fascist activists. The revolutionary far-left must not fall into a 'Japanesestyle' situation in which brawls become its main form of activity, but there is no reason for it to accept the precepts of a morality that implies that it should demonstrate and accept the blows of the police and the fascists they protect."

The OCI-AJS (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste - Alliance des Jeunes pour le Locialisme - Internationalist Communist Organisation-Alliance of Youth for Socialism, the Lambertist groups) stated in a joint communique that they "do not share the politics of the ultraleftist organisations... To a large extent the political errors comm ed by the Ligue allowed the provocation



Alain Krivine

to take place (but)...the OCI and the AJS will not accept the attempt to place on the same level the Hitlerite organisation Ordre Nouveau and the Ligue Communiste, a workers organisation like the SP, the CP, the CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail - General Confederation of Labor, the country's largest trade-union federation, dominated by the CP), the CGT-FO (Force Ouvriere), the Federation Nationale d'Enseignement (National Education Federation), the OCI and the AJS."

Even the statements of the various unions of policemen, while objecting to the actions of the anti-fascist demonstrators, accused the Government of responsibility. The police federation affiliated to the CGT announced that it "condemns the attacks and aggression committed by certain groups and individuals against the police, attacks that struck even police first-aid cars, But it asserts that the Government bears a heavy responsibility in regard to these incidents because it allowed a demonstration by a fascist grouplet to take place."

The CFDT's police federation issued a statement in which it "denounces the attitude of state authorities who, by authorising under a democratic pretert the holding of a meeting of an openly fascist far-right movement in violation of the July 1, 1972, law on the fight against racism could not have been ignorant of the obvious risk that this meeting entailed.

"Since they allowed this meeting, the authorities bear a heavy responsibility for the distressing ordeal of the several dozen police who suffered serious or grave bodily injury."

The Ban Comes Down

By the week-end after the June 21 demonstration, it was becoming clear that the regime was preparing a big repressive move. At a press conference held on June 24, Ordre Nouveau head Alain Robert demanded that the Government outlaw the Ligue Communiste and arrest Alain Krivine under the antiwrecker law.

On June 26 Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcelin issued a virulent denunciation of the anti-fascist demonstrators in which he made demagogic use of some of the uncontrolled incidents that had occurred on June 21.

On June 27, Prime Minister Pierre Messmer announced that on the following day the Council of Ministers would hear a report from Marcelin, who had recommended that the Ligue be banned (and, so that the Government might maintain a "balanced" image, the Ordre Nouveau as well). "Under democracy," said the Gaullist minister, "the rule is freedom of thought, of words, and of writings. But freedom stops at the limits set by the law, and as for acts, these must stop if they are in contradiction with the law. It is not the words, but the acts of Ordre Nouveau and the Ligue Communiste that concern us."

Also on June 27, Marcellin issued a decree banning all activities and meetings of the Ligue, and of the Ordre Nouveau.

The ban was declared on June 28. The "legal" basis for it is a 1936 law, pa under the popular-front Government of the time, giving the regime the right to dissolve groups or associations that "provoke armed demonstrations in the streets" or that form armed groups or militia that attack "the republican form of government."

Krivine responded to the ban immediately. Part of his reply was reported in the June 30 Le Monde:

"This Ministry of police-spies has barn the Ligue Communiste. This measure sets a precedent that threatens the entire workers movement.

"Behind the pretext used - the antifascist demonstrations of June 21 regime wants to make the Ligue pay

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its growing role in the workers struggles, in the mobilisations of youth, in antiullitarist actions. For revolutionists, this piece of brutality from the regime is a form of homage. This act will not fail to anger millions of workers and democrats. It will add to the discredit of the caretaker regime.

"We launch a solemn appeal to all organisations of the workers movement, to all democrats who will not stand for seeing communists and aspiring Nazis treated the same: Organise in the field the necessary response, and demand, through a mass campaign, the repeal of this measure!

"This vicious decree will perhaps fill up a few prison cells. But it will not prevent Trotskyist militants and their sympathisers - whom neither Nazi repression nor Stalinist repression have been able to break or discourage - from continuing to think and to act ... This is only the beginning; the fight goes on."

Reaction to the ban on the Ligue supported Krivine's estimate that the measure would arouse widespread indignation. All the far-left organisations declared their support for the Ligue. Civil liberties groups such as the League for the Rights of Man came out in support of the Ligue's right to exist.

But most significant were the reactions of the Socialist Party and the Commun-

The CP Joins the Defence

The political bureau of the Communist Party held a special session to discuss the ban on the Ligue. The June 28 issue of l'Humanite published a statement adopted by the political bureau after its discussions. The Communist Party, the statement said, "has always denounced the complicity the Government has shown toward Ordre Nouveau.

"The French Communist Party protests against the dissolution ordered against the Ligue Communiste. Our party's opinion of the activities of the ultraleftist groups is well known. On the political level, it fights their adventurist acts, which the regime uses as an excuse to attack civil liberties and to try to deal blows to the workers and democratic forces and their organisa-

"The measure against the Ligue Comregime, which is aiming at intensifying the authoritarian character of its policies and is casting about seeking a way out of its difficulties.

"The dissolution of this leftist group, which by a false symmetry the Government is seeking to justify with the

banning of Ordre Nouveau, sets a grave precedent for democratic rights and freedoms in our country.

In an article published in the June 30 issue of Le Monde, Thierry Pfister called attention to the novelty of the CP's support for the Ligue: "It will be recalled that a few years ago the Communist leaders spoke of 'the leftist and rightist fascists, making no distinction. Now, not only do they find a difference in character between the far right and the far left, they also come to the defence of the Ligue, even while taking exception to the Ligue's methods and analysis. The political bureau of the CP moved toward this position in a series of articles that have been published in l'Humanite during the past few days - articles aimed at proving that the police in fact had set a trap for the Trotskyists on June 21. The Mouvement de la Jeunesse Communiste (Movement of Communist Youth), whose language is not marked by the same prudence as the political bureau's, did not even hesitate to speak of 'the (regime's) deliberate organisation of the une 21 proyocation. 1 "

An Assist From Mitterrand

The Socialist Party's reaction to the ban was equally significant. On June 29, after the dragnet against the Ligue leadership had been set in motion, at a time when there was a warrant out for the arrest of Alain Krivine, the Socialist Party opened its headquarters to him for a news conference.

In addition to a significant section of the Paris press, Francois Mitterrand, the head of the SP, attended the press conference. Police, who were waiting at the door, declined to enter and arrest Krivine in the SP headquarters.

When the news conference ended, Mitterrand left the headquarters along with Krivine and the two, followed by cops, walked away together. Again, the police declined to take Krivine into custody, apparently fearing that they might have to arrest Mitterrand as well, It is obvious that Mitterrand's gesture of solidarity could not have indefinitely postponed Krivine's arrest. But it is equally obvious that the symbolic effect of the action was not lost on the Pompidou gang.

What Will Be the Extent of the Repression

"At this point," Thierry Pfister commented in the June 30 Le Monde, question that arises is, How extensive will be the repression? Will the Government be satisfied, as it was in 1968, with the dissolution and with a few symbolic arrests and then allow the Ligue to be reorganised in a fairly short period of time? Or will it instead undertake a

Francois Mitterrand

systematic dismantling of the movement, which would necessitate outlawing the activities of the cadres and would therefore necessitate the arrest of at least two or three hundred militants? The Ligue Communiste has, for example, about thirty headquarters. In Toulouse alone, our correspondent reports, the Government's decision outlaws 300 persons. Further, it can be asked how the Government will be able to prevent the Ligue members organised in trade-union tendencies, whether in the FEN or in the CFDT, from continuing their activities.

"An intermediate sort of repression is also possible, one that would be asserted through prosecutions of the members of the Ligue's political bureau.

Nevertheless, the Trotskyist leaders have decided to defend themselves point by point. Basing themselves on the statements of Pierre Messmer, who explained that 'it is not the words but the acts of the extremist movements that concern the Government, they want to keep alive their weekly, Rouge. To do this, they are counting on using the legislation guaranteeing freedom of the press, Further, they maintain that the seat of the Ligue belongs to a commercial company, the Societe Internationale d'Edition (International Publishers), and that it therefore cannot be affected by the decision of the Council of Ministers. The bookstore, especially, must be allowed to continue to operate, even though it was sacked during the police search, pamphlets and books being covered with paint, for example."

The leaders of the Ligue have already tried to test some of the issues indicated by Pfister. According to French law, when an organisation is banned, it has twenty-four hours "grace time" in which to wind up its affairs. During that twenty-four-hour period, an issue of

Rouge appeared - no longer denoted as the "weekly of the Ligue Communiste, but listed instead as a "journal of communist action," It is not yet known whether the regime will try to suppress that issue of Rouge. It is also not yet known whether the regime will forbid further publication of the newspaper.

The former headquarters of the Ligue remains temporarily closed. But the police occupation of it has ended. Will the regime try to close down the bookstore located in the building? Will the Societe Internationale d'Edition be shut down?

Pompidou may decide the answers to such questions in relation to the strength displayed - nationally and internationally - by the movement of solidarity with the Ligue Communiste.

The regime's desire seems clear enough. When the ban was first declared, much of the French press speculated that the Government might not intend to get really tough, that the far left as a whole and the individual far-left groups in particular had been banned in the past and had very rapidly reconstituted themselves. But on June 29, Marcellin spoke out against any such interpretation of the present ban. This ban, he said, is quite serious. He explicitly stated that this was not the same as the 1968 ban, He said that any individuals attempting to reconstitute the Ligue Communiste in some other form could expect to be arrested immediately.

On June 30, he repeated his threat. The "justice" carried out against the Ligue leadership, he said, should be severe, and not merely symbolic, in order to discourage any attempts to reconstitute the organisation.

The regime's will is one thing. Its ability to impose that will is quite another. "The dissolution of a grouplet can be easily put up with," Thierry Pfister wrote in the June 30 Le Monde, "while the dissolution of a party creates a political crisis. Well, the Ligue Communiste is not a party properly so-called; but it is already more than a grouplet."

The central question at this point is whether the Ligue will be able to bring sufficient pressure to bear on the Socialist and Communist Party leaderships to convince them to extend their support beyond the level of statements to the level of action. At this early phase of the struggle, there are three encouraging signs in this respect: the initial responses of civil liberties groups and the mass workers parties to the defence effort; the division within the ranks of the police themselves over who was responsible for the injuries they suffered during the June 21 clashes; and the initial signs of international solidarity with the Ligue.

THE LIGUE - IN FOREFRONT OF ALL MAJOR STRUGGLES In the legislative elections last spring,

The Ligue Communiste (Communist League), French section of the Fourth International, was founded in April 1969. It arose out of a fusion of militants active in the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI - Internationalist Communist Party), formerly the French section of the Fourth International, the and unaffiliated young militants who had been through the revolutionary upsurge of May-June 1968. The composition of the Ligue represents a fusion of the long-standing cadres of French Trotskyism with the most advanced elements of the radicalisation of the

The JCR had been founded in 1966 by a group of students who were expelled frothe Union of Communist Students for refusing to follow the Communist Party in supporting Francois Mitterrand in the presidential elections that year, JCR nilitants played a major role in the day 1968 events, helping to spark and organise the student protests that triggered the general strike of 10 million French workers.

This formation (the Ligue), " commented the June 29 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde, "has as its objective working for the construction of a revolutionary party of the Leninist type," The Ligue became nationally known soon after its formation when it ran Alain Krivine, one of the organisation's main leaders, for President in the 1969 elections. Running an intense revolutionary cam-

paign, Krivine got nearly 200,000 votes.

Since that time, the Ligue has been in the forefront of all major struggles in France - from the high-school and university mobilisations to the fight against repression. This past spring it was instrumental in organising the massive struggle against the Debre law, UCR - Revolutionary Communist Youth), a government measure aimed at intensifying the militarisation of youth,

Concurrently, the Ligue has been work-

working class. Its members have been involved in major strike battles, including the big auto strike in Renault and Peugeot plants last spring.

The Ligue has also been active in the struggle against the reactionary abortion law in France and has played a leading role in founding the Mouvement pour la Liberte de l'Avortement et de la Contraception (Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception).

the Ligue and Lutte Ouvriere, another far-left group, aggreed to support each other's candidates. Between them, the Ligue and LO ran 259 candidates and drew about 300,000 votes. The Ligue has been especially active in

the struggle against the fascist groups, Ordre Nouveau in the first place, and has frequently taken the lead in organising united actions in defence of the far left and the mass movement.



Tasmanian Labor Youth Suspensions Lifted

On July 5, the ALP Federal executive meeting in Surfers Paradise voted overwhelmingly to lift the suspensions imposed on Tasmanian Labor Youth members by the Tasmanian State executive. This meant that John Green, Don Smith and Rana Roy regained their membership rights; further, Roy was now eligible to attend the Federal ALP conference as the alternate delegate from Australian Young Labor.

The Federal executive based its decision on the fact that the legality or otherwise of the Australian Young Labor conference in Sydney over Easter was already under onsideration by the Federal executive and by suspending the Labor Youth members on the charge of illegally attending the AYL conference, the Tasmanian State executive had by implication passed a judgement on the AYL conference before the Federal executive had ruled on the question. The final decision on the AYL conference and the

fate of the Tasmanian Labor Youth members will be made by the Federal executive at its next meeting in Sept-

The Federal executive decision was interpreted in Tasmania as a victory for Labor Youth. The Examiner, in its front page story on July 5 declared:
"Labor Youth Rebels Re-Instated -Rebuff For State ALP". The ranks of the Labor Youth movement and the left, in general, interpreted the decision as a victory for their struggle and a set-back for the plans of the hierarchy.

The decision shattered the confidence of the hierarchy's "Young Labor Association". The central branch of the YLA, the only branch where Labor Youth activists are actual members (viz. the Hobart YLA) met on July 5. On being informed of the Federal executive decision, the meeting decided to send a telegram to Surfers Paradise expressing support for the decision to lift the suspensions, called for Federal intervention in the State

leadership and supported every left-wing initiative — e.g. support for the Zimbabwe liberation struggle and closing down of the Rhodesian Information Centre. It appears that the machine has lost the support of its own (bogus) youth

It must be realised however that even the immediate struggle is far from being resolved. The Federal executive decision was probably an attempt to prevent the Tasmanian question from being discussed at Federal conference. (The decision was made 4 days before the start of the "don't-rock-the-boat" Federal conference of the ALP). It is possible that an unfavorable decision could be made at its next meeting in September. More importantly the vital questions of the disbanding of the Labor Youth movement and the expulsion of Tim Thorne have not been settled. The Tasmanian branch of the ALP is still in the hands of "corrupt and anti-labor gangsters."

The left must step up the fight for improved position in the immed future. The continuation of the fill disbanded Labor Youth movement and will continue to be the best me defending the left and its leaders the attacks of the reactionary lead The organised basis of the socialin defence must not be disarmed apparent demoralisation of the lead ship and the instability of the labor ernment following disclosures of c ion must be utilised to step up the field to defend the left and expose the min

While it is necessary to fight come and over-confidence, the gains need a be under-estimated. The success achieved by the militant struggle of Labor Youth will help boost the confi ence of those involved in the struggle for socialism in the ALP and the labor

THIEU DEFENDS DEMOCRACY

recently released by the South

The Melbourne Herald of July 2 reports

the comments of a 14 year-old woman

Vietnamese Government. The woman

Nguyen Thi Phuong Thao, the daughter

of a journalist who opposes the Thieu

regime but denies that he supports the

National Liberation Front described be-

experiences while under arrest, "They

put sandbags on my body, beat me with

a hammer and walked on me with boots.

I saw an old woman of 93 dragged down

a hall by a rope to the torture chamber

walk." Thao was arrested after police

found the words of a song about peace

by the guards because she couldn't

THE INFINITESIMAL FALLOUT

On the island of Mangareva 250 miles

south east of Mururoa Atoll where the

in her room during a raid,

IN BRIEF:

ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY OPPOSES "MISTAKEN" STRIKES

The Communist Party of Italy has recently been trying its best to help the local capitalists by reducing the number of strikes. "We must seek in all sectors - in industry and in the services - to organise justified strikes and not mistaken ones", said Luciano Lama, secretary-general of the Italian General Confederation of Labor. In its campaign against all groups to its left the Communist Party publicly disavowed a recent walkout by postal workers on the ground that it caused hardship to pensioners and "paralysed everyday life". Small wonder the Australian Financial Review could quote an alleged plant executive: "I wish the they alone could make those bastards

SOME MANAGE SPANNERS

A visiting United States "behavioral scientist" M. Scott-Myers recently said that everyone in employment is a manager of some kind or other. He has written a book called Every Employee A : Manager. Most people would call the vast majority of employees workers; they they have no control over the work situations which occupy most of their conscious lives, how can they be

"managers"? Scott-Myers advocates giving workers "more responsibility." What he means is that workers can be made more "responsible" to the companies and less thoughtful of their own and their fellow workers' interests if they are bought off with small concessions which make them think that they have a say in running things.

SOVIET BUREAUCRATS TRUTHFUL

Professor Victor Pavlovich Filatov, Professor of history at Moscow State University, who is currently visiting this country told a recent press conference that Stalinism was dead and the cold war over. He went on to say that there had been "historical distortions" particularly in the Stalin period, ... "but those days are now behind us, in history as in everything else we are objective and truthful." Is that why the state-run newspapers in the Soviet Union have printed almost nothing about the Watergate scandal? Some people have suggested that the rulers of the Soviet Union might be keeping quiet about Watergate in order to assist Brezhney in his diplomatic manoeuvrings with the mass-murderer Nixon,

CHRISTIAN CHARITY

The Presbyterian Reverend Gordon Powell of Melbourne recently opposed the Federal Government's introduction of a \$32-a-week pension for unmarried mothers saying: "The Christian Church for centuries has shown compassion and cared for unmarried mothers and their bables. But it has not encouraged them to think that promiscuity should be a

and rent for one person, let alone a mother and a child. FORD WORKER VICTIMISED

Ford plant in Broadmeadows has been sacked. The company said that his work was unsatisfactory, but his dismissal notice was signed by the firm's industrial relations officer. Bisset contributed to the strike fund for blue the strike with fellow workers. Bisset of the quality of his work.

GAYS ORGANISE IN ADELAIDE

For the first time in the history of the gay liberation movement in Adelaide, gays are beginning to gather forces and come out publicly asserting their sexual- on the basis of that understanding they

on Parliament House steps on July 5 during the peak-hour period in the city. Leaflets were distributed to passers-by on the sex-role stereotyping we are faced with in capitalist society. The picket was organised by the Gay Activist Alliance who are opposed to Camp Inc's lack of activity and reformism.

The demonstration was organised around basic democratic gay rights such as no discrimination against gays in housing and employment and repeal of all anti-

ate reverend in the true Christian spirit wants unmarried mothers to pay for their "sin" by being denied even a miserable \$32 a week. \$32 will barely cover food

Bob Bisset, a white collar worker at the collar workers at the plant and discussed his stand on the strike rather than because investigating for himself instead of rep-

A picket of about fifty people was held

gay laws.



Gay demonstration in Adelaide July 5

POLICE CHIEF A NALYSES CRIME WAVE: SYMPTOMS ARE THE CAUSE.

On July 2 the Victorian Assistant Police Commissioner W.D. Crowley aired his views on the wave of bashings currently occurring in Melbourne's western suburbs. As be sees it, the bashings are part of a general rebellion against authority: "it is a progression from violent demonstrations and strikes and part of a general disregard for law and order. To some extent it is part of the permissive society". Crowley has obviously pondered deeply on the nature of a society which can brutalise human beings so thoroughly that by the time they are in their teens they are driven to beating up people as a result of the hatred and confusion engendered in them by the treatment they have received. Its only logical isn't it? If strikes, demonstrations and permissiveness are all part of the same plot, then why not bashings? They belong with the forces of darkness too.

French Government has been testing its Perhaps Crowley should have another nuclear bombs the Polynesian inhabitant look at the problem. If he does a little are sceptical about French claims that the bombs are safe. After each test, French scientists equipped with gloves politicians and religious functionaries he will find that the strikes and demonscoral samples on the island's beaches. After the tests also, the islanders are trators are revolting against the same told not to eat fish or drink water for a injustices which have brutalised the day or two. After one test boxes of bashers. But those who demonstrate and dead birds, fish and pigs had to be taken strike understand something about the away in ships and several women who ate injustices which cause them to rebel, and fish became ill and had to leave the island for treatment. The islanders are take action to fight for their rights. The now unable to eat the fish they catch, bashers on the other hand, having been given no encouragement or opportunity to they depend upon tinned supplies. use their mental capacities, react mind-Many of the islanders are suffering from back pains and diarrhoea and some have patches on their bodies where the skin

The causes of the wave of bashings do not lie in the increase in the numbers of strikes and demonstrations or in the disintegration of the hold of Christian "morality" on large numbers of people. They lie in a system which needs a pool of cheap unskilled labour and which ensures the supply of that labor by denying adequate education facilities and adequate living standards to large sections of the popula-

in its vote. A recent issue of the pa journal offered a suggestion "... [m] or I'm Labor sounds lighter and less pompous than I'm Country Party. the sake of argument, if the CP was known as the Country Progressive Party how much more infectious or easier would it be to say 'I'm progressive'

has gone pale. The French authorities

have told the islanders that the water is

safe to drink but in the French barracks

there is a ban on drinking island water,

A 114-page white paper just released by

the French Government claims that fall-

out from the tests "is of infinitesimal

dimensions." What a mysterious bisi-

In view of the general backwardness the Country Party on almost every is from granting of basic democratic t to Aborigines to allowing women the right to control their own bodies, the only progressive thing that the Com Party could do would be to disband.

INFLATION

A real estate agent in Thomastown, outer suburb of Melbourne, recently revealed that the price of some land the area had risen by 30 per cent in 9

BY PETER EDWARDS

The vital issues that confront the labor movement and Australian society were successfully avoided by the Whitlam leadership at the 30th Federal conference of the Australian Labor Party at Surfers Paradise. The Whitlam leadership was given a mandate to pursue its policy of window-dressing the major social problems facing Australia. It is clear that the Labor Government will continue with basically pro-capitalist policies and will not challenge the status quo of Australian society.

The general theme of "don't-rock-theboat" was exaggerated beyond all proportions and approached a "don't-rowthe-boat" theme. The entire conference was stage-managed in line with that theme.

The Federal executive successfully defused the Tasmanian question by lifting the suspensions imposed on Labor Youth activists. The NSW situation stemming from the Ducker machine's attempt to exercise a greater control over the preselection of Senate and Legislative Council candidates was prevented from being discussed at the Federal executive level on a 8-8 vote. Bob Hawke (the new president of the ALP) was not present at the meeting.

Discussion on policy had to be centred around the recommendations and reports of various committees (elected by the Federal executive). These recommendations were at best of a moderate nature, often clearly right wing. The major reports - viz. foreign affairs

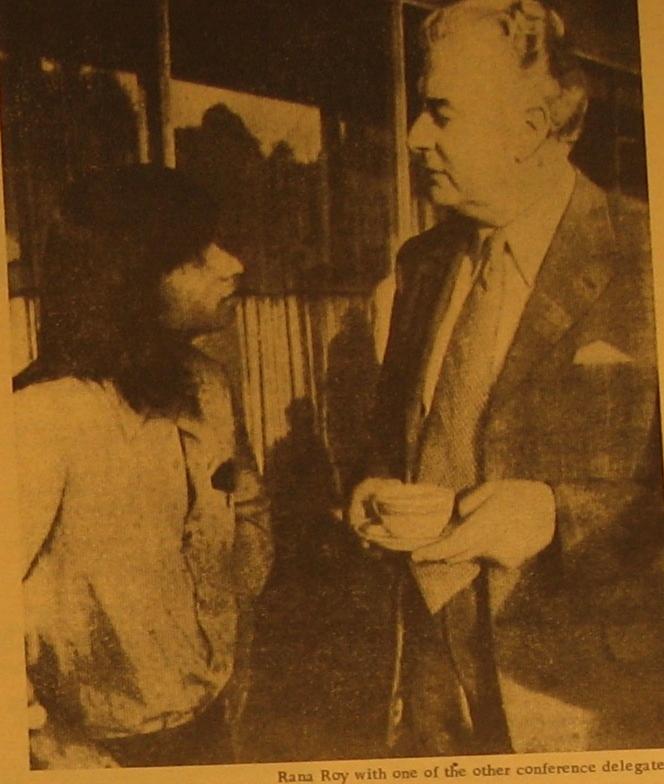
(PRG recognition, US bases and Omega), legal and consitiutional (abortion, Asio) - were not discussed until Thursday. The reports on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday afternoon (conference did not sit on Wednesday morning due to Arthur Calwell's funeral) involved mainly administrative questions and minor changes to the existing platform. The only point of division occurred when Education Minister Kim Beazley indulged in a hysterical and paranoid outburst in reaction to a proposal to transfer the child-care section from the education committee report to the health and

welfare report! The social functions of the Federal conference were probably just as political as the proceedings of the first three days. On Tuesday night the Queensland central executive and the Federal executive organised a combined dinner for delegates and others. "Others' included such consistent Labor supporters as representatives of the Metal Trades Industry Association, International Public Relations and the US and Saigon embassies. Those not invited included the rank-and-file members of the Gold Coast ALP branch. Presumably this is Whitlam's conception of the "new image" ALP.

Most of the major debates (abortion, Omega, PRG recognition, Palestine) occurred on Thursday. The first debate was over abortion. The original recommendation from the health and welfare committee was an improvement on the existing platform. It read:

"That Labor governments should sponsor criminal codes without provisions relating to termination of pregnancy or procurement of a miscarriage. Labor members are free to introduce, support, oppose, amend or postpone amendments to bills on these subjects." There were two vital amendments. One was circulated by the second proxy delegate from Australian Young Labor, Anne Pengelly (the only woman to speak at conference) and sought to delete the conscience vote section of the original motion. This amendment, seconded by Victorian Socialist Left supporter Bill Hartley, was defeated 34-13. The second major amendment circulated by Don Dunstan sought to adopt the recommendation of the legal and constitutional committee which was a no-policy position. This amendment was carried 32-14 and this became the party platform. The result is that the Labor Party does not have a policy on one of the most crucial questions facing Australian women.

The next major debate was over the question of Palestine. The foreign affairs and defence committee recommendation was that the present platform



THE ALP FEDERAL CONFERENCE

be retained. (The present platform is

Middle East situation as "the greatest

threat to the peace of the world" and

the Arab nations and Israel to accept

"recognises the necessity to,..persuade

a permanent settlement of all problems

in the area"). An amendment moved

self-determination of the Palestinian

by Tasmanian delegate Tim Thorne.

been charged with disloyalty and is

by the existing platform. A further

of the State of Israel is essential to

declaring that there was an equal

number of Jewish and Arab votes (!)

moved a "compromise" amendment

ment but also called on Israel to with-

draw from occupied territories and for

"a just settlement of the refugee prob-

whelmingly passed. The new platform

recognition of a minority force which

The next debate was probably the most

foreign affairs and defence committee

had recommended the discharge of a

motion from the Victorian ALP which

expressed general opposition to US

bases and specifically opposed the

establishment of the Omega base.

Whitlam and his supporters argued

very strongly for the discharge of this

item. The motion for discharge was

then put and lost 25-23. Conference

then went into tea break and during

that break the South Australian delega-

tion which had previously voted against

version of an amendment which they

heavies were talking to the SA delega-

tion during the tea-break. It is doubt-

weather!) The amendment stated that

"unless the party can be fully assured

opposed," The weakened version of the

ful whether they were discussing the

that this system cannot be used for

amendment had the words "without

Australia's consent" inserted after

hostile acts, its establishment is

had proposed (Whitlam and other

discharge decided to support a weakened

vital of the whole conference. The

adopted a principled position on the

lem". The amendment was over-

although grossly inadequate was a

Palestinian question.

read: "recognition by the Arab nations

peace in the Middle East," Whitlam,

(Thorne along with Roy and others had

called for "recognit

by AYL's alternate delegate, Rana Roy,

an ambiguous statement referring to the

Rana Roy with one of the other conference delegates.

"hostile acts". This in itself was an admission of the military potential of Omega. This debate saw an incredible contrast between the well-researched arguments of the opponents of Omega and the ludicrous statements of its supporters. C.K. Jones, the Minister for Transport said the question of Omega had nothing to do with foreign affairs and defence, but should be in his department. He also made some of about making the area a tourist resort(!). people." The amendment was seconded NSW delegate John Ducker said he thought Omega was a wrist-watch(!) but he supported the weakened version of the South Australian amendment because it facing expulsion). Both speakers pointed was seconded "by a man called Whitlam". out that the central question - the rights The Victorian amendment was then put of the Palestinian people - was ignored and lost 27-18. The amended SA amendment was passed 29-18. Although amendment from Senator John Wheeldon the left wing failed to get a clear statement and policy of opposition to Omega, of the sovereignty and right to existence it should be noted that the Whitlam leadership was forced to compromise and that their original proposal to discharge the item and prevent any discussion was defeated. which incorporated Wheeldon's amend-

The last major policy debate was over the question of the recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam. The foreign affairs and defence committee had recommended the discharge of a motion from the WA branch calling for with-

drawal of recognition from the Thieu regime and recognition of the PRG. An amendment calling for the adoption of the WA motion, circulated by Rana Roy, was later ruled invalid on the grounds that it was in direct opposition to the motion of discharge. Rana Roy then seconded an amendment circulated by Senator John Wheeldon which as an addendum to Labor's existing policy on Indo-China called for recognition of the PRG. A further amendment had been circulated earlier by the Victorian delegates and called for dual recognition of Saigon and the PRG. The situation was complicated further by a motion from NSW delegate Heffernan ("socialist objective" committee) calling for the release of political prisoners in South Vietnam which Whitlam claimed would become "ineffective" if the motion for the recognition of the PRG was passed. It appears that those proposing the motion on the political prisoners may have voted against PRG recognition on the basis of Whitlam's promised support for Heffernan's motion,

The Wheeldon-Roy amendment was then put and defeated 29-16. The Victorian amendment was put and defeated 31-11 (when it was clear that the substance of the motion had been defeated in the earlier vote). The motion on political prisoners was later unanimously passed!

These were the central debates of the conference. Several other possible debates, particularly a debate over Asio were "uled out on a technicality. By Wednesday night, few of the major reports had been considered. Due to the shortage of time, the conference decided to deal only with "platform" items and amendments which "had already been circulated" thus avoiding a show-down on the Asio issue which was scheduled for discussion on Friday. Instead Friday witnessed an attempt by right-wing Labor premiers Tonkin and Reece to prevent Whitlam's moves to limit the legal powers of the States visa-vis the Federal Government,

The major conclusion of the Federal conference was that the Whitlam leadership managed to avoid discussion of the real issues facing the labor movement. In the context of rising inflation used as a weapon against the living standards of militant response to such attacks (e.g. Ford, BHP), Whitlam's role will be basically that of a policeman in the class struggle with the primary function of defending the capitalist status quo, In this context it is clear why Whitlam did not want the Federal conference to adopt a socialist platform which he would have been forced to propagate. In this context it is clear why Whitlam warned the trade-union movement to toe the line or else face the prospect of a Liberal Government, "of repression, of application of the penal clauses." (Whitlam's introductory address). In the face of this "new image", of the attempts by the leadership to move away from its working class base, the left must organise to expose the conservative mis-leadership of the ALP, to build the struggle for socialist policies in the ranks of the labor movement and to mobilise the Australian working class in the struggle for the socialist future.

A PUBLIC MEETING Speakers: JIM Mc ILROY, Melbourne organiser Socialist Workers League, JAMIE DOUGHNEY, national secretary Socialist Youth Alliance,

Detente with

SYDNEY Friday, August 3, 8.00 pm at 139 St Johns Rd., Glebe.

(Jamie Doughney)

ADELAIDE Friday, August 3, 8.00 pm at 287 Rundle St., Adelaide.

(Jim McIlroy) CANBERRA Wednesday, August 8, 8.00 pm at Australian National University (Jamie Doughney)

MELBOURNE Thursday, August 9, 8.00 pm at 140 Queensberry St., Carlton (Jim McIlroy) Friday, August 10, 7.30 pm at Room 21, Trades Hall

(Jamie Doughney)

ADMISSION 50c, SECONDARY STUDENTS 25c

On June 30, a rally was held at the Roma Street city forum, Brisbane, to call for the repeal of all abortion legislation, sex education in schools, and freely available safe contraceptives. It was organised by the Brisbane Women's Abortion Action Campaign, a coalition of women from womens liberation, the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), and Children by Choice. It was attended by about 100 people and was a most enthusiastic crowd. There were speakers, street theatre and folk singers. The street theatre was an excellent portrayal of a pregnant young girl confronting a doctor, lawyer, and priest, and a chorus representing the establishment. This was most effective, and attracted much attention. It was performed at the rally, in the City Square and in the city streets amongst the Saturday morning shoppers, and was accompanied by people handing out leaflets.

The speakers were all very good, and looked upon the rally only as a beginning to a long-term campaign of mass actions aimed at mobilising as many people as possible around the abortion issue. The most rousing speech was that made by Lilian Roser talking about her abortion experiences.

There had been a forum the evening before the rally at the Brisbane Teachers' Union hall, which attracted about 30-40 people. There were three speakers; a woman from WEL who gave a good report on existing standards of sex education for school students, a well known Brisbane women's liberationist, and a doctor associated with the Brisbane family planning clinic. There was an excellent discussion period in which some important questions were raised; such as how are women going to win their right to abortion in this country, the significance of the abortion issue in relation to the liberation of women, and individual liberation, is it possible? After the dis-Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) slide show was shown. This is the inspiring history of the American women's

In addition to the rallies and marches in Sydney, Brisbane and Melbourne, a group of activists at the University of New England in Armidale, a NSW country centre, organised a march of around 55 people which passed around the city area, collecting further marchers on the way.

In Adelaide leaflets were distributed throughout the city and some suburbs o June 30 putting forward the case for repeal of the abortion laws.

Over the weekend of July 7 and 8 the

highest decision-making body of the

Socialist Youth Alliance between its

national conferences, the national com-

mittee, met in Melbourne. The mem-

primary political tasks before SYA and

This plenum of the national committee

olitical environment internationally

new emerging alignment of forces was

powers and the workers' states. Under-

tanding this was seen to be primary to

understanding world politics and how

this set the environment in which the

Labor Government was able to move.

The plenum noted a downturn in the

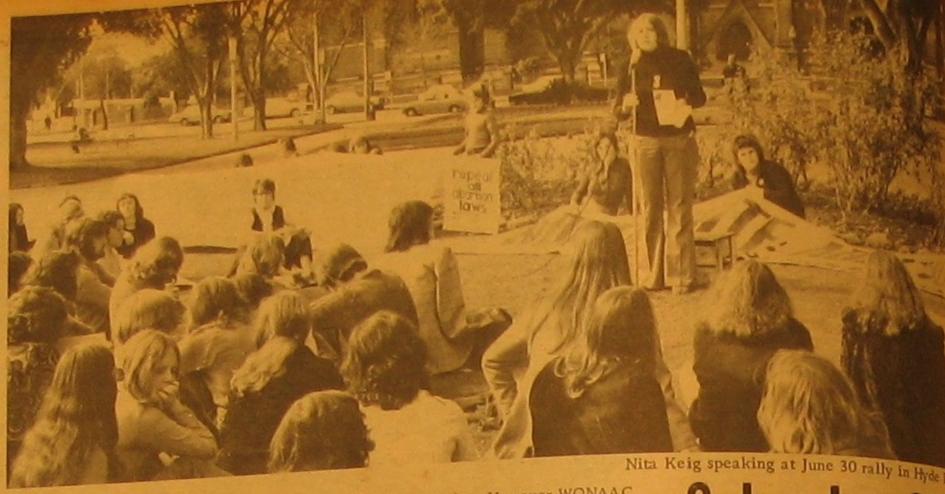
youth in Australia. At the centre of the period ahead.

ook particular notice of the changed

bers of the national committee came

from all over Australia to discuss the

o project the courses of action best



struggle for the right to contraception (sex education) and abortion,

WONAAC was founded in 1971 as a national organisation to fight for the repeal of all abortion and contraception laws, and to oppose forced sterilisation. It organised mass demonstrations throughout America in 1971 and 1972 and the defence campaigns of women convicted of having obtained abortions,

On January 22 1973 the US Supreme Court ruled that States have no constitutional right to interfere in a woman's decision to terminate her pregnancy in

the first 24 weeks. However WONAAC has not been dissolved, for right-wing forces are making serious attempts to get the decision reversed. But now WONAAC is fighting on a higher level.

From the beginning of industrialised society, the state, and its sidekick, the church, have forced women to be breeders. Today, that pattern of involuntary motherhood has been challenged and defeated by the united action of women on an international scale. The example of the American experience serves as an inspiration and a practical lesson for women in Australia.

CONTINUED FROM BACK PAGE in the United States from the time of the early suffragette movement.

The overall impact at the June 30 activities gave living proof of the dynamism of the struggle around abortion in the fight for women's rights. It also showed how this struggle has to move forward, that is, through mass actions aimed at repealing the abortion laws.

Melbourne Abortion Protest June 30

BY DOROTHY TUMNEY

The June 30 abortion action in Melbourne took the form of a rally in the City Square and a march which ended at the police headquarters in Russell Street. Attendance was approximately 200, mostly women. At the start of the rally it was raining heavily, which may have had some effect on numbers, but fortunately the rain stopped, allowing the speakers to be heard and the march to be held in good conditions.

Four women spoke at the City Square. Joan Coxsedge, ALP candidate for Balwyn in the last State election, spoke on her campaign and its relative success with the pro-abortion platform she stood on, in spite of a vigorous campaign by "right-to-life" forces to oppose her.

Zelda D'Aprano, a women's liberation activist, pointed out the cruelty and degradation women face "hen seeking illegal abortions, illustrating this with her own experiences. Janet Bacon, a doctor, stressed the medical advantages of legalising abortion, and Jenny Ferguson, a member of the Women's Abortion Action Coalition which organised the June 30 action, spoke on the need to continue to agitate for

outward expression of the radicalisation

yet noted a broadening to include many

new layers as different groups went into

The most significant political campaign

projected as being engaged in mobilisa-

tions over the issue of abortion, the mos

involving even wider numbers of women

in struggle over a basic feminist issue,

ship of radical youth on the decline or

could more effectively provide the

revealing the true nature of their politi-

cal positions it was envisaged that SYA

leading dynamism for the struggles of

The national committee saw great

for SYA over the months ahead was

action against their oppression.

suited to the present political situation. clear-cut example of the potential of

and what it means for revolutionary youth opportunites for expanding SYA over the

the detente between the major capitalist With other tendencies vying for leader-

I would like to join SYA...... Send me more information.....

NAME.....ADDRESS.....

Post to SYA, PO Box 160, Glebe 2037.

Women try to enter Russell St Police Station to present declaration

abortion law repeal and gave an outline of future WAAC activities.

While the women were speaking, a Justice of the Peace was taking sworn statutory declarations from women who had had illegal abortions. These declarations (finally numbering 34) were to be presented to police at Russell St at the end of the march and the bearers would demand to be charged with committing a crime.

Just after 11.30 the demonstration moved off along Collins St, Elizabeth St, Bourke St, and then up Russell St to the police headquarters. As the march approached the police station a number of police (male) blocked off the only open door, remaining there for the rest of the protest.

The women who were going to present the declarations were allowed to enter in pairs. The first two, on returning, said they had been photographed and asked whether this was legal. No definite answer was received, so the next two women refused to allow their pictures to be taken and as a result were not allowed to hand over their statements. At this point the police stated categorically that no declaration would be accepted if the woman was not prepared to be photographed. Still no clarification of the legal situation was forthcoming, so the result was a temporary stalemate, and the police flatly refused to take any more declarations at all.

Shortly after a scuffle erupted near the door, which was apparently sparked by one woman deciding she did not want to be prevented from handing in her declaration and tried to get inside. At this point the police moved out of the

doorway onto the footpath and forced the protesters back on to the road, The women remained on the road for a while and the situation cooled, returning to the previous stalemate, as both sides considered their tactics. The women decided that if the police were not prepared to accept further statement the protest might as well disperse, so in line with this, the protesters moved up Russell St and disbanded. During this time, the police apparently accepted a few more declarations, since later reports listed twelve as having been accepted and not two.

For its size, the demonstration received a good deal of press coverage, no doub due mainly to its sensation value. Reports concentrated mainly on the statements issued by police on what would be done about the declarations that were accepted and the scuffle at the police station.

The likelihood of any prosecutions arising from these declarations is very man since police are well aware of the actiby opponents of the abortion laws that would result from attempts to prosecu all or any of the women who presented declarations.

There does of course arise the possib of the individual women being subjeto harassment in other ways, and this is one point that plans for future acts should consider. These individual actions have a value in terms of put in revealing, at least in part, the by critical nature of the existing abortion laws. To achieve repeal of these la completely, future action will have to mobilise the large numbers of wome who strongly oppose these archaic restrictions on women's rights.

Victory for Women's Course

BY DEBBY PAYNE

After almost a four week strike, which at different times encompassed as many as 21 thousand students and staff, the women's course is to go on. (See DIRECT ACTION 43).

In a narrow vote (23-21) the professorial board finally succumbed to one of the best organised protests ever seen at Sydney University. Staff and students were jubilant when the decision was announced. "We won" was almost all anybody could mutter.

In the past two weeks the actual struggle underwent a number of ups and downs, and at many times was close to being smashed. Only the cool-headed approach that was taken saved the struggle from defeat. As the strike entered its fourth week, with nothing but a dull horizon in sight, demoralisation was setting in and short cuts to force the resolution of the issue were being projected. Lock-ins, lock-outs and occupations were rejected as bad tactics. The defeat of many previous struggles at Sydney University had educated some people at least that adoption of such tactics would have meant failure, Although the Senate could still overrule the professorial board's decision, it is thought unlikely and the course, which should have started on July 10, will go on.

The final solution that was adopted by the professorial board was a compromise known as the "O'Neil formula". It involved a considerable revision of the original demand, that of giving Liz Jacka and Jean Curthoys full responsibility for the course. But these compromises were not fundamental as they paved the way for the acceptance of the course. The principle at stake was not who taught the course or how, but the validity of women's studies courses as an area of inquiry in the university. This principle has already been fought for and won in different struggles in the US and Europe. In universities in these of women's studies has been recognised.

One professor described the course as "cancerous". This is certainly true, but the effect will be therapeutic on an ailing institution. A women's studies course is not only desirable and necessary in the philosophy department, but within every department in the university, particularly within the faculties of arts, economics, law and medicine.

O'Neil (the deputy vice-chancellor who was acting vice-chancellor at the time), however, rejected the compromise. This he claimed was because a condition he himself laid down was not fulfilled; that Professor Armstrong did not "strongly object" to the formula. This one man opposed the course at department, faculty, professorial and senate level. He was the main figure preventing the acceptance of the course. But it would be a mistake to focus resentment against him as an individual.

It is the whole archaic university structure that takes the power and control out of the hands of students that must be attacked.

The response of staff in the government department, who had previously overwhelmingly voted to strike, was to return to work. They were affected by the demoralisation that followed the rejection of a formula that was obviously reasonable. It was claimed that this was merely a suspension of the strike, pending the decision of the arts faculty at their meeting. A general meeting of government students however voted to continue striking.

The strike itself was declining. The use of delaying tactics by the administration was beginning to have an effect. However, the meeting of the arts faculty in the fourth week of the strike caused a dramatic rearrangement of the balance of forces. The arts faculty showed itself overwhelmingly in favor of the course and compromise solution. This resulted in a boost for the strikers and must have been the factor that swung the professorial boaru.

The strike has raised broader questions with the struggle for democratisation being taken up in a number of departments. The sexist and authoritarian nature of the university has been exposed. Students, as they return to work, are not willing to return to the same conditions that they rejected when they went on strike.

One failing demonstrated as a result of the strike is the lack of strong conscious student leadership at Sydney University. Just as the SRC has defaulted in the leadership of any student struggles, no real leadership was found amongst the rank-and-file students. A de facto staff leadership role had to be adopted by several staff members. Two instances illustrate this.

In the government department, staff were holding seperate strike meetings and coming together with students at other times. It was three members of the government staff that conducted negotiations with O'Neil. These were elected at a staff-only strike meeting. It was only later at a combined meeting that a motion was put supporting the negotiations so far, giving the three staff members a mandate to continue negotiations. A student negotiator was only elected as a result of student pressure. After the staff had voted to go on strike, general government strike meetings were chained by a male staff-

The second instance was when the senate sub-committee investigating the strike asked to have informal discussions with those people "most immediately involved" in the dispute. They specifically asked to speak with four male staff members, two from philosophy and two from government, plus one other person. They viewed the staff as leading the strike. The philosophy strikers quite correctly sent five women philosophy students.

Now, with the struggle won, the call must go out to other universities. Use the success of the Sydney University strikers and fight for women's courses at other educational institutions.

Students vote on action during Women's Course struggle



FORCED **STERILISATION**

It's rough enough for black men in white America. But it can be night marish if you're a 12 or 14 year-old black woman in Montgomery, Alabama - especially if you're on welfare. You could fall prey to racist white social workers and face victimisation in birth-control experiments. You might even be sterilised under the pretext that you are carrying venereal disease, or if boys are "seen hanging around you."

For 14-year-old Minnie Lee Relf and and 12-year-old Mary Alice Relf, two black sisters in Montgomery, its not just a bad dream. It's a reality.

The sterilisation occurred on June 14. The day before, a clinic agent had visited the Relf home, supposedly seeking permission for the operation. Minnie Relf, the young women's mother, says she understood the agent was seeking permission to give them some "shots". Being illiterate, she couldn't read the surgical consent forms, which she signed with an "x". The "shots" she believed she was agreeing to were 90-day birthcontrol shots her daughters received in an experimental programme. But the clinic had discontinued the shots in March when it was discovered that the drug (depopovera) was dangerous.



The Relf family

On June 26, Lonnie Relf, the young women's father, filed a \$1 million damage suit in Montgomery Federal district court on behalf of his daughters. The suit charges a family planning clinic with malpractice for sterilising them without their knowledge or consent.

Investigations as a result of the suit have revealed that at least 11 other women have been involuntarily sterilised by the same agency. Statistics on forced sterilisation are hard to come by, but enough is known to prove that forced sterilisation, particularly in the black community is widespread.

The so-called right to life' forces have demagogically used the argument that legalising abortion would lead to "other things". They raise the spectre of euthanasia, infanticide, and forced sterilisation. But where are they now? They are not out

defending the Relf family or condemning the racist practices of the

The truth of the matter is that the right to abortion and an end to forced sterilisation are opposite sides of the same coin - they involve a woman's right to control her own body.

REPRESSION OF **PORTUGUESE**

Three Portugese women, Maria Veresa Horta, Maria Velho da Cost and Maria Isabel Barreno went to trial on July 3 on charges of committing "an outrage to public morals and good customs" by writing a book against the oppression of women in Portugal. The book, New Portugese Letters, has been confiscated by Portugese secret police and banned. If convicted, "The three Marias" could receive up to six years in

The trial of these women raises civil liberties as well as women's rights issues. While books have been confiscated in Portugal before, this is the first time the committee of censorship has arrested the writers of such books.

NZ ABORTION CONFERENCE

Over the weekend of July 14-15 a National Women's Abortion Action Conference (NWAAC) was held in Wellington NZ. It was organised by the National Women's Abortion Action Coalition.

A featured speaker of the teach-in, held on the Saturday of the conference was Nita Keig, a leading activist of the Sydney Women's Abortion Action Campaign and one of the organisers of the June 30 demonstration which called for the repeal of the abortion laws and freely available safe contraceptives.

In requesting that WAAC send a delegate to the New Zealand conference the organisers referred to the fruitful exchange of experiences which could take place, particularly in regard to the mass actions which had taken place here on June 30 and in New Zealand on April 13,

Having a representative at the conference was a tremendous boost to the Australian pro-abortion forces. If Australian and New Zealand women are going to win the fight for the repeal of the abortion laws exchanges like this and close relations between the pro-abortion forces in both countries are going to greatly benefit our struggle.

WITCHES NIGHT

Fancy dress (witches and warlocks) is the suggested mode of dress for the party on July 21. The party will be the beginning of a campaign to raise the funds needed to keep the women's house open and operative.

EVERYONE WELCOME

REMEMBER 8.00 pm July 21 WOMEN'S LIBERATION HOUSE 25 ALBERTA ST, SYDNEY

... TINA HARSANYI

Labor's Treatment of Blacks

It is approximately a year since the Black Moratorium demonstration on July 14 and the confrontation surrounding the Aboriginal Embassy in Canberra highlighted the plight of black people in this country. That year has seen the reactionary Liberal-Country Party Government thrown out of Federal office and a Labor government installed in its place.

The Labor strategists formulated their approach to the Federal elections with the experience of the black upsurge in July fresh in their minds, and realising that the support which the black struggles attracted reflected a widespread desire for social change, particularly among young people. Labor attempted to appease this desire by projecting itself as the party of social reform in its election campaign. Prominent in Labor's platform was the proposal to grant land rights to Aborigines and it is significant that Labor's stand on black rights was second in popularity only to the proposal to abolish conscription (if the amount of applause is any indication) among the predominantly young audience at Whitlam's campaign opening meeting in

Since the elections the Government has taken some steps to alleviate the conditions which caused the angry outburst of last July. Land rights have been granted to some groups, money has been made available for some schemes such as the Aboriginal housing co-operative in Redfern, Sydney and more black people have been appointed to advise the Government on Aboriginal affairs. These steps have all meant some progress for Aborigines struggling to achieve their rights but they by no means solved the problems facing black people.

The experience of the Lake Tyers settlement in Victoria shows that the granting of land rights alone does not eliminate the indignities to which black people are subjected in this country. The black people at Lake Tyers still live in poverty, are still subjected to victimisation by racist police and still face discrimination, An example of this discrimination is the fact that the ambulance will not make the 72-km (45-mile) trip from Bairnsdale to the Aboriginal settlement unless a doctor will certify that the trip is "absolutely necessary". Other groups which have

stocking it and still have to contend with inadequate health, education and housing facilities.

The appointment of more black people to advise the Government on Aboriginal affairs has not been greeted by wide enthusiasm among black people. Most of the advisers have no power to make decisions concerning black people, they serve the function of intermediaries providing information for the Government and making government policies palatable in the black community. Also it is recognised at least by some black people that appointment to a well-paid government position has been an often used method of silencing previously vocal militants.

The position of the black advisers shows that Labor is not anxious to allow black people to actually control black affairs, The advisers provide the Government with contact with the black community, but they have no control over policy. Policies are decided by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs under Gordon Bryant, However, despite Labor's unwillingness to allow Aborigines to run their own affairs, the party has shown itself to be

susceptible to mass pressure on the In the case of the Redfern housing coperative, Federal Labor quickly co up with funds for the scheme in o head off criticism of the reactionary played by the Labor-dominated S Sydney Council. The Labor leaders not forgotten the July mobilisations as the depth of feeling about the issue those mobilisations revealed. The realise that a prolongation of the class between the council and the black no ment would damage the Labor Party on a national scale.

On June 19 Prime Minister Whitlam that in the next session of Parliament Government would introduce legislate to eliminate racial discrimination and that such legislation would cut across racist laws such as the Queensland Abo ines and Torres Strait Islanders' Act Country Party Government of Queens has backed away from repealing this racist legislation partly because of racis in its own ranks, but more importantly because of the racism of the white population in the country areas upon which the Country Party relies for its support [his racism which may have begun to find as organised expression in the "Rights for Whites" group at Katherine in the North ern Territory).

It is vital that Labor does not back away from a confrontation with the Queensland Government over this issue. Despite the reforms introduced by the Labor Government since last December the plight of the Aborigines remains among the worst endured by any people in the world at this time. If the labor movement is to eliminate racist discrimination against the Aborigines, then its political expression, the Labor Party. must be uncompromising in any confrontation with elements who have vested interests in maintaining discrimination against black people.

Although some improvements in the conditions of life for Aborigines have been made under Labor, change is coming too slowly for many. A recent . report commissioned by the New South Wales Government reveals that in Sydney the infant mortality rate among Aborigines is around 36 deaths per 1,000 birthsan average twice as high as the average for the whole country when it was last known that the infant mortality rate among black people in remote areas was very high, but the figures released recently were for Sydney, which probably indicates that high infant mortality is a fact of life throughout the whole Aboriginal community.

A vigorous approach to this problem is needed urgently. One of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs' advisers, Charles Perkins, estimates that something like \$300 million needs to be spent on housing, education and health facilities urgently. But it is unlikely that such funds will be forthcoming from the Government because it does not want to provide a pretext for a furore about inflation.

The task of winning equal rights and freedom from discrimination still lies in front of the black movement. Labor under its present leadership will do no more than is necessary to keep mass feeling on the issue under control. Only determined and united action by large numbers of supporters of the black movement will achieve the action so urgently

of the by-law is to favor students without a clear or coherent position and this emphasises personalities above politics.

Again, there are no clear-cut issues emerging in the Melbourne elections. Melbourne, traditionally a conservative campus, has not experienced the intense political struggles that Monash and La Trobe have in recent times. Nonetheless, the Melbourne SRC elections are an important political event on campus and should see some decisive changes in the current mood of student politics.

Uni Entrance by Ballot

BY JIM McILROY

Minister for Aboriginal Affairs Bryant talks to Papunya tribesman, but the conditions still exist.

Campus Elections in Melbourne

from ten to four.

students were re-elected to the new SRC

In contrast to the campaign at La Trobe

void of any decisive issues. With a few

Monash Public Affairs Committee (PAC)

chose to ignore the political questions

The Socialist Youth Alliance ran Barry

Simpson, a long-time activist in the

black movement and a member of the

Socialist Youth Alliance campaigned

strongly around the issues of abortion.

and a continued defence of the AUS

Simpson was elected to PAC on a large

majority, despite the low level of the

ions for all positions on the Students!

Representative Council are due for

elections in comparison to recent years,

At Melbourne University, general elect-

July 20. SYA is running a slate of three

who is standing as a faculty representat-

candidates. They are Lorraine Huddle.

an architecture student, Peter Connor

ive in Law and Peter Conrick who is

standing as a general representative as

One of the major points emphasised by

all three candidates has centred around

material in SRC elections. Melbourne

is one of the few campuses which toler-

ates this regulation. The general effect

the repeal of an undemocratic by-law

which forbids the use of any printed

well as faculty representative in Arts.

Simpson as a candidate for PAC.

elections at Monash University were

exceptions, most candidates for the

posed by a body such as PAC.

against right-wing attack,

and the right-wing representation cut

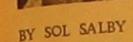
The Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association at its annual general meeting in Melbourne on June 23 and 24 voted for a novel scheme of entrance to tertiary institutions - by ballot of all applicants in sixth year of secondary school. This scheme was presented by VSTA secretary Conway as "the least objectionable" alternative presently available.

The traditional matriculation for High School Certificate in Victoria is at present being supplemented by a Tertiary Education Entrance Project set of tests to determine overall "suitability" for tertiary study.

Both of these are exam-based, and most unacceptable to students and teachers. The TEEP system is also based on individual teacher assessment, which is also unacceptable.

The purpose of the ballot system as proposed by the VSTA is to equalise tertiary entry chances between different schools and social backgrounds as much as possible while pressurising the Labor Government to vastly expand tertiary facilities and opportunities.

While the aim is admirable, the ballot system is no real answer. Letters from academics defending the present elitist, class-based methods of selection have appeared in the press, supported by strongly critical editorials in the daily press. These conservative criticisms ("the virtue of study" etc) are merely a defence of privilege. However, the answer to the education crisis lies not in a still restrictive ballot system but in a broad, militant campaign by teachers, students and parents to force Labor to massively increas the availability of tertiary education for all who want it.



Despite some of the heaviest bombing in history, the revolutionary forces in Cambodia have continued to advance. The July 9 issue of The Australian carried a report from United Press International in Phnom Penh;

"Government forces defending Phnom Penh's southern outer perimeter retreated 2.5 km (about 1.5 miles) yesterday. About 700 troops retreated from two positions, leaving a third unit isolated, bringing them to within 14 km (about nine miles) of the Cambodian capital's suburbs. The retreat followed three weeks of trench warfare, Military sources confirmed that the southern perimeter had drawn closer to the capital but stressed that the one position, that of the 47th brigade, was still holding. Other reports at the weekend said the seaport of Kompong Som suffered its first ground attack during three years of

The likely collapse of the Lon Nol Government has been predicted by the Australian The former Cambodian Chief of State, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, who said "there is likely to be a change in the government there." This remark, apparently based on intelligence reports,

rebels have come at the time when the bombing of Cambodia has reached a level equivalent to the total dropped on the whole of Indo-China during previous years. According to the Senate Democratic majority leader Mike Mansfield the US has dropped over 200,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia over the past five months. In the preceding 3 years the United States dropped 175, 000 tons. The current monthly total of 50,000 tons is even higher than the 36,000 tons dropped on North Vietnam during the murderous bombing raids of last Decem-

The bombing is, of course, going to "stop" by August 15. The "compromise" agreement reached between President Nixon and Congress provides for cessation of bombing of Cambodia on that date. However Nixon announced upon signing the bill that he would ask the Congress for new authority, if it is necessary to "win the peace" when the funds for bombing expire on August 15.

The so-called compromise was arrived after several days of bargaining between Nixon supporters and opponents. In the debate on the legislation, days and bombs were traded back and forth like so many chips in a poker game.

The popular opposition to the war which was the main force on the Congress to add the bombing ban to the appropriation

bill wasn't enough. The fighting mood of the Congress members didn't last long and after two days of haggling they gave Nixon funds for an extra six weeks of bombing.

The six-week respite is seen by Nixon as sufficient to achieve his aim. That is, in six weeks he can expect enough pressures to be put on the Cambodian rebels to force through a "negotiated settlement" along the same line as the January 23 accords.

Nixon knows he can force that kind of agreement on the rebels because he has already been assured of the maximum co-operation of the Soviet Union and China. In fact the Chinese leadership has promised him its full co-operation in obtaining a peace settlement before August 15. Huang Chen, Peking's diplomatic representative in Washington has flown to San Clemente to meet with the President amid reports that Cambodia is on their agenda, according to the July 8 New York Times Weekly Review.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, appears to be one of the main obstacles to any agreement. Although the Prince has been known to change his mind in the past was made at the ALP Federal conference, and make deals with the US it seems The continued victories of the Cambodian several recent interviews Sihanouk has accused the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States of having a "compromise plan" to settle the war in Cambodia against the rebel Khmer Rouge forces. Sihanouk charged that the Cambodian betrayal is part of a global US-USSR agreement.

> Sihanouk is the first high ranking official to charge that the global detente between Washington and Moscow imperils revolutionary forces. Under pressure from Moscow and Peking the Vietnamese had to make some serious concessions. Now the same kind of pressure is being put on the Khmer Rouge.

In a June 30 interview with New York Times correspondent Henry Kamm in Bucharest, Rumania, Sihanouk denied that he is engaged in negotiations with Washington to settle the Cambodian conflict.

Kamm wrote, "As for the governments said to be active in trying to bring about negotiations or a political solution, the Prince said they were mainly those of the United States and the Soviet Union, aided by France".

"Prince Sihanouk," according to Kamm, "said the goal of the United States, the Soviet Union, and France is to seperate the Khmer Rouge movement from him and to enlist the support of China and North Vietnam for a political settlement."

Kamm continued, "Pressure for a political settlement in Cambodia, (Sihanouk) said, originated from a plan by the United States and the Soviet Union for a 'condominium' over the world based on compromises everywhere trouble existed."

Sihanouk's statement is also the first indication from an official source that Hanoi and Peking are taking part in the secret pressure to settle the war without toppling the Lon Nol regime.

Sihanouk's remarks were dotted "with frequent references to worry over deliveries of ammunition donated by China and transported by North Vietnam and an undercurrent of concern that Cambodia might be swimming against the tide of accommodation in remaining the only Indo-Chinese nation technically at war," Kamm said.

In a further press conference on his return to the Chinese capital, Sihanouk severely embarrassed his host, Premier Chou En-lai, by refusing to meet Nixon's negotiator, Dr Henry Kissinger. John Burns reported from Peking in the July 7 Australian:

"Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia has said 'it's too late! for Dr Henry Kissinger to seek negotiations over ending the war. "In Peking yesterday, he said he would not see Nixon's special adviser under any circumstances." "No Pax Americana!" he shouted to the reporters.

Sihanouk's latest series of outbursts has undoubtedly been inspired by the visit of Leonard Brezhnev to the United States and the Nixon-Brezhney summit. The Russian leader himself made an allusion to the Indo-China conflict when he said:

"The improvement of Soviet-American relations undoubtedly played its useful role in promoting the termination of the long drawn-out war in Vietnam, Now that the agreement ending the Vietnam war has come into effect and both our countries, together with other nations, are signatories to the document of the Paris conference on Vietnam, it seems to us to be particularly important that the achieved success be consolidated and that all the people of Indo-China be given the chance to live in peace." He refrained from mentioning that while he was talking US bombs were falling on Cambodia.

Further, Brezhnev in his agreement with Nixon did not specifically declare support for the embattled Khmer Rouge forces in Cambodia.

While pressure is being brought to bear upon the Cambodian rebels by the Soviet Union, China and North Vietnam, the situation in South Vietnam is also deteriorating. The Thieu regime con-

tinues to violate the agreement concerning South Vietnam. The June 13 communique declaring yet another ceasefire has been unceremoniously ignored.

Cambodian village devastated by US bombing

There was nothing basically new in the new agreement. The only exception may be the tacit admission by Kissinger that the Nixon regime has been violating the Paris agreement. It has been doing so by flying spy planes over North Vietnam and by failing to clear mines from the port of Haiphong and the rivers of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The agreement, it will be recalled, guarantees the population of southern Vietnam democratic rights including the right to carry on political activity. It should also be recalled that Operation Phoenix, the CIA's notorious programme of assassination of members of the NLF "infrastructure" is suppose to be inopera-

In this connection, a Saigon Government decree, the text of which was published in the May 17 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde, is of some interest, Dated April 5, 1973, and identified as document No 7167/N2/B, it is signed "by order of the commander in chief of the national police, the secretary-general of the national council of Operation Phoenix and the chief of the Cabinet."

Its substantive section reads: "First: Vis-a-vis individuals who disturb public order, apart from placing them under house arrest, concentration measures in conformity with decree No 020-TT/SLU of November 25, 1972, can still be applied against them if the means of bringing them before rural military

tribunals are lacking, "Second: The security council will have to be convoked to decide on the concentration of the individuals in question and their dossiers will bave to be forwarded to the Minister for the Interior, as in the past. Do not use the expression convicted communist or communist agent! Simply write: 'disturbing public order!"

The Thieu regime has been breaking every other clause of the Paris agreement as well as the Americans who are forbidden to bomb Indo-China,

The illusions spread by the Paris accords are still wide-spread. Action against The war both in Australia and overseas has unfortunately been limited. Melbourne waterside unions have placed a black ban on US ships till August 15 but no other action has been forthcoming. The Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, refused to condemn the bombing of Cambodia although the Federal conference of the ALP came out against the treatment of political prisoners in South Vietnam.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

and other left forces.

tion that represents a grave danger to labor," Detrae was referring to the widely held opinion that the Government deliberately sent lightly armed police to the June 21 demonstration in an effort to provoke a reaction from the anti-fascist demonstrators which it could use to crack down on the Ligue Communiste

Despite the breadth of the meeting there was one major drawback. Former members of the Ligue were refused by

the organisers the right to speak or even have a message read to the meeting. Throughout the meeting there were loud chants of "Let the Ligue speak". But the CP and SP refused the request by former members of the Ligue and by PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifie - United Socialist Party) to allow even a short speech or

The attack on the Ligue Communiste comes in the context of the general rise of the radicalisation in France. The Pompidou regime fears that organisations such as the Ligue Communiste will increasingly win the leadership of the radicalising elements of the working class and youth.



Group, British Section of St. BRISEANE Thursday August 2, 7.30 pm the Fourth International. Trades Hall, Edward St.

Tariq Ali is a leader of

BY PETER CONRICK

In recent weeks all campuses in Mel-

for elections to their various student

bourne have completed or are preparing

government bodies. Without exception

on a very low-key level. Interest has

However at La Trobe University (Vict-

oria's newest and smallest campus), the

campaign was fought quite clearly along

the lines of a recent referendum held

election was a decisive rejection of the

regressive politics of the front groups of

the right-wing National Civic Council

and the DLP, The DLP/NCC "Demo-

cratic" club attempted to carry on its

efforts to disassociate La Trobe from the

progressive policies of AUS. The out-

come of the election was an overwhelm-

ing victory for the student left. Fourteen

out of nineteen members of the new SRC

are left wingers, having only four people

guaranteed to vote for the right. One of

the factors which told heavily against the

the right was a series of pre-election

Pola the former president. In an

landers around the university about

embezzlement of SRC funds, Similar

personal attacks were made on Fergus

Robinson, one of the three La Trobe

All of these tactics backfired -three

audents gaoled last year.

tactics designed to discredit individual

supporters of AUS such as Ian McDonald

the former local AUS secretary and Brian

attempt to obscure the real issues of the

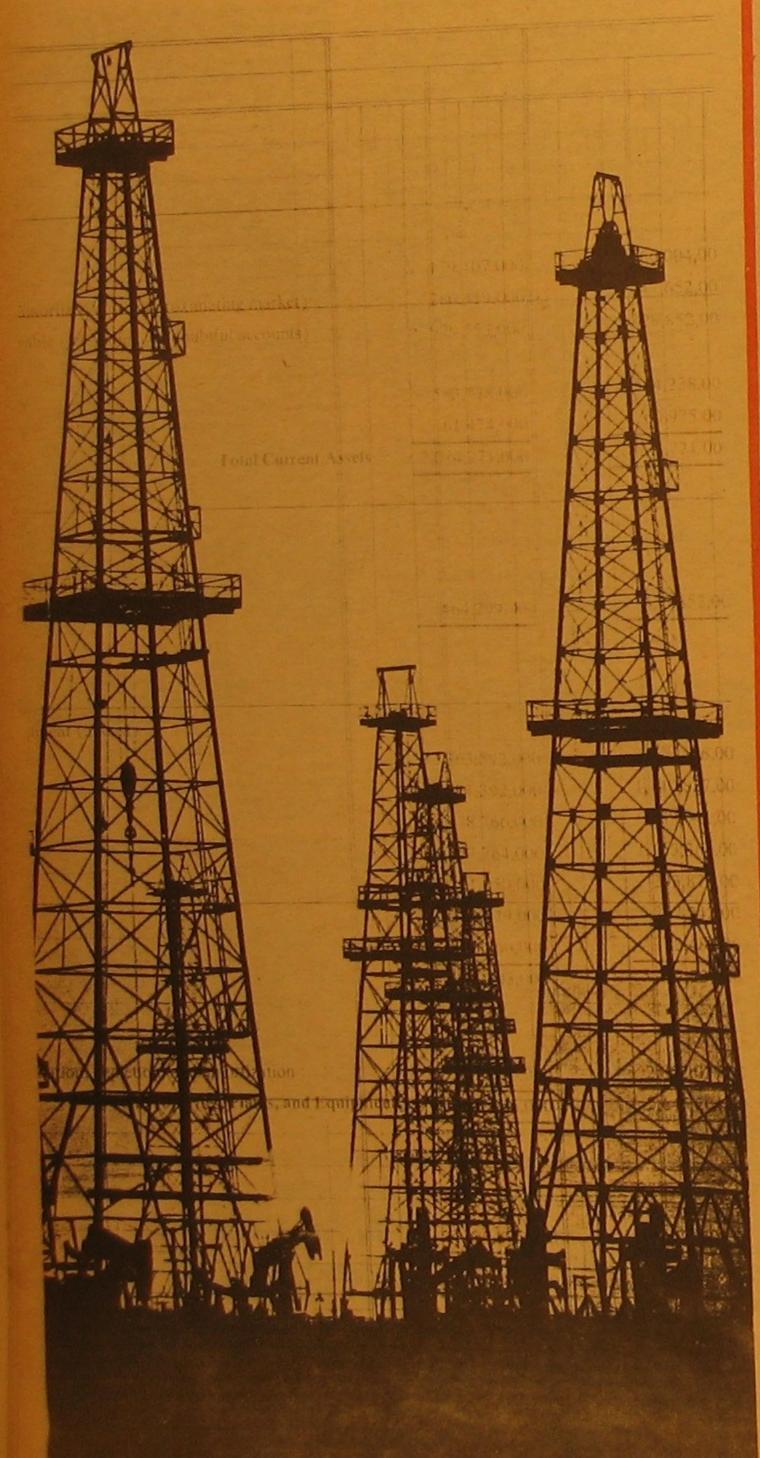
campaign the "Democratic" club spread

over the question of affiliation to the

Australian Union of Students. This

been centred largely on local issues.

these student elections have been fought



By Dianne Feeley

In a speech to the US Senate in May, William Fulbright expressed concern that the US Government might move to take over oil-producing Arab countries either directly or through "militarily potent surrogates" - Israel or Iran.

Both these countries have played pivotal roles in the Arab East, siding with US imperialism against any revolutionary activities. Israel's military power is well known. But although the strengthening of the shah's armed forces has been accomplished with far less fanfare, Teheran's military buildup has been no less real. The May 21 Newsweek characterised the expansion of the shah's armed capabilities as "the world's biggest military buildup since the American deployment in Vietnam."

US imperialism's preoccupation with the Arab-Persian Gulf region is well-founded. The area contains 60-75 per cent of the world's proven oil reserves. Further, the narrow Strait of Hormuz, at the eastern end of the Gulf, has been called Europe and Japan's "oil jugular vein." Every twelve to sixteen minutes an oil tanker passes through the Strait, heading for the Indian Ocean, and thence to West Europe or Japan.

When British imperialism withdrew its forces from the area in 1971, US imperialism, acting in large part through the shah's regime, moved to establish tight control.

The shah's expanding military power in the gulf area has been paralleled by rising interest and involvement by the Teheran Government in areas further east as well. This has taken the form of closer relations between the shah and the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto regime in Pakistan.

The shah's first significant military move in the gulf came on November 30, 1971, when the Iranian army took control over three islands commanding the western approach to the Strait of Hormuz -Greater Tunb, Lesser Tunb, and Abu Musai. The total Arab population of the islands was about 450. On the Greater Tunb the entire population was expelled; three Arabs were killed resisting.

The shah proceeded to build military bases on two of the islands, thus fortifying his hegemony in the gulf.

In an internew with Newsweek senior editor Arnaud DeBorchgrave, the shah explained his military expansion: "Not only do we have national responsibilities but also a world role as guardian and protector of 60 per cent of the world's oil reserves... The Nixon doctrine says the US will help those who help themselves. That's what we're doing."

Washington's Complicity

And, indeed, the Nixon administration is backing the shah to the hilt. Already more than 11,000 Iranian officers and soldiers have received military training in the US. It is acknowledged that more than 1000 US military personnel are now stationed in Iran. This represents one of the largest military "aid" programmes in Asia. Three generals direct the operations, which include training the Iranian army, "advising" the rural police force (responsible for patrolling 80 per cent of the country), handling air force cargo, as well as organising the maintenance of the sophisticated armaments and planes purchased from the United States.

In addition to advising the infantry, the US military is assigned to two naval bases, Khurramshahr and Abaden, which border on Iraq, near the Arab-Persian Gulf. There are also more than 300 US "civilian personnel" working to train pilots and mechanics in the use and repair of helicopters.

Washington has had a military assistance agreement with Teheran since 1949. About \$800 million in military aid has been given. But since 1968, when the British Government announced its intention of withdrawing its military forces from the Arab-Persian Gulf, Washington has stepped up arms sales to

In early 1973 the US Defense Department announced the biggest single arms deal ever arranged by the Pentagon the shah would buy \$2-3 thousand million in the latest military equipment, More than half of the package consists of several hundred helicopters and interceptors. Iran's 1973 military budget represents a 45 per cent increase over 1972. Announcement of the arms deal



touched off demonstrations at m throughout Iran.

The shah's troops were called it universities were closed, and, to Le Monde, at least sixteen were killed.

Nixon's ties to the shah's regime strengthened by the appointme January of Richard Helms, for director of the Central Intell Agency, as US ambassador to leading administrator of the CIA 1953, when a CIA-engineered co. overthrew Dr Mossadegh's Goven and returned the shah to power, Helwas to utilise his past in his new now as ambassador,

As right-wing commentator Joseph wrote in the Washington Post, "I has two jobs. The first fob is to as the US of an adequate supply of Iran oil - and therefore non-Arab oil case of political difficulties with the Arab oil-producers. The second to to give added toughness, direction support to the Shah of Iran's effort safeguard freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf."

The United States is the world's lan oil consumer. Currently it import million barrels a day from the Mi East, about 10 per cent of its total tion is expected to rise to 25 per In addition to its involvement in the as an oil-consuming state, the US regime is committed to protecting investments of the giant oil company that reap a 55 per cent return on petroleum investment in the Middle

In fact, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the three largest oil-producing con in the gulf - among the most repo governments in the world - have been militarily well equipped by Washing In May the Pent, gon announced the of \$500 million a arms to Saedi An and acknowledged a similar sale it working out with Kuwait, in additithe \$2-3 thousand million worth of a going to Iran.

Lee H. Hamilton, Democrat of Ind told the House of Representatives the Saudi Arabia has an ongoing progra with the United States Navy the expenditure of more than \$600 million for American equipment training. The June 1 New York To reported that Hamilton "mentioned billion pending in additional Uan States sales to Saudi Arabia, and \$500-million Saudi cash outlay is Saudi Army, " Hamilton also sald Kuwait was about to sign contract involving the expenditure of close \$600 million for American arms as

A year and a half ago the Decen 1971, London Economist noted being equipped with American British tanks... to be the defende Western interest in the Middle L The close relationship that has a between the shah and the Nixon istration has been amply ill the shah's readiness to supply regime with Phantom jets wa was unable to make a quick e delivery. In addition, the sha exchanges intelligence report military developments throu Middle East with both the Uni and Israel. The shah's milital manoeuvres in the gulf are pal pattern.

The shah's support to the Zio

l is seen in his supplying Israel with of the oil it needs and providing tankers with naval protection in rab-Persian Gulf. Hundreds of n military personnel have been dvanced training in Israel. The Wall Street Journal reported, ere are rumors that some Iranian ment was involved in Israel's new ne, which substitutes for the Suez al in moving oil from the Gulf of

The shah's plan to control the Arab-Persian Gulf includes establishing a checkpoint in the twenty-six-milewide Strait of Hormw. Iran and Oman uld exercise "joint control," but given the shah's superior military force, Teheran would be the dominating party. This move may well set the stage for dercutting the oil-producing Arab tes' demands for a greater share of profits. As Neil Ulman, reporting in the May 4 Wall Street Journal, remarked "Talk of America's energy crisis has been widely reported and read in the Middle East and used to explain why the US might want Israel and Iran to grab Amb oil on its behalf."

In addition, Iran's military presence is designed to damp revolutionary activity throughout the gulf as well as stop shipments of arms to such groups as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Occupied Arab Gulf.

Only recently the shah sent nine helicopters and at least a company of marines to help Oman crush revolutionary activity in its oil fields, according to a May 21 Newsweek report. Estimates on the number of troops sent to Oman vary from the frequently quoted figure of 300 to the Los Angeles Times report of 2900. (December 7, 1972). In addition 80 per cent of Iran's infantry is deployed along Iraq's frontier. Clashes are frequent between the shah's forces and Iraqui troops.

Of this general situation the shah commented in his interview with Borchgrave: "Some of the regimes on the other side

As the fourth largest oil-producing country in the world, and as the second largest in the Middle East, Iran produces 5.8 million barrels a day. The shah, upon returning to power in 1953, signed a twenty-five-year agreement with the Western oil consortium that produces 92 per cent of Iran's oil in an operating territory of 30,000 square miles in southern Iran. Members of the consortium include British Petroleum (40 per cent), Shell Petroleum (14 per cent), Gulf Oil (7 per cent), Mobil Oil (7 per cent), Standard Oil of California (7 per cent), Exxon (7 per cent), Texaco (7 per cent), Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (6 per cent), and the Iricon group (5 per cent). That group is composed of American Independent Oil, Atlantic Richfield, Charter Oil, Continental Oil, Getty Oil, and Standard Oil of Ohio.

expanding production to 8 million barrels a day by 1976.

The consortium spokesmen pointed out that the finances of the new agreement were comparable to those worked out by the other gulf states last January. The shah's oil consultant in Teheran added that the pact would provide long-term stability, insuring "the continuous flow of crude oil to the markets supplied by the oil companies."

Shah's Front on the

The shah's policies are closely linked to those of the US Government, and thus reflect the Moscow-Washington and Peking-Washington detentes, Iran recently signed a \$600 million contract with the Kremlin to supply the Soviet



Although the terms of the agreement do not expire until 1978, in early 1973 the shah "demanded" that the consortium either hand over its operations in 1978 or arrange a new, twenty-year supply contract. Not surprisingly, the consortium opted for the new contract, and only details and the actual signing remain. Under the new agreement, the consortium will still hold exclusive right Union with natural gas. And the shah's wife visited China last year, where she received a far more lavish welcime than did Nguyen Thi Binh, foreign minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam,

But when the shah visited the Soviet Union, he reportedly told Premier Kosygin that it would be wise to halt operation

In addition, the shah is building two giant military bases on the Indian Ocean at Chah Bahar and Jask. The base at Chah Bahar Bay in Iranian Baluchistan will be the largest of its kind in the Indian Ocian. US contractors estimate it will take 3-4 years to complete,

These huge bases are to perform internal as well as external functions. They are situated in Baluchistan, an area inhabited by 750,000 Baluchi tribespeople who are united by culture and language with one million Baluchis who live in Pakistan. They are mainly farmers or nomads. Although most of rural Iran is extremely poor - half of all villages are not accessible by road, life expectancy is forty-five years, and the illiteracy rate is high -Baluchistan is one of the most povertystricken areas of the country.

As a direct result of the Bangladesh national struggle, the Baluchi nationalist movement is gaining strength. And a Baluchi movement for self-determination would not only hinder the shah's attempts to become a power on the Indian Ocean; it could well unleash the struggles of the other oppressed nationalities living in Iran - Arabs, Kurds, and Azerbaidzhanis,

With such a potentially explosive national situation, it is no wonder that the shah considers Pakistan's safety as important as his own. The shah speaks of the Bengalis' struggle for national independence as the "dismemberment of Pakistan" and has repeatedly pledged his support to Rawalpindi if other national groups within Pakistan attempt to form their own nationstate.

The shah has taken steps to cement close ties with Bhutto, including expanding Pakistan-Iran trade and channeling Iranian investment to Pakistan. At a May 9-14 conference with Bhutto (the second one to be held in 1973), the shah emphasised the importance of Bhutto's visit to Teheran by ordering a horsedrawn coach - usually reserved for visiting royalty - for the Pakistani President. The two rulers decided to "expand and systematise" their ties in the areas of defence and economic development.

Given the fact that as recently as January 28 news agencies reported that Pakistani troops were pursuing a force of "up to 500 Baluchi rebels" into the mountains not far from the Iranian border, the development of the two military bases in Iranian Baluchistan puts force behind understand the shah's plan to provide roads, schools, jobs, and housing for Baluchistan, in an attempt to establish more effective control over the area to "Persianise" Baluchistan.

But wherever the shah turns, nationalist demands for self-determination spring up His determination to wipe out the revolutionary movement in Oman is closely related to his own security problems. There are 50,000 Baluchis working in the small gulf states, and if they link up with the revolutionary movement in the gulf states or if the Baluchis living in Pakistan are able to win the struggle for self-determination, the effect would be far-reaching. In addition to upsetting the balance of power in the Arab-Persian Gulf, such a development would give added momentum to national struggles in

been frustrated. As one Senator com- is that small producers may try to in the Federal trade com- increase their share by undercutting the Most Victorians will recall their astonish

ment when several years ago these same

American oil companies cut their local

using their superior capital reserves and

profitability to drive from the market

certain cut-price independent operators

whose sales were making inroads. The

present situation in the US is similar.

But while the Australian independent

companies appear to have mainly sold

can companies are able to monopolise

Rather than expose their operations in

a costly price-cutting war, they have

this tactic as well. The "desperate"

on the building of new refineries.

evidently decided to starve the competi-

tion out. There are other advantages in

need for increased capacity can be used

to sweep away environmental restriction

The most ironic, and ominous, aspect

of the situation is the undoubted fact

that a society as dependent as the US

Japanese-refined petrol, the large Ameri-

refining capacity much more thoroughly.

retail prices by up to 30 per cent. It

was not from generosity. They were

to the American Press, has been moving rapidly towards an 'energy crisis'. Severe shortages of gas and fuel oil are, it seems, about to squeeze prices upward and to result in the closure of thousands of gas stations across the country. The major oil companies have stated their plight flatly: "There is just not sufficient refining capacity in the United States to meet the total needs of the American public for petroleum products.

But on closer study one finds curious, contradictory facts emerging. On April 6 the director of the office of emergency preparedness reported that US refineries were running at 88.7 per cent capacity, the lowest since last December. The 1000 gas stations shut down, and the 1800 threatened with closure, fall into a significant pattern: none of them belong to the five huge oil companies which rank among the 12 largest corporations in the US. All of these stations are operated by the independent oil companies which formerly survived by buying refined petrol from the giants, and which offered them minor, but still disquieting competition.

last northern winter by pointing to shortages, every major oil company, with stocks of heating oil in August 1972 than raise prices across the board, and set they had a year earlier.

Attempts to investigate the "crisis" have

For the last few months the US, according mission puts out subpoenas to the major oil companies, directing them to testify at hearings, the major oil companies have ignored these subpoenas."

> The conclusion emerges starkly: in the eyes of the US oil companies, the industry is lacking only one thing: profit. The attitude of the industry is summed up in a headline in US News and World Report: There'll Be Enough Gas And Oil If People Pay The Price. In April retail prices of gasoline and motor products rose at an unadjusted rate of 1.5 per cent, an annual increase of 18 per cent. The five major companies already mentioned now control 32.5 per cent of the domestic market, Together with the other largest companies they are moving to drive out the independent distributors and to jack up prices. Already between the first quarter of 1972 and 1973, the profit of the five biggest companies jumped 26 per cent, with that of one jumping 43 per cent.

panies "competing" to "serve" the

Such a situation, with a variety of com-

on oil does face an energy crisis, public, is one of the ideals of liberal capitalist manipulations aside. At the capitalism. But the oil companies are present rate of expansion of oil no more interested in competition than consumption, all known reserves will big price increases for fuel oil during the they are in service. They see no reason to impoverish themselves by trying to cut be exhausted in a little over 20 years. each other's throats. By informal agree- Unless this development is anticipated ments they can divide up the market, about impoverishing the consumer, while is clear that the power of the profiteerleaving "competition" to the advertising ing oil cartel will have to be destroyed men. The only danger to this set-up

sequences are bound to be chaotic. It of the Soviet naval ships in the gulf.

While the shah is willing to work out profitable financial agreements with Moscow and Peking, he is also beginning to expand his sphere of influence even beyond the Arab-Persian Gulf into the Indian Ocean. Recently the shah worked out an arrangement with the island of Mauritius, situated off Madagascar, whereby Iran has port facilities in exchange for an undisclosed amount of aid. The Soviet Union also has fuel and vater facilities on Mauritius, as well as a naval base at Berbera, in Somaliland, on the Gulf of Aden.

Nixon's Last Option

In Nixon's message on the "energy crisis" in April 1973, he spoke of the need for "mutual co-operation" rather than "destructive competition or dangerous confrontation," By co-operation he means support to the shah's plan and forcing the Arab countries into line. But the stakes are so high that there are other options. Peter Grose, a member of the New York Times editorial board, outlined a Western security pact modeled on the cold war strategy of a quartercentury ago. "Walter J. Levy, an American petroleum consultant who has gone further than anyone in designing a Atlantic-Japanese energy partnership, Grose wrote, "argues that neither the Common Market nor Japan nor both units together could amass enough leverage, without United States participation, to break the stranglehold which the oil producing countries could soon acquire of the industrial societies."

Nixon is apparently not prepared to use that option at this point. The regimes in Israel and Iran have thus far been ab to do Washington's work. But this wea lies in the American arsenal, should Nixon's friends prove unreliable in the

of the gulf may be overthrown by extremists and the subversive activities now going on. If (the Dhofar rebellion in Oman) ever succeeded, just try to imagine what we would be faced with ... right in front of the Strait of Hormuz. At first a few rifles. And then naval guns and missiles ... I cannot tolerate subversive activities - and by that I mean anything that is imposed from the outside... If (the Iraquis) started at breakfast, they could probably take over Kuwait by lunchtime. But if the Kuwaiti Government resisted and asked for my help, they would get it instantly.

to the bulk of crude oil coming from Iran. The shah will withhold a part of the oil produced both for Iranian consumption and for export, and under the terms of the old pact, the operating territory will be reduced by 30 per cent.

The shah's Government will assume primary responsibility for running and financing the petroleum operations, while the consortium will continue to provide operating services and technical assistance. The May 25 Wall Street Journal reported that the companies have also agreed to the shah's insistence on

ON THE PICKET LINE

BHP Workers Continue Struggle

BY DAVID NIZOZ

their campaign for over-award payments. comply with the workers' demands. Their employer, the Broken Hill Pty Co Ltd, has so far refused to make any

As mentioned in previous issues of DIRECT ACTION, the BHP workers have been campaigning for a minimum over-award payment of \$18,50 a week. over-award payments and whose workers are paid the miserable award only.

As a result of the hideous policies of BHP, migrant and other workers have to live on a weekly wage of \$56,30 before tax and that already includes \$5 bonus! An hourly rate of \$1.2825 is one of the lowest rates paid to anyone at the moment.

established the principle that the award handed down by the wage-fixing authority is only a minimum, and that all means available including strike action to achieve their aim. This right is being denied by BHP and it is this right that the series of strikes has been

BHP cannot claim that it is in financial difficulties and it can't pay the rates trary, BHP has just released its latest profit figures showing that its profit has jumped \$2.6 million to a record level in the 1972-1973 financial year. Net profit rose from \$76,058,000 to \$78,632,000.

BHP's steel-making division, the centre of the current dispute, had contributed most of the increase with earnings lifted from \$7.4 million to \$13.9 million.

Instead of giving in to the just demands of the workers, BHP has threatened the 11 unions with deregistration. While the deregistration proceedings have been the real issues involved in the strike, taken very slowly the threat has remained.

In huge mass meetings in Sydney on June 26, Port Kembla on June 27 and Newcastle on June 28 the steel workers voted to temporarily suspend their rolling strikes and await the company

tion from this meeting is going to be put to mass meetings in the week commencing July 16.

The outcome of this meeting will decide whether an all-out vigorous campaign against BHP is going to take place. Only a determined effort continuing the strike Members of eleven unions are continuing action will hurt BHP and force it to

BY DOUG JORDAN

This campaign is for the right of collect- The strike at Ford's Broadmeadows plant ive bargaining. BHP is one of the very has now become a major confrontation few companies which refuses to give any between the bosses and workers fighting to maintain their standard of living. For this reason alone the Ford strikers deserve the full support of the labor movement. Ford has shown its intention of smashing the militancy of its workers and maintaining the present barbaric working conditions. With the strike now entering its eighth week the militancy and determination of the strikers to win improved pay and job conditions remains at a high level. This contrasts greatly In other industries workers have long ago with the timidity shown by the official union leadership.

Since DIRECT ACTION 43 (June 28) workers have the right to negotiate using there has been a further series of developments. Ford has attempted to isolate the Broadmeadows' strikers by playing one section of the work-force off against another. Already Ford has laid off over 1200 workers at its Geelong plant and is threatening even more layoffs. The union has failed to respond to this escalation. Ford's other plants still interstate. Ford must be convinced that to lay off workers in this fashion simply does not pay. A wide range of tactics are available to the unions up to and including the complete shut-down of Ford.

> The union leadership has also failed in the areas of publicity and finance. Since the start of the strike there has been a steady barrage of lies and distortions by Ford about the violent actions of "a minority". Despite the urgent need to counter this and explain the union leadership has not done this in a clear-cut way.

Also after eight weeks the unions' strike fund is rapidly running short. Ford's stated aim of starving the workers back to work must not be permitted to succeed. The union leadership must decision on their demands till the week immediately launch a massive camcommencing July 9. The recommenda- paign for funds throughout the labor

industrial Officer of NSW Labor Councel, J. MacBean, addresses Newcastle meeting

movement. They must clearly explain the fight being waged by the Ford workers is in the interests of all workers. Such a campaign would go a long way to maintain the morale of the strikers.

The last two weeks has seen a series of meetings between the union leadership and Ford. These meetings were partly organised by two Federal ministers, Senator Bishop and Dr Jim Cairns. Despite these meetings the dispute is no closer to settlement. Ford has remained firm in its refusal to grant any concessions or engage in any talks about pay and conditions. The strike thus appears deadlocked for the time being. One thing the rank and file must insist on is that there must be a full and complete report of all the talks between the unions and the Ford. The union leadership must not be allowed to agree to any offers made by Ford without a direct vote by the rank and file. This coupled with the militancy of the rank and file provides the basic guarantee for a successful outcome of the strike.

BY SOL SALBY

The dismissal of a fork-lift driver has resulted in one of Sydney's breweries most drawn out beer strikes. The walkout commenced on June 12 when the driver, Brian Shaw, was sacked from Tooth's Kent brewery for allegedly dropping six dozen bottles of beer and then driving over them. Members of his union, the Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association walked out ediately. 2000 more company employees, mainly members of the Federated Liquor and Allied Industries Employees Union, also went on strike the following day.

Over the next week the strike spread to Sydney's other breweries and to Toohey's brewery in Cardiff, a Newcastle suburb.

The company's claim of the deliberate destruction of the bottles has been denied by Shaw and many of his work mates. Beer bottles get damaged in the large plants on a daily basis. Shaw has said that he can produce at least seven witnesses who will deny the company's allegations. He claims that it was an everyday occurrence due to an accident, "The pallet had a broken cross-number, It was carrying 42 boxes - each with a dozen bottles of beer - and six went. And I certainly did not drive over them." Reports that the company has informed some of its customers of an impending strike some time in advance of Shaw's dismissal undoubtedly confirm the whole set-up as a deliberate provocation by the employers.

When the strike was referred to the State Labor Council's disputes committee after about a fortnight it recommended that an "independent" arbitrator investigate the matter. This "independent" arbitrator turned out to be A.L. Menser, a retired State Conciliation Commissioner. The recommendation for the unionists to go back to work while the arbitrator was investigating the dispute was accepted by the company. The strikers rejected this proposal and the company had to accept the inquiry going on while the strike continued.

The "independent" arbitrator informed the mass media that the firing was "justified" and that the strikers should go back to work before he even announces his decision to them. While the disputes committee recommended to the fork-lift drivers that they go back to work, they refused.

Only when the return-to-work motion was put to the combined meeting which included also members of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union and Builders Labourers' Federation was the manoeuvre successful.

Fight for

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

The NSW Liberal Government's accurate to defeat the State Electricity Commission workers' campaign for a 35. hour week are continuing.

So far, the method used to create opposition to the power workers! demands has been the imposition of unnecessary power restrictions on industry and the general public.

The technological developments in the power industry have more than justified the introduction of a 35-hour week, For ears the workers had been pressing for the shorter working week by using the 'proper channels" but to no avail, So the unions involved decided that their members would produce only 4100 megawatts of available power, which was enough to meet demand, Mines and Power Minister Fife responded by placing restrictions on the use of electricity by private consumers and industry throwing thousands out of work. Subsequent events showed that the restriction were deliberately applied to produce antagonism against the power workers, but this tactic failed.

On Friday, June 22, power workers generated 4100 megawatts. There were no restrictions and no excess demand, Yet Fife claimed there would be excess demand and, without restriction the power network would collapse.

Less than a fortnight later the Government was forced to lift the restrictions. There was no shortage and no breakdown, which showed that the restrictions were unnecessary. There is still only 4100 megawatts being generated.

Fife also lied about the plant generating capacity of some of the power stations. For example, he listed Tallawarra power station, at Lake Illawarra as having a present output of 100 megawatts from one working unit, Yet a maintenance worker on the plant informed DIRECT ACTION that four additional units, each generating 32 megawatts, were put on line every day in the peak usage period. Reports from other stations also indicate discrepancies between the Government's claims and the real situation,

There are several factors which forced the Government to back down, Firsth it was unable to whip up public opposi tion to the power workers. Secondly, employers were becoming upset that they were needlessly losing production. Thirdly, many workers would not accept the lay-offs. Members of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union turned up for work and switched on the power and worked machines against the employers' wishes.

Askin was finally forced to meet workers' representatives on Friday July 6. Sydney power workers demons trated their support for the 35-hour week outside the government offices where the meeting was being held.

On July 11, the 35-hour committee, composed of delegates from all job sites, decided to give Askin until July 13, to answer their claim for a short working week. Askin said he would answer on July 17. But he has already come under pressure from the NSW Employers' Federation to oppose the workers' demands,

The SEC employees and other workers must stand firm. It seems unlikely that Askin will give in but a united effort will gain the 35-hour week for al workers. The Federal Labor Government must also be forced to intervene and assist the workers. It must take over the production of electricity and put the industry under workers' control.

THE BUILDERS LABOURERS Interview with Bob Pringle

that scheme, and of course we've got an alternative plan for the Rocks which is the only one we'll build. In regard to quality we are now coming more on the offensive, but in a general way our argument has been a defensive one, that of stopping bad developments, and I think that has had the desired effect in many ways on governments and the

take note of our actions.

Pringle is the president of the New

en' Federation. The BLF has

into prominence over the recent

record as being the most

ies have gone well beyong the

e of its members rights. More

of struggling around wages and

conditions the BLF has also

n's rights and gay rights. Bob

ORECT ACTION: What was the origin

Pringle: On the Green Bans' origin you

which was on Kelly's Bush. The aim

would have to go back to the initial ban

g bushland on the Parramatta River.

lly to be in the vicinity of \$2500

fit that would appear to be a huge

three projects, at the Rocks, Darling-

harst, and Woolloomooloo, each worth

ment of the inner-city area.

million worth of bans. And on the face

cessation of work. But the work involved

\$500 million, which on their own would

change the whole character and environ-

The amount of money involved if taken

large, but in fact if it's compared with

is isolation would appear to be very

the number of universities that are

reeded, with the lack of schools that

exists, the overcrowding of classrooms

and the overcrowding of hospitals, the

centres and the general lack of finance

in the public sector, then if this \$2500

million were in fact spent on education,

health and welfare it would ease tremen-

DIRECT ACTION: Have the Green Bans

hid any impact on unemployment in the

employment in any noticeable way at

DIRECT ACTION: The Master Builders

Association tried to play up the theme

of "worker control". How do you see

workers' control in the building industry?

Pringle: As far as we are concerned the

fundamental issue on the Green Bans is

the right of workers to decide how their

fundamental and I don't believe we've

labor is to be used and I think this is very

Is the industry itself we've never tackled

the question of the buildings we actually

build. Up to this moment our main

We have only stopped buildings, we

The only exceptions have been the

Redfern housing project where we did

say that we wouldn't build anything but

haven't said what should be built instead.

emphasis has been rather defensive.

principle involved is that we have a

ight to a say in the industry. The

gone far enough.

dously the burden on individuals in our

fact that there aren't any child-care

there was to try and save the last remain-

since then the bans increased substan-

of the Green Bans? How have they

agle was interviewed for DIRECT

CTION by Sol Salby.

e questions of the environment,

for permanency in the building

trade union in the country. Its

The BLF had in the past estab-

Wales branch of the Builders

But, as I said, the question we haven't really tackled is the quality of buildings. We feel that this is an important question and it's one that can be taken up by all workers and workers' organisations in other spheres, particularly in the metal industry where the great polluters of our environment exist. Also in the packaging industry where fraudulent packaging exists, workers should also take the type of stand that we have been taking by saying that they refuse to have their labor used to dupe the public. This is what we have been saying. This is a form of workers' control.

industry which are now being forced to

DIRECT ACTION: In what way has the BLF been involved in the plan for black control of the black community in relation to the Redfern housing scheme?

Pringle: The Louis Street project is a scheme that has been drawn up by the Aboriginal community. It is an extremely exciting scheme not only for the blacks but for the whites as well, because it tackles the question of community living. It offers a solution of how to plan an already overdeveloped area in a much more congenial way. This actual scheme has been drawn up by the blacks themselves. We waived our decision not to admit any new members to the books in order to allow black workers to build the project. The scheme involves self-determination and self-help for Aborigines and it was very important and imperative that the workers who do the work should be black. So we waived the rule and allowed them to join the union and work on the

DIRECT ACTION: The BLF is probably the only union in the country which has come out unequivocally in support of the demands of the women's liberation move ment. In what way has this support been expressed?

Pringle: We fight for the right of people as individuals; the sex, race, attitude or religion of a person shouldn't be any criterion for any person to be discriminated against. We have taken the attitude that there are many jobs or duties in the building industry that can be done by women. We see no reason why a woman who is able to work and needs employment shouldn't be employed. So, we have taken the struggle up on this basis and we've been nency? successful on several occasions in having women employed in the industry, which is an innovation for Australia.

As well as supporting the right of women to equal opportunities we were one of the initiators of a newspaper advertisement calling on members of Parliament to support the McKenzie-Lamb bill liberalising abortion. And we have helped the Women's Abortion Action Campaign publicise the June 30 march.

At the moment we have just imposed a Green Ban on Sydney University. We took this action in response to students' requests for support of the struggle to organise the women's studies course in the philosophy department.

We have also indicated a similar ban could be imposed at Macquarie University. No further building action will take place unless the university administration will satisfy the students that it will no longer allow affiliated colleges to discriminate against gay students.

DIRECT ACTION: How has the opposition to the militant policies of the union been expressed?

Pringle: Since 1970 the Builders Labourers' Federation has come to the forefront as a union. This was brought about by a five-week-long strike and by a number of strikes in the industry since then. There have been many attempts by the employers, the right wing, the establishment in general, and the government, particularly the last Federal Government and the current State Government, to smash the leadership of the union.

The reason is quite obvious: our militant attitude and the fact that we have opened up new areas where traditionally unions haven't been involved. This has frightened the powers that be. So, they have tried on many occasions to smash the union by using the state powers, through the courts, the Jack Mundey contempt case, the attempts to deregister the union, a so-called extortion case during one of the strikes and, of course, on the industrial front they tried to insert a no-strike clause into our award. The aim of the last tactic was to force the Federal office to intervene and take over the NSW branch.

More recently the employers have tried a new tactic. They thought that the public would grab this question of workers' control and react against it. Their campaign started by putting ads in the papers trying to build up this question of workers' control as a communist plot and a takeover of the sacred capitalist system. But we didn't fall for that three-card trick, we kept on emphasising the issue of union hire. And, union hire is only the basis industry.

A permanent industry means 52-weeks pay a year for the workers in the industry whether employed or unemployed. It would mean that workers would have to be paid. It will lead to the employers being forced to plan the industry better.

DIRECT ACTION: What is the position at the moment? How does the recent dispute affect the struggle for perma-

Pringle: The end result of the confrontation was that we have switched the attack to smash the union to our own advantage. The matter of permanency which wasn't on the agenda until November 1974 is now the subject of a Federal inquiry. It's a positive inquiry, rather than just a talkshop. While the parties to the dispute haven't been able to agree on the terms of reference, the ACTU has adopted our terms almost in toto.



Bob Pringle

DIRECT ACTION: Outside the inquiry what were the major losses and gains in the settlement?

Pringle: To get the industry open again the master builders were grasping at straws for something to save face with. It also meant that we had to give away the question of union hire, which had only been raised for the previous two or three weeks. Union hire wasn't really a going concern because the builders refused to come to us for work. In reality the roster was only a register for unemployed workers.

Anyway that was only a tactical consideration in our struggle for permanency. You can't have permanency without a roster system.

Saying that we gave away union hire is saying that we gave away what we didn't have anyway.

What we have got in place of it is something that could be termed a victory. We have received the guarantee of union labor on all master builders' jobs. The Government also laid down other conditions: the builders had to employ everybody back, no victimisation and the union must drop the demand for union

DIRECT ACTION: How was the agreement implemented?

Pringle: On the first day the industry blew up in the first hour. There were twelve jobs in dispute between half past seven and eight o'clock. Clearly, the builders didn't want the industry to settle down. They wanted to try and create an atmosphere where they could blow it up again and maintain their attack on us. We were, however, able to stem it

DIRECT ACTION: What is the best way to help builders laborers in their cam-

Pringle: The best way is mass indications of support. The solid support from outside the union which was shown in the meeting at the Trades Hall with 300 people turning up from all walks of life was a really gratifying experience.

In that meeting of 300 people there was more practical political power than at any Trades and Labour Council meeting I have ever been to. The Trades and Labour Council take decisions to do certain things. The fact is that they don't have the capacity to do them anyway, even if they had the intent which they don't usually have.

I think that in future as these things arise, particularly if we are in a strike situation, we will certainly be calling on all those elements to come out in possibly a physical way as the dispute goes on, to support us.

DIRECT ACTION: How does trade union activity differ under the Labor Government?

Pringle: In everyday work it doesn't differ very much because we are still faced with the capitalists as an opposition. But in this particular dispute I could only say that the Labor Government played an extremely important role in bringing about the inquiry. Under normal circumstances it could have taken probably a four-to-five weeks' strike just to obtain that. In that regard it was very positive but in reality it was only the left-wing force in Caucus which fought hard for this position. At any rate in the general sense our enemy is still the capitalist.



lecent mass meeting of builders laborers



Nixon-Brezhnev Summit - No Road to Peace

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

Brezhnev's visit to the United States, from June 18 to 26 came at a good time for Nixon and for the imperialist system as a whole. For Nixon it provided a respite from the hammering he received as a result of the Watergate disclosures, and a chance to restore his lost credibility. For the US ruling class the visit provided the opportunity to consolidate the assistance of the Soviet bureaucracy in maintaining the status quo - which is what Nixon and Brezhnev mean when they talk about "securing world peace".

BACKGROUND TO DETENTE

The recent recession which started in the US in 1969 ended the economic boom which had characterised US imperialism's supremacy over world capitalism. Coinciding with this was a new upsurge of the world revolution with the Vietnamese fighters leading the offensive against imperialist rule over the colonial world.

The US ruling class began to consider more seriously the prospect of enlisting the aid of the Stalinists in providing both a partial economic panacea in the form of increased trade, and more importantly exerting pressure on the colonial liberation movements to come to terms with imperialism. As a result, the repeated offers of "peaceful coexistence" by both the reking and Mi Stalinists came to be seen as compatible with imperialist interests. Hence Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow.

THE "PETERSON REPORT"

The perspective of detente with the Stalinists was raised in the Peterson Report, prepared in 1971 by Peter G. Peterson, then one of Nixon's aides. The report outlined Nixon's New Economic Policy (NEP) in the face of the recession. The following excerpts are relevant with respect to the part that imperialism expected of the Stalinists:

"Relations with the communist world are opening up rapidly. The United States has a long way to go in matching the trade levels of East and West Europe with each other." The report noted that the US share ot total Western trade with the USSR throughout the sixties had been about three per cent of exports and two per cent of imports. Yet in that period, Western trade with the USSR had trebled, with Western European and Japanese capitalists accounting for most of the increase.

The report sought to emphasise the political gains that detente could bring rather than the economic ones:

"... if the Soviet Union should reorder its priorities and permit more foreign decision involvement in domestic cooperative ventures, significant long-run benefits of a predominantly political nature might accrue to the United States, such as: a) the potential reduction of the Soviet threat to our security... b) a degree of Soviet acceptance of the international system, implied by the USSR's permitting domestic involvement of foreign corporations as partners; and c) political advantages inherent in increasing international commercial and financial intercourse. Overall, such political gains might far outweigh the relatively modest economic returns."

THE NIXON-BREZHNEV SHOW

This perspective was strikingly borne out by the agreements that Nixon and Brezhnev signed on June 19 - each of which had been arranged months in advance

the big visit. The June 19 agreements covered transportation, commerce and oceanography (co-operation in researching these fields) and culture (both sides agreed this was a good thing and that there should be more of it.)

These agreements were followed by five more providing for the lifting of various technical and travel restrictions. Also agreed upon was the establishment of a US-Soviet chamber of commerce with offices in both countries. Like the first four agreements, these had already been approved in advance. Their signing now simply kept the detente in the news.

Even the most ardent supporters of "peaceful coesxistence" would have to admit that in terms of a detente, these agreements would not be worth more than the ceremonial bear-hugging and back-slapping that accompanied them, So, two more agreements were hauled out as well. The first of these was an agreement in principle to hold further negotiations aimed at limiting nuclear arms and co-operating in finding ways to peacefully exploit atomic energy.

The other pact, billed as the "big surprise" of Brezhnev's visit, was the "Accord on Avoiding Atomic War". This agreement had been secretly negotiated over a one-year period and was revealed only hours before its sign-

tions now going on in Cambodia were in progress when this agreement was being negotiated. And it was not raised as replying to that particular situation."

This "trust" was reaffirmed by Leonid Zamyatin, a Soviet official accompanying Brezhnev, who was asked if the accord could forestall another Soviet action like the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. He replied, "The Soviet Union always adheres to the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of another country ... If you imply that external forces could be used for changing the existing system in a country, the answer is that we have always honored our obligations as allies. And this agreement does nothing to change the obligation of the United States to its allies or change the obligation of the Soviet Union to its allies."

In other words, Zamyatin's answer is "no". The agreement entitled the Kremlin bureaucracy to continue suppressing struggles for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe, just as US imperialism would be entitled to continue its wars of aggression against national liberation struggles.

Brezhnev drove home this point in his televised speech to the American people on June 24:

"The improvement of Soviet-American



Brezhnev and Nixon. The struggles of oppressed peoples are considered "hotbeds of tensions". See page 7 for details of public meetings on the topic of the US detente with Moscow and Peking.

BEAR-HUGGING IN WASHINGTON. BOMBS ON CAMBODIA

Obviously, the US-Soviet detente cannot be gauged purely by these agreeed in The New York Times on June 23, "The underlying significance of the accord does not lie in any specific detail that the Soviet Union had worked behind but rather in the growing willingness of the United States and the Soviet Union to put on paper their trust in each other's good intentions."

The extent of this "trust" was revealed when a reporter asked presidential adviser Kissinger if the accord would have any bearing on Nixon's "good intentions" on Cambodia where US bombers were flying two hundred sorties a day. and were being held up for signing during Kissinger replied, "The military opera-

relations undoubtedly played its useful role in prompting the termination of the long drawn-out war in Vietnam." This further substantiates that the Soviet Union had actually pressured the Vietments. As Bernard Gwertzman comment- namese to accept the Paris peace accords. The New York Times reported on June 25 that Soviet diplomats had privately said the scenes to persuade the Vietnamese to negotiate with the US when they were reluctant to do so.

The Vietnamese themselves feared a continuation of this Soviet policy resulting from Brezhnev's visit. In their weekly newspaper, Nhan Dan, they implicitly attacked Brezhnev by criticising Nixon's policy of "detente among the big powers" so that the US can more easily "repress the small nations," war.

DETENTE THREATENS PALESTINAN REVOLUTION

The Vietnamese were not the only ones fear the consequences of Brezhnev's visit The Palestinian people, fighting for selfdetermination on the other side of Aria expressed the fear in various newspaper reports that Brezhney could make a dea with Nixon to pressure the conservative Arab regimes into a settlement with Israel at the expense of the Palestinian people.

Brezhnev gave every indication that they fears were well-founded. He told report. ers that the Middle East was "one of the hotbeds of dangerous tension in the world comparable to the situation in Indo-China before the Paris peace agreement. His solution, or rather his and Nixon's solution was that "in this area justice should be assured as soon as possible and a stable peace settlement reached that would restore the legitimate rights of those who have suffered from the war and ensure the security of all the peoples of that region,"

The New York Times noted the "moderate language" of this statement in "balancing Arab demands for lost territory with Israel's security interests", By "moderate", the Times meant conciliatory to the interests of Israel and imperial-

"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE": LENIN VS

The Stalinists of both the Peking and Moscow stripe attribute their peaceful coexistence policy to Lenin. This is a travesty of the truth, as the following quotation from the famous twenty-one conditions for membership of the Third International proclaimed by Lenin and Trotsky in 1920 shows:

"Every party that wishes to affiliate with the Third International must ... expose the falsehood and hypocrisy of social pacifism. It must systematically point out to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international courts of arbitration, no talk about reducing armaments, no 'democratic' reorganisation of the League of Nations will save mankind from future imperialist wars."

As the Soviet Union became more isolated, Lenin and Trotsky pursued a policy of manoeuvring between imperialist powers, making trade agreements and so on. But they never conceded the ideas expressed above in return for such agreements.

For example, Lenin would never have told the people of the world - as Brezhnev did during the summit meeting - that Richard Nixon, the Vietnam war criminal, is a "man of peace". Lenin would never have expressed "great admiration" for Richard Nixon, a leading figure in the Cold War McCarthyite purges which decimated the American left in the

It was the privileged bureaucracy, led by Joseph Stalin, which usurped power in the first workers' state and converted "peaceful coexistence" into a "principle" Brezhnev learnt "peaceful coexistence" from these grave-diggers of the Russian and world revolution, not from Lenin.

The Stalinist bureaucrats attempt to persuade people of the utterly false and utopian idea that peace can be won by toadying to the imperialists. On the contrary, such policies only strengthen imperialism's hand and embolden it to carry out even more barbarous measures which increase the likelihood of nuclear

Dean's Testimony Explodes Watergate Cover-up silence. Nixon's press secretary Ziegler

name. Dean entered Nixon's Justice

Department where his job was to spy on

and harass radical and anti-war groups.

Before the massive anti-war demonstra-

was in charge of handling negotiations

with the organisers of the action, did

phere of confrontation,

tions on November 15, 1969, Dean, who

everything possible to provoke an atmos-

In 1970 Dean became White House legal

counsel. But this was just a change in

\$US 400, 000 donation from the Inter-

corporation to the Committee to Re-

elect the President (CREEP) in return for

a favorable settlement of an anti-trust

Dean was first publicly linked with

Watergate on August 29 when Nixon

that the White House had not been

large part in the covering up of the

Watergate scandal. As the cover-ups

were exposed, Dean feared he was being

set up as a scapegoat to absolve Nixon

cover-up measures and urged that the

Nixon Administration make a clean

asked Dean to resign "because of his

from blame. He began to resist further

breast of Watergate. On April 16 Nixon

denies having written the report.

Dean organised the cover-up of a

national Telephone and Telegraph

title; his job remained much the same,

A Gallup Poll taken on June 1 revealed that two-thirds of the American people believe that Nixon was involved in the Watergate conspiracy. About half of these believe that Nixon had organised, had prior knowledge of the bugging Watergate. The remainder mainted that Nixon had no prior knowledge of Watergate, but tried to suppress it when the scandal broke. As this poll as taken before the testimony of former Vixon aide John Dean was heard by the Senate committee investigating Waterrate it is a clear indication of the widepread revulsion against Watergate and ssociated scandals.

In this climate, Dean's testimony threatened to bring Watergate to crisis point. In an attempt to avoid further exposure, Nixon launched a counter-

His first effort was to attempt to postpone Dean's testimony, set for June 28, for the duration of Soviet leader Brezhpev's visit to the US. This was announced the day before June 28. While the White House denied interfering in the Senate committee, and Senate Democratic Party leader Mike Mansfield co-operatively said that he was responrible, there were undoubtedly a number of sighs of relief in the Oval Office when the postponement was announced.

Nixon's motives were obvious. Anything which threatened to distract attention from Brezhnev's visit had to be suppressed, particularly when it threatened Nixon's political survival.

The Senate committee apparently felt likewise. Its decision to postpone Dean's testimony was almost unanimous. Even "mayerick" Republican Paul McCloskey voted for the postponement. So too did Democrats Hubert Humphery and Edward Kennedy. The only dissenter was a Republican, Senator Wiecher from Connecticut. This should dispel any remaining illusions that the Democrats would shy away from making a bipartisan effort to stop the Watergate revelations from placing the credibility of the capitalist system, as well as that of Nixon, in question.

The securing of the Senate committee's decision was a "bi-partisan effort" in more ways than one. The Soviet bureaucracy made every effort to spare Nixon and Brezhnev the embarrassment of Dean's testimony. The New York Post reported on July 19 that "it was an open secret that the Russians had forcefully conveyed their displeasure with the timing of the Dean testimony in all ways short of a formal intervention.

"Soviet officials argued that Dean's charges would amount to an indirect attack on Brezhnev for having agreed to come here at this time . . . They also acknowledged concern that the Watergate hearings would detract from Brezhnev's visit."

The Soviet bureaucracy, however, has not "acknowledged concern" that Brezhnev's visit might detract from the Watergate hearings.

The Kremlin's efforts quite cogently give the lie to Brezhnev's widely quoted remark on June 14 that "it would be quite unsuitable for me to intervene (in Watergate) in any way."

Quite the contrary! Brezhnev was only too willing to intervene in Watergate on Nixon's side. Indeed, the Soviet bureaucrats have given Nixon just about every conceivable assistance short of supplying him with electronic bugging

The testimony of John Dean is the biggest bombshell since the outbreak of the Watergate scandal. While he doubts that Nixon was not involved in the actual planning of the Watergate bugging, a qualification which is highly debatable to say the least, his evidence, largely directed at establishing Nixon's attempt to cover up Watergate, is a damning indictment of Nixon.

And by implication, Dean provides a revealing insight into the workings of the capitalist system which is central to the Watergate affair.

John Dean is indeed qualified to reveal the methods used by the ruling class to maintain its rule. A law graduate, he was sacked from his first job for having obtained a license for a client in his own

Dean reported to Nixon that Erlichmann, Haldeman and himself could be indicted. Nixon then discussed the possibility of his own indictment, a sure-fire indication of his own involvement in Watergate.

Dean also discussed with Nixon the possibility of paying off Watergater Howard Hunt who had been blackmailing the Administration. It was revealed in press reports that Hunt had been paid \$US 250, 000 to keep silent. According to the Washington Post of June 15, one of the reasons for the pay-offs was that Hunt threatened to reveal Administration's spying against radicals, political opponents and the press.

The prospect of a Senate inquiry further threatened the Nixon Administration's position. Dean, Haldeman and Erlichmann met at La Costa in February to discuss this. According to Dean, it was attributed to him a report establishing decided to "publicly encourage" the inquiry, but to "privately restrain" it. involved in the Watergate affair. Dean On February 27 Nixon told Dean that the Watergate cover-up was taking up too much time for Haldeman and Erlichman Dean admits that he had, with Haldeand that in future Dean was to report man, Erlichmann and Nixon, played a "directly" to Nixon.

ATTACKS ON RADICALS

Dean also gave a comprehensive outline of the repression of the mass movements spawned by the far-reaching radicalisation in America. Dean gave details of an Administration "spy-plan"

and CREEP "activist" who has recently admitted his complicity in Watergate. These meetings discussed a plan prepared by Liddy to spy on radicals. It included a proposal to kidnap radical leaders and hold them in Mexico until the election was over. The total cost of the plan amounted to SUS 1,000,000. It was rejected as "unrealistic" and "too expensive". At the next meeting Liddy submitted a scaled-down version on a SUS 250, 000 budget. This cheaper version was the plan which spawned Watergate. But they may as well have kept to the original one. Watergate has cost them far more than that - quite apart from the political damage. This aspect of Magruder's testimony is by far the most significant. It proves conclusively that Watergate was motivated by Administration concern at the growing opposition in the US to Nixon's aggression in Indo-China, to the oppression of women, racism, and the exploita-

informed the press on July 6 that Presi-

dent Nixon will not testify before the

Senate committee, but will make a

statement when it concludes its investiga-

that mounting public outrage not only

about Watergate but on Nixon's

MAGRUDER'S TESTIMONY

procrastinate.

gate conspiracy.

tion - in early September. It is unlikely

presidency as a whole will allow him to

Furthermore, Dean's testimony received

comoboration in advance from Jeb Mag-

ruder, who, like Dean, also made a deal

with the prosecutors to give evidence in

return for only having to be prosecuted

on one charge for his part in the Water-

According to Magruder, the Watergate

ings in January, February and March

1972. Present at these meetings were

Magruder, Dean, Gordon Liddy (finance

director of CREEP and one of the Water-

gate Seven already convicted for his role

in Watergate) John Mitchell and Freder -

ick La Rue, a former White House aide

bugging was planned at a series of meet-

tion of labor. Magruder also supplies evidence which could link Nixon with Watergate. He testified that during this period he sent reports of these meetings, including the discussion of Watergate, to Gordon Strachan, Haldeman's aide. Haldeman had been assigned by Nixon to watch the informed of important developments.

AMERICAN POWER AND THE NEW MANDARINS

Currently testifying is former election campaign director John Mitchell. Mitchell has been indicted for attempting to obstruct justice and for fraudulent electioneering activities, charges which arose out of Watergate. Unlike most of Nixon's subordinates - or, rather, former subordinates, - Mitchell has apparently decided to carry the can for his boss. Mitchell has testified that he did not tell Nixon about the Watergate bugging and cover-up until after the election.

Mitchell appears to be part of Nixon's latest ploy, to attempt to implicate his direct subordinates, Mitchell, Haldeman and Erlichmann and thus save Nixon from exposure. It is unlikely that Haldeman and Erlichmann, who are to testify after Mitchell, will be willing accomplices.

Nixon's alternatives have been considerably narrowed down by the events of the past month. Indeed, he appears to have two choices: resign or be impeached. From the point of view of the US ruling class, the former is preferable; an impeachment trial would of necessity result in disclosures that would ruin not only the credibility of Nixon, but of US capitalism. And with the US dollar being thrown into new and increasing difficulties, it is conceivable that the ruling class would decide that Nixon was no longer fit to serve their interests.

As conservative columnist Stewart Alsop commented in the July 2 issue of Newsweek, Nixon would be a "lameduck" President even if he managed to extricate himself from Watergate. And with the impetus that the struggles of the oppressed working people, women, blacks, gays, and youth have gained from the Watergate disclosures, it is possible that they might have to contend with a new executor of US capitalism in the near future.

role in the Watergate affair." Dean refused. On April 30 he was sacked, On May 5 Dean spilled the beans, in return for immunity from prosecution for his role in Watergate.

deference" to Nixon-Brezhnev meetings.

Dean's devastating testimony implicating Nixon in Watergate was postponed "in

"GOOD JOB, JOHN"

Dean testified that he discussed the Watergate cover-up with Nixon "about 35 or 40 times," The White House initially denied this as a "vile slander". It was subsequently forced to admit that the discussions in fact took place. It was significant that the Senate committee refrained from asking Dean about the nature of his discussions with Nixon. Rather it sought to downplay them. For example, Dean was asked why, if he thought his discussions with Nixon were important, he did not keep a written record of them. Dean replied, "I thought them very incriminating to the President of the United States."

Dean's testimony certainly was. After the announcement of the indictments of the Watergate Seven, Dean reported to Nixon on September 13. Nixon reportedly said, "Good job, John, Bob (Haldeman) has been telling me what a fine job you've been doing."

When the initial revelations of Watergater James McCord threatened to

devised in 1970 aimed at harassing antiwar, women's liberation, black and lab-or activists. Dean claimed that he was told by Haldeman in August to "get the plan implemented." We have reported on examples of this repression in previous issues of DIRECT ACTION.

The movement of black people for selfdetermination has been one of the hardest hit by Watergate-type repression on the part of the Nixon Administration, With the disclosure of these methods, such as the campaign against civil-rights leader Martin Luther King, and the violent attacks against the militant Black Panther Party, black activists are now demanding an inquiry into this repression.

Dean also announced the existence of a "hate list", consisting of radicals, prominent public figures, such as antiwar actress Jane Fonda, and Democratic politicians. Radical groups, such as the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party and others are also "on the list".

Dean's testimony has cancelled out several of Nixon's options on the Watergate affair. Administration attempts at character assassination, allegations of "lying" (!) and finally the ridiculous charge that Dean master-minded the Watergate affair and then tried to pin it on Nixon have been replaced by stony

Peronist Shoot~out in Argentina



BY MIKE JONES

Over 30 people were killed and over 300 wounded in a shoot-out between opposing factions of the Peronist movement during a demonstration of welcome for former President Peron.

The fighting was followed up on July 1 with the takeover of the national office of the Partido Justicialista (Socialist Justice Party) by 3000 members of the left wing of the Juventud Peronista (JP UP - Peronist Youth, the youth group of the Social Justice movement). La Fiamma, an Australian Italian-language newspaper, claimed on July 2 that the invasion was carried out "... to protest against the right-wing network (the 'machine' of the movement and some trade-union sectors) which they accuse, amongst other things, of having provoked the shooting which turned the old Caudillo's (Peron) return to the fatherland into a funeral.

"The strongest accusations," continued La Fiamma, "were directed at Colonel Jorge Osinde, the person responsible for the celebrations in honor of Peron. Osinde had 'armed 300 men'.

The two incidents reflect the increasing olarisation within the Social Justice movement. Peronism, while remaining a bourgeois ideology with bourgeois aims and controlled by the ruling classes, has managed to attract to itself the support of masses of Argentine workers and students. This is sometimes called the "cult of Peron". It grew up around the General during the previous Peronist Government, overthrown in 1956, and was strengthened by seventeen years of military dictatorship. The Argentine workers remember Peron as the only President who ever did anything for them. His image has been almost deified by some people during his years of exile in Spain. However, harsh reality has made itself felt in the impatience of the working class and student supporters of

The internal conflicts within the movement are best seen in the antagonisms between the JP and the Rama Gremial (Trade-Union Branch). The Rama Gremial demanded that the JP keep its nose out of trade-union conflicts (the IP has been active in the workers' movement for some months, see DA 43). The IP answered that "... if the workers' delegations come to the delegates of the IP, it must be because they have no faith in their union leaders."

A significant force in the internal conflict are the armed Peronist groups. Two major organisations, the Montoneros and the Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas (Peronist Armed Forces) have declared that they will not allow anybody, especially Trotskyists, to attack the Government, verbally or physically. If they decide to line up with one or the other of the warring factions inside the Social Justice movement they could very well be the decisive factor in the struggle, At present, they pledge undying support for Peron, which means they are more likely to side with right than the left. If so the possibility of the Peronist union bureaucrats using them against the workers is not unlikely. They did not hesitate to use thugs to smash up rankand-file meetings during the elections.

WAGES SELL - OUT

"It is enough to read the editorials of the

oligarchy; it is enough to listen to what the leaders of the Union Industrial, the Sociedad Rural (Rural Society) and the Confederacion General Economica (General Economic Confederation) to understand that if the bosses are happy, it is because the workers have been cheated."

These words appeared on the front cover of the June 13-20 edition of the Argentine revolutionary-socialist newspaper, Avanzada Socialista. They refer to the recent declarations of Hector Campora, newly-elected President of Argentina who was hand picked for the presidency by Peron. Avanzada Socialista continues:

"The trickery is a rise of 20,000 old pesos (\$A14 a month) when inflation, between December and June ate up almost 30,000. Trickery is what they have done to the pensioners. Trickery is increasing the price of transport, light and gas and authorising the bosses to raise prices. Trickery is freezing wage discussions for two years.

"They have given the name 'Acta de Compromiso Nacional' (National Compromise Act) to this trickery. It is none other than the old Gran Acuerdo Nacional applied by Campora and authorised by Rucci (of the Confederacion General del Trabajol General Confederation of

The increase in wages, amounting to 13 per cent or slightly more than half of the 24 per cent given by the military dictatorship in 1967, arises from the "Social Truce" declared by Campora and the

pact between the CGE and the CGT. Barely over a month ago, Rucci demanded an increase of 35,000 old pesos per month as being the minimum necessary for relieving the hardships of the Argentine workers. Avanzada Socialista commented:

"We cannot accept in any way the fraud which the agreement offers us. It was the trade union leaders who signed the blank cheque for the bosses. The pact has been discussed and resolved above our heads.

"Therefore, we must demand from the factories the formation of Assemblies and call for a true rank-and-file congress of the CGT to work out a battle plan which will get a new rise of 50,000 pesos with a basic wage of 150, 000 and the opening of parity talks to discuss a conclusive salary in immediate terms. This salary must be mobile and increase automatically with rises in the cost of living."

THE EXPELLED WORKERS

After wages, the next most important issue for Argentine workers is the reinstatement of thousands of workers laid off for political reasons by the military dictatorship. The Peronists have tended to wash their hands of these workers. Jorge Dall'aglio, General Secretary of the Government of the State of Cordoba, went so far as to say, "We can't attend to all the problems that are facing us. The dictatorship left us a country in ruins and we can't look after everything at once. We can't oblige

private enterprise to respect our desire that they reinstate the expelled workers,

You will have to go to your respective unions and channel your demand through them." Thus, the Peronist officials said they could do nothing and advised the workers to take their claims to the Peronist union bureaucrats. The bureaucrats, however, have been just as unhelpful. Many of them actually upport the expulsions. (see DA 43).

The Partido Socialista de los Trabajadore (Socialist Workers Party) has offered a solution which more and more worken are taking up, "...it is impossible to passively hope that by the mere fact of high-level talks the reincorporations will be achieved... Experience teaches that the only way out is mobilisation,"

Afrique Asie, Paris; Abone!, Santo Domingo; PUBLISHED IN NEW YORK Avanzada Socialista, Buenos Aires; Bandera Roja, Mexico City; Bandiou Rosse, Rome, There is only one way to get the Bobenia, Havana; La Breche, Lausanne; Chron- news of the world without having a ide of Current Events, USSR; Direct Action, subscription to Intercontinental Press-Sydney; Ettalaat, Teheran; La Gauche, Brussels; Hsinbua, Hong Kong; Inprekorr, Stuttgart, Izvestia, Moscow; Klassdamper, Aarhus, Denmark; Klassenkampf, Luxembourg; Labor Challenge, Toronto; La Rai, Calcutta; Libera. and the language skill, you would still tion, Montreal; Mancha, Montevideo; Mayoria, miss the special quality that makes le, The Militant, New York; Le Monde, Paris; other weeklies - analyses of events by La Nacion, Buenos Aires; The New York Times; Paking Review; Permanente Revolution, Berlin, German Federal Republic, Pravda, Moscow; gium; Rouge, Paris; Revolucion Penuous, Lima; not easily obtainable elsewhere. Revolucion Socialista, New York; Rude Pravo, Prague, Sakai Kukumai, Tokyo; Socialist Ac-

Mannheim, Germany.

read each of the above newspapers, and more.

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Wilson Challenges Labour Executive

Mr Harold Wilson yesterday served office that he did not intend to lead the bour Party into the next election with mitment to nationalise 25 of tain's largest companies hanging round ical staff writer David McKie on

Two days earlier, on May 30, the wenty-nine-member National Executive unittee (NEC) had approved by seven ves to six a commitment not only to ionalise twenty-five of Britain's est companies, but also to create a Stional Enterprise Board with farreaching powers of intervention and equisition in private industry.

The small vote was due to the fact that thirteen of the NEC members either did not attend or drifted out during the debate. Three members abstained, luding Wilson, who as party leader mrently always abstains in NEC

The proposal to nationalise the twentyfive companies will now be part of a olicy document to be published and ebated at the next annual conference a October. If it is approved by twohirds of those voting at the party conference, those responsible for drafting the next election manifesto will be hard put to justify its exclusion.

According to Michael Hatfield's report to the London Times on May 31, during the debate Wilson twice told the NEC that the party's manifesto committee, when it eventually meets, has the right o veto the NEC's decision.

On the day after the NEC's decision, Wilson issued a public statement making t clear that as far as he was concerned the shadow Cabinet would not be dictated Whitlam Rejects Cuban Consulate

The Whitlam Government has rejected a

that "the matter will be reconsidered at

the major factor in the Government's

a later date." According to the Review,

The Cubans initially made their request

March this year, and exploratory discuss-

ions took place. The Australian Ambas-

sador to the US, Sir James Plimsoll was

connection" being made. The US Gov-

ernment was not directly approached.

Plimsoll then sent a report to the Aust-

ralian Government which apparently led

Whitlam to conclude that the US would

sugar exports if he agreed to the Cuban's

Although the question of relations with

Cuba was less controversial in Australia than Whitlam's establishing relations with

China, North Vietnam and the German

Democratic Republic (East Germany),

particularly in view of the fact that

Australian relations with Cuba had

never been formally broken off, the

Cuban proposal evoked fierce opposition

from US imperialism, US - Australian

relations were already strained as a

Whitlam's Cabinet condemning US

result of statements from members of

projected diplomatic ties with Cuba

aggression in Indo-China. Further, the

clashed with US imperialism's policy of

containing the revolutionary upsurges in

The threatened US reprisals against Aust-

sugar exports are partly based on quotas

threatening to cut off these exports, US

ment to stay in line. Such threats are

ments to support its foreign policy on

Imperialism forced the Whitlam Govern-

ilso part and parcel of US imperialism's

policy of forcing Latin American govern-

the Financial Review commented that

he Australian Government's rebuil to

ralian sugar and meat exports must be

seen in this light. Australia's present

that were formerly held by Cuba. By

isolating the Cuban workers' state and

Latin America.

retaliate against Australian meat and

later sounded out about Nixon's likely

reaction in the event of the "Cuban

to Australian diplomats in Tokyo in

request from the Castro Government in

Cuba to set up a consulate in Sydney.

The June 11 Financial Review repor

decision was fear of US economic

reprisals against Australian exports.

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

to by the NEC, or by the party conference inherent source of conflict inside the for that matter, when it came to drawing Labour Party: up a general election manifesto.

Perhaps the most telling comment came from Lord George-Brown, former deputy leader of the Labour Party, who could not understand why Wilson had issued the statement.

"All he had to do yesterday, really," said George-Brown, according to the June 1 Times, "was to rally the colleagues, say he was going to vote against it, and to vote against it."

This suggests that the rift is perhaps deeper than it appears. Certainly Wilson's difficulty now, which he undoubtedly was conscious of, is that he has reawakened the important argument about who should run the Labour Party conference or the parliamentary leader-

In his challenge to the authority of the conference, Wilson is claiming that the manifesto committee, which is composed of the shadow Cabinet and the NEC, has a veto over what goes into the election manifesto. Supporters of this veto "right" - the party right wing and the bourgeois press - base their argument on an ambiguity in the party constitution, which gives the conference control over the programme but does not mention the election manifesto,

The constitutional ambiguity, however, merely reflects the tension inherent in the Labour Party because of its workingclass base and its bourgeois programme. After electoral defeats, and more especially in periods of radicalisation, this underlying conflict tends to become manifest. In its June 1 editorial, the Times, which reflects the interests of the British ruling class, underlined the

"The Labour Party, unlike the two other parties now represented in Parliament, was created after the formation in Britain of mass political organisations including trade unions. The mass party was not organised as an electoral adjunct to a parliamentary interest. On the



Harold Wilson

contrary a parliamentary organisation was formed to advance interests that were already organised outside Parliament. This gave the extra-parliamentary organisation a sense of sovereignty; and that was embodied, along with various fruitful ambiguities, in the party constitution."

Over the years, this conflict between the party's base and its parliamentary adjunct has frequently asserted itself,

albeit distortedly, in internal power struggles. The immediate source of the current dissension is not difficult to locate. "The present struggle," notes even the Times editorial, "the usual amalgam of personal ambition and political conviction, goes back to the disillusionment of politically active trade unionists and constituency members with the Wilson administration in its later years."

Wilson's response would be inexplicable if he did not feel a potential challenge to his conservative leadership. But he must also have sensed that he was not at this stage seriously threatened by the party's "left wing".

This so-called left wing restricts its "challenge" to manoeuvres within the party's upper echelons. Some leftwingers, such as Anthony Wedgewood Benn, held major offices in the last Labour Government and themselves bear responsibility for the Tory victory in the 1970 general election. Their own interests are thus more closely aligned with the party's electoral course than with the real needs of the working class.

Even the proposal to nationalise twentyfive large companies frightened Michael Foot, the most outspoken Labour "leftwinger". Foot argued against specifying the number of companies, apparently believing it would be exploited by the Tories and be detrimental to Labour's electoral chances.

And to be sure, by the time of the Labour Party's conference in October, expert devisers of formulas will be at work. Among them probably will be Judith Hart, the NEC member and former minister who with Wedgewood Benn has been the "champion" of the "twenty-five" proposal. Wedgewood Benn, the former party chairman and Minister of Technology in the last Labour Government, said in a television programme on June 3 that his "left wingers", in the twenty-five companies proposal, were really looking ahead over ten to fifteen years.

Clearly, what motivates the "left wing" as well as the rest of the Labour leadership is a keen sense of what is the least risky road to winning the next general election. Wilson, still the best defende: of the party leadership's narrow interests, understood this point, and it is this that ompted his statement asserting that the shadow Cabinet would not be bound by the NEC decision.



Fidel Castro

far the present Labor Government is, or is not, prepared to go in pursuing its world opening to the left at the expense of economic factors." While this factor was important in

Cuba "gives a significant insight into how

influencing the Whitlam Government decision, in our view the primary cause flows from Whitlam's foreign policy. As Sol Salby commented in Labor in Power (see DIRECT ACTION 40), "The role of a go-between, of a 'neutral' miniimperialist power which is still allied to the United States, Japan, and other imperialist powers, but which attempts to join the neutral countries. . . is the role reserved for Australia."

Whitlam's foreign policy, even its most progressive aspects, clearly do not attempt to go beyond these limits. It is the task of socialists in the AIP to fight for a foreign policy based on unconditional defence of the workers' states, and on opposition to imperialist ventures in Indo-China and elsewhere.

BY JOHN COLEMAN

The Alternative Rhodesian Information Centre has sponsored a tour of Australia by the external representative of the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) African National Council, Edison Zvobgo, Zvobgo spoke at several public and trade-union meetings in most Australian cities on the situation in Zimbabwe and in Southern Africa as a whole.

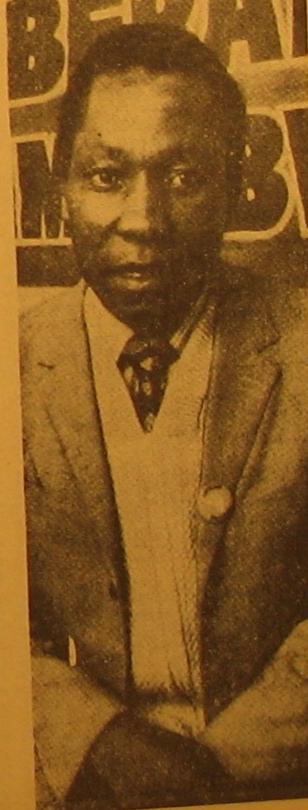
The situation in Southern Africa has been characterised by a renewed upsurge in the struggle against imperialism and against the white supremacist Smith and Vorster regimes which defend its interests. National liberation struggles in Mozambique and Angola have broken new ground in the last few years. And the radicalisation is steadily penetrating the heartland of white racist reaction, South Africa itself, as the intensified student and labor struggles this year have shown,

In Zimbabwe, Zvobgo reported that the struggle for majority rule has greatly strengthened, since the upsurge in late 1971 against the deal on Zimbabwe's

future between Rhodesian leader Smith and British Prime Minister Heath. This deal, which was overwhelmingly rejected by the people of Zimbabwe, effectively postponed majority rule for the black people of Zimbabwe (who comprise 85 per cent of the population of Rhodesia) indefinitely.

The Smith regime has taken repressive measures to stifle this dissent. A political commissioner was appointed to impose unlimited fines on any community "if he is satisfied" that any one of its members has committed one of a wide range of offenses against "security.

Zvobgo joined the African National Congress, one of the early black nationalist organisations in 1958. Following the suppression of this organisation he helped form the Rhodesian National Democratic Party, which was outlawed in 1962. Zvobgo subsequently spent seven years in Smith's prisons, being released in 1971. He then joined the African National Council which arose in reaction to the above-mentioned Heath-Smith deal.



Edison Zvobgo

NSW ALP "Left" Takes Another Step Back

BY FRANK CARPENTER

The so-called "left-wing" Combined Unions and Branches Steering Committee of the NSW branch of the Australian Labor Party has again been spurred into action by the bureaucratic manoeuvrings of the NSW branch officers. Typically, the name of the game is electoral numbers: the steering committee leadership is outraged at the actions of the officers in allowing the last congress of the NSW branch to carry a change in the rules which provides for ALP candidates for the NSW Legislative Council and the Senate to be elected by the 500 member NSW State council, instead of by a 140 member electoral convention, which was the previous method.

A mass meeting of the NSW "left" was held on Friday June 29 to consider the high-handed manner in which the new rule was introduced: most observers agree that the motion of Fred Bowen president of the NSW Trades and Labor Council, and Barry Unsworth, the council's organiser, that introduced the rule change at the congress was unconstitutional, and should have been disallowed by president Ducker. Instead, the organisers of the meeting were able, by sleight of hand, outright deception, and, unfortunately, with considerable support from branch members, to push through a resolution which made it clear that the real thing panicking the steering committee was the startling realisation that with preselection now in the hands of State council, there would be no more easy jobs in the upper house and elsewhere for the candidates of the "left".

The steering committee's nightmare was all too clear. Up until now, the steering committee has been able, by playing the numbers game in the local branches, to place itself in a better position in the electoral conventions than in the State council. This is because the electoral conventions contained a greater representation from the branches, whereas the State council, established by Federal intervention in 1971, guarantees a sixty per cent representation from trade unions affiliated to the party.

The strength of the left at present resides n the branches. The right has the numbers in the trade unions, particularly in the larger ones like the Federated Ironworkers Association, the Australian Workers' Union, and the Federated Clerks Union. The steering committee, rather than seeking to change the orientation of the unions by sheer hard work and political struggle, chooses the easy road and fights for greater representation on the part of the branches in the policymaking bodies. The right, of course, is happy to hold onto its control of the unions and maintain union domination of the party.

In this respect, therefore, both right and left hold purely pragmatic views as to which section of the party should dominate its decision-making bodies. There is no doubt, for instance, that If the orientation of the unions were to change in favor of the left, the right would have no hesitation in attempting to switch the power back to the branches, Neither side has a political approach to the question of union or branch domination of the party.

The essential political aspect evaded by both right and bureaucratic left is that the ALP with the working class as its base should have its policies formulated by, and its leaders selected by, that very same working class, at this time organised in trade unions. This union base is the strength of the ALP. To allow this situation to obtain, socialists should strive to have the decision-making and preselection bodies dominated by the trade-union representatives in (at least) the 60-40 proportion that presently exists in the NSW branch, and to have the officers and candidates elected by proportional representation from these

The steering committee displays its lack of political perspective by attempting to block any moves for greater democracy in the party. Instead, haunted by the prospect of its favorite sons failing to and any more cushy jobs in Parliament, it seeks to preserve the old undemocratic

The right, for its part, wants to isolate the left as much as possible, and, taking advantage of the left's political weakness, has tried, at the congress, to increase its power. We don't suggest for

one moment that the right has democratic hearts of gold. It's quite clear that the rules change was instituted for no other reason than to attack the left, and without the vocal opposition of Bruce Childs and Tom Uren the party officers would have been quite happy to have the rules changed so that the pre-selections would be conducted by the totally undemocratic first-past-the-post system, When the furore created by Uren had reached its peak however, the officers backed down and promised that the preselections would be conducted by proportional representation,

The mass meeting called by the steering committee was the best attended for a long time. With about 400 present, it was even larger than most of the socalled "Balanced Leadership" meetings held in 1971 to discuss the restructuring of the State branch.

The meeting commenced with a report on the situation by Bruce Childs, assistant general secretary of the NSW branch. After an inconsequential address by Joe Kelly, president of the NSW parliamentary party, the chairman, Mert O'Brien of the AMWU, threw the meeting open for questions and discussion.

Up until this point, all reports and comments had been in the official steering committee vein. It was stressed that Ducker was a nasty man (a point upon which very few present disagreed), but also what a distasteful situation he had brought about, with this new system of pre-selection (a point upon which there was considerable disagreement). And the disagreement started to come thick

It is often a good tactic for a crafty chairperson to allow a good deal of discussion after reports, because at this time any person who has an opposing point of view can be expected to come forward and have a say, without being able to speak to a specific motion before the meeting. Then, when the heat is off, the organisers spring up a motion they

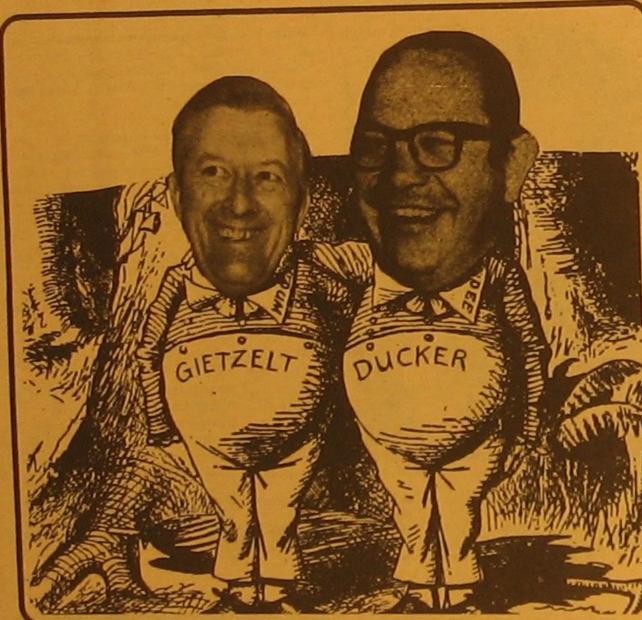
the meeting didn't know (although a few old-timers were able to guess), was that the steering committee had a motion to be proposed by Jack Ferguson MLA which put their view. This motion was already duplicated, and was to be sprung upon the meeting when the heat was off. They knew very well that to raise their motion as an amendment to Petersen's would have many disadvantages, not the least of them being that Petersen would retain the right of reply.

Petersen was therefore (politely) told to sit down and wait until later because it wasn't time for motions yet, although O'Brien had clearly called for questions and discussion (which can usually be interpreted to include motions).

Actually, if the organisers had played the game with bit more honesty, no one would have quibbled with their desire to propose the substantive motion. In fact it could be considered quite incompetent if not dishonest, for the organisers of such a meeting not to propose a substantive motion to the meeting, provided it be circulated in plenty of time, and proposed very early in the meeting so as to allow a maximum of pertinent

As it was, the whole meeting was badly managed, leaving one with the impression that the steering committee could probably teach Ducker and friends a thing or two in the art of getting people's backs up. Several points of order from Bob Gould, a former Socialist Left activist served to further aggravate the situation when they were disallowed by the chairman.

The situation was very confusing and much time was lost through O'Brien's insistence that questions and discussion only were allowed at this time. At one stage he guaranteed Gould the next opportunity to speak and then ignored this undertaking when Gould attempted to take his turn. Instead, he called upon Jack Ferguson to make his grand entry with The Motion.



just happened to have ready, and the motion gets through without much discussion because all its opponents have already spoken before the motion appears

It appears that the steering committee had this scenario in mind, although things certainly didn't work out to their complete satisfaction, mainly because their intentions very soon became clear to the meeting.

Their undoing came in the shape of George Petersen MLA, who immediately proposed a motion in direct opposition to the steering committee leaders' calling upon the Federal executive to ensure that the new rule be implemented, with proportional representation. O'Brien allowed Petersen to speak to his motion for a while, so that he, presumably, could figure a way out of the situation. It was important to the organisers that their motion be the one around which the discussion should be centred. What

The motion had a few unkindly things to say about Ducker, Unsworth and Bowen, and implored us to recall the glorious days when "true balance" existed in the party, before the new rule had been so ruthlessly imposed. Its clear intention was to use the bureaucratic tactics of the officers as a pretext to raise the issue of the rule change. There was an obvious bias throughout the motion in favor of the previous preselection method, culminating in a call upon the Federal executive to "set aside" the decision of congress.

Gould finally got his chance to speak after the Ferguson motion was seconded by Senator Arthur Gietzelt, He (Gould) spoke against the motion and in favor of the amendment that had been foreshadowed by George Petersen. When he attempted to inject a little politics into the debate he was incessantly and brutishly heckled, particularly by one Peter Crawford, a branch member from Sydney's northern suburbs. Crawford was

allowed to heckle Gould without ruption, while the chairman had been quick to call Gould to order during earlier stages of the discussion

Shortly after this George Petersen was allowed to move and speak to his amendment. He and his seconder, Rod Webb, vice-president of the Macquaris University ALP Club, sought to amend the Ferguson motion so that while the party officers were condemned for their rough tactics, the Federal executive was requested to direct the NSW administrative committee to implement the rule change with proportional representation

Others to speak in the debate were Senator Lionel Murphy and Tom Uren Both urged that the debate not be centred around the validity of one or another form of pre-selection, but concentrate on attacking the right-wing leadership of the NSW branch. Both of course called for support for the Ferguson motion, which was clearly biased in favor of the old system, although it was denied that this bias even existed.

It was particularly moving to hear Senator Murphy tell us that we should stand up and fight for principles now. or we won't have any principles left. even more so when one considers that it is many years since the good senator has attended a steering committee meeting, when there were lots of other fights for principles going on. Funny how important principles become when your job's at stake.

By this time it was clear that the steering committee leadership was going to win the day with a motion that they claimed was non-committal on the question of pre-selection methods even though it called for the rule change to

An unsuccessful move to halt this deception was made by Bob Pringle, NSW president of the Builders Labourers' Federation. He proposed that the meeting adjourn to discuss a motion of his calling upon the Federal executive to dismiss the chairman of the congress, John Ducker, for allowing a breach of the rules by Unsworth and Bowen, While Pringle favored the Petersen amendment, he was concerned that the meeting to the main target of any protest: the party officers. He suggested that the meeting should first get this matter out of the way and then proceed to argue out the question of the best method of pre-selection. Unfortunately, Pringle's move came too late in the evening and the adjournment motion was lost. It was a shame that Pringle didn't have the opportunity to discuss the question of pre-selection by a union-dominated State council, because his specific experience in the Builders Labourers' Federation would have been an eloquent rebuttal of the arguments against political struggles in the right-wing unions; the BLF was dominated by a gang of right-wing thugs not so many years ago, and it is now the most democratic and most militant union in the

The gag was applied shortly after this, and Ferguson closed the debate by exercising his right of reply. His motion was carried overwhelmingly.

Against opposition the chairman closed the meeting immediately after the vote was taken. One can assume that the steering committee wasn't interested in any more discussion; they had what they came for. It can also be assumed that the leaders were afraid that someone was going to propose - heaven forbid - more mass meetings. Next they'll want to discuss political questions!

So ended another of the few mass meetings of the NSW steering committee. The "left" bureaucrats had provided yet another demonstration of their base pragmatism and political impotence, and leaving us all wondering what on earth John Ducker was talking about when he called the steering committee "dangerous". The only positive aspect of the whole exercise is that it does provide a thorough object lesson in how not to oppose the right wing in the ALP. To all intents and purposes, the right and the "left" are moving closer together in the NSW ALP, not only in policies, but in practices as well. It illustrates once again the absolute necessity to fight around a clear, principled programme, and the need to build a socialist alternative to the bureaucratic leadership.

abor and Foreign Investment room and arrest the managing director,"

> "Maybe he did more to cause the violence than anyone else - I don't know what the facts are.

he said.

The recent criticism by top Labor govern-

ational corporation, General Motors-

volden, in its decision to replace an

Australian with an American citizen as

managing director highlights a key

spect of the Whitlam Government's

trategy in industrial relations. The

labor Government is attempting to forge

position for itself as the leading wing

Australian nationalism. This is one

the demands of the trade union move-

ment while gaining the support of a

dgnificant section of the Australian

employing class.

opect of a strategy aimed at restraining

Verbal (and some legislative) attacks on

foreign control of industry can simultan-

ortant part of the Australian capitalist

Minister for Overseas Trade took the

lead. He was quoted as saying in the

sorsly accommodate the needs of an imp-

class while persuading Australian workers

to back Australian bosses against foreign

ones. In the GM-H case, Dr Cairns, the

June 8 Australian: "The assumption that

there is not an Australian available with

The decision not to appoint an Austra-

lian to this position displays a remarkable

imensitivity to Australian national feel-

*The Australian public has already

become increasingly concerned at the

their own resources, industries, and

diminishing control by Australians over

They are also concerned that in many

positions in overseas-owned companies."

The Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam,

weighed in soon afterwards with the

very ill-timed, and I have no doubt

sequence." (The Melbourne Herald

June 19, 1973)

their (GM-H's) sales will suffer as a con-

This is only one such case. Criticism of

ctions of the multi-national giants has

the lack of Australian control over the

been increasingly common from Labor

government ministers. An important

example was provided during the Ford

dispute involving striking assembly line

workers. Federal Minister for Labour,

Clyde Cameron, felt obliged to attack

the Ford Motor Company and suggest

responsible for the "violence" of striking

Speaking on the commercial television

"I don't like a situation in which Aust-

are being made in the board rooms of

This is something that is very bad.

become the meat in the sandwich.

He said police should make arrests if

Ford strikers at the Broadmeadows

they could find the persons responsible

for the "violence" (i.e. the actions of

"It is a foreign company, it is owned

by foreigners. Its policy is being made

by foreigners and Australian workers have

ralian workers have to fight an industrial

contest against somebody whose decisions

that perhaps the company itself was

programme Federal File he said:

Ford workers in Melbourne,

cases Australians in their own country

are debarred from top managerial

the right qualifications and qualities is

ment ministers of the giant multi-

"Maybe we should send somebody to New York and have a look at the board room and the directors there to see whether they might have been partly responsible for the emotions that caused the violence."

Cameron went on to suggest that the Government would have been able to readily solve the dispute if the Liberal Opposition majority in the Senate had not rejected the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. The bill would have enabled a judge to conciliate and, if

interest between Australian workers and bosses. This process must be hastened by a clear rejection by socialists of any ties to Australian nationalism. This is a pre-condition for the full development of the socialist movement in this country.

Reactions by supporters of Australian capital to Whitlam, criticism of the GM-H appointment of an American as its new chief in Australia reflect the interests and views of different sections of the employers. The neanderthal laissez faire view was well expressed in a letter in the Australian Financial Review of July 5 which stated, in part:

"If the management and share-holders of General Motors want to assign another executive, or a prince or even an ape to

working class has no homeland. A leading member of the CPA is here putting forward a classic position of class collaborationism. Whose are these "national interests"? They are certainly not those of the working class. Rather they are those of the "national capitalists" who seek some independent room for manoeuvre, and the support of their employees in their struggle for advantage with the capitalist classes of other nations. The multinational corporations straddle all "national interests" in the final instance. But it is a betrayal to seek to defeat the international monopolies by uniting around the "national interest" of an advanced capitalist country like Australia. Right now, Australian capitalists are

person could decisively affect GM-H's

"The company has shown in this and

Is this the view of a socialist? The

other countries that if its interests con-

flict with national interests it will pursue

its own interests with considerable vigor."

seeking their own sphere of domination abroad. Australian mini-imperialism in New Guinea and South East Asia is a growing force. The largest Australian owned company, Broken Hill Pty Co Ltd, has recently announced a massive exploration programme in South East Asia." (The Age June 28 1973). Millions of dollars are being poured into the search for oil, natural gas and minerals in Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia. This is a national interest which must be fought uncompromisingly by the workers' movement in the interests of internationalism.

Australian nationalism is reactionary through and through. It is the nationalism of a minor imperialist power, a junior partner (and competitor) of the giants like the USA, Japan and the European Economic Community. Australian nationalism is chauvinist, militarist, racist and insular. And the nationalism of the Australian labor movement has reflected this most tragically.

Gough Whitlam and his Government seek to harness this nationalism, moderate its most obviously racist characteristics, modernise it, and utilise it for the strengthening of Australian capitalism. The active support for this new nationalism shown by a large section of the left, most notably the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) and the Worker-Student Alliance, but tailed by much of the CPA (and the Labor left) can only set back the socialist movement in this country. A true internationalism must be based on repudiation of Australian nationalism, as the nationalism of an advanced, capitalist, oppressor nation, and active support for the national selfdetermination of colonial peoples whose national struggles have the real thrust of socialist liberation,

The Whitlam leadership of the Labor Party takes up the cudgels for nationalism as an important part of its strategy for maintaining the status quo, by diverting the thrust of the present movements for social change. The real context of this "national independence" is shown by the Prime Minister's reassertion of Australia's close ties with the US. This was the reassurance Nixon needed for the PM's visit to Washington to be approved. The fight against nationalism must be taken up on every level - in world affairs, the economy and internal politics. This is one of the key tasks facing socialists in Australia today.

matement: "I think the appointment was Should workers support one capitalist against another? manage a corporation they own, who

necessary, arbitrate in the dispute. But this could not be done under the present legislation, he said.

This exercise in demagogy by Clyde Cameron illustrates the way in which appeals to nationalist feelings amongst Australian workers can be combined with a conciliationist approach to settling industrial disputes in an attempt to take the heat out of militant confrontation between workers and their employers. Blaming "foreigners" in New York for the super-exploitation suffered by Ford assembly-line workers diverts a challenge to the system of capitalist ownership of the means of production itself. It fends off questions about the role of Australian employers and managers as partners in crime with the capital-

ist classes of other countries.

The fundamental identity of interest between Australian employers and their overseas counterparts remains despite continual competition for individual advantage. The ironical thing about the Ford strike is that nearly all the workers involved are migrants, who can feel no bond at all with Australian managers and employers. It is precisely the impact of the large sector of migrant workers in the industrial labor force in Australia at present which can begin to break down ideas of a national common

has grounds for objection?... "In the meantime, he (Whitlam) would

do well to attend to the affairs of State which are his business instead of the affairs of General Motors- which are not his business." At the same time, the conservative Melbourne Herald in its June 20 editorial strongly supported Whitlam's and Cairns' views.

To complete the array of supporters for the view of a "national interest" which crosses class lines we have only to look to the trade-union leadership. The assistant Victorian secretary of the Vehicle Builders Employees' Union Mr R. Hirst said: "The unions in the industry will be disappointed at the replacement of Mr Gibbs (the retiring head of GM-H) by an American. " Why?

More revealing still is the view of the Victorian secretary of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union, and leading member of the Communist Party of Australia John Halfpenny who is quoted as saying in the June 8 Australian: "It is possible an Australian managing director might have greater regard for the national interest than a person imported into the country.

"But it is doubtful whatever such a

oscillated between reforms aimed at

appeasing the masses and outright repress-

ion, typified by the actions against the

massive teachers strikes in 1971 and the

solidarity campaign secured the release

exile of revolutionary peasant leader

Hugo Blanco. A large international

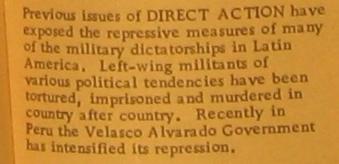
by an indefinite general strike in Areguipa, the country's second largest city, and also in the city of Moquegua. repressive action. Velasco Alvarado has Workers in the Andean city of Puno followed later with a forty-eight-hour

strike of their own, In addition there have been rumors of Velasco's ailing health and because of this what could eventuate as a rightwing push to establish a more repressive leader at the head of the junta.

Letters of protest over the gaoling of the members of the Liga Communista and the confiscation of its press and other repressive measures undertaken by the government can be sent to:

The Peruvian Consul 51 Pitt St, Sydney, NSW, 2000.

Velasco Regime Steps up Repression in Peru "They might have to go into the board more concessions and on the other by the demands of the right wing for stronger



The July 2 issue of Labour Press, newspaper of the Australian Socialist Labour League, reprints a letter from two people imprisoned by the regime. Sergio Barrio and Juan Carlos Ballon, eaders of the Liga Communista, write I their arbitrary and illegal arrest and ubsequent torture.

eru has seen an increasing number of epressive measures by the regime, cluding attacks on union militants,



members of revolutionary organisations, and members of the Peruvian Communist Party.

The Peruvian military reformist regime is pressured on the one side by the increasing demands of the masses for

of Hugo Blanco in 1970 after he had served eight years of a life sentence. Originally he was sentenced to death. Recently a wave of large strikes has spread throughout the country, exacerbating the contradictions of the Government. On May 7, 20, 000 members of the Federation of Bank Employees went

on a nation-wide strike in opposition to government attempts to impose a new retirement plan. This was paralleled

THE INTERNATIONALISM OF THE CPA

BY DAVE HOLMES

Writing in the June 19 Tribune on the occasion of the paper's fiftieth anniversary Alec Robertson states: "Until the beginning of the 'sixties, the communist press had for 40-odd years displayed an uncritical attitude to the parties that had been regarded as leaders of the world communist movement ... particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, after 1949, also the CP of China. Such criticisms as had been made of other parties... had been mere reflections of the political line of the CPSU under Stalin," In the same issue of Tribune Bernie Taft speaks of "the lateness of the process of de-Stalinisation of the CPA and the speed with which it was subsequently carried through,

In short, these and other leaders of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) put forward the view that the CPA's Stalinist past (which, in very general terms, they freely concede) is over. Everything is different now - as Alec Robertson has it, the CPA has these past few years been "discovering its own truly independent role as a revolutionary party in the Australian context," In DIRECT ACTION 43, June 28, 1973, (see Tribune's 50 Years — What Is The Real Record?) we pointed out that the CPA has nowhere really come to terms with its truly odious history and remains a Stalinist party albeit in a deep political and ideological crisis. Referring to the CPA's facile dismissal of its Stalinist history we asked: "Can a whole history . . . be just dropped like that? Where are the analyses, the arguments, the explanations, where is the balance sheet? Did an experience of many decades leave no marks, can it just be thrown aside like yesterday's clothes?" The answer, of course, is no and the Communist Party is certainly not "independent" of world Stalinism, either in its theory or its

shown very clearly in their views on the question of working class internationalism, long a key test for organisations claiming to be revolutionary. The Communist Party's national committee expresses its ideas on this matter in their April 7-8 statement published in the June issue of Praxis (the CPA's public discussion journal). It is called The Communist Party of Australia and the International Communist Movement. This very title indicates a key idea of the resolution, that "the CPA is part of the international communist movement." By this the CPA isn't simply saying that it is part of the general world movement towards socialsim, or that it is one of the many groups claiming to be revolutionary in the world, but specifically that the CPA belongs to the world Stalinist movement, i.e., to the collection of parties that once constituted the Communist International under the hegemony of the CPSU and Stalin.

The Communist (Third) International in its early years under Lenin and Trotsky (Trotsky drafted most of the manifestoes of its first congresses) was a tremendous factor in the world revolution. Founded in Moscow in 1919 after the October Revolution and while the war of the Soviet Republic against the Whites and the imperialist intervention was still raging, the Communist International brought together the most revolutionary elements of the old workers' parties. All over the world militants responded to the Russian Revolution, they organised communist parties and adhered to the Communist International which stood for uncompromising struggle against international capitalism. In many countries the communist parties grew rapidly and became the guiding force of the revolutionary struggle.

The revolutionary period of the Third International lasted only some five or so years. The October Revolution was

ENDY AND AARONS WRITE

conservative bureaucracy. This bureaucracy, of which Stalin became the unchallenged leader, gained control of the CPSU and then the Communist International. From a mighty factor in revolutionary politics the Third International became the instrument of the narrow interests of the ruling bureaucratic caste. Everywhere the communist parties were purged of oppositionists and filled with pliable and obedient hacks and careerists. These parties have been dead for revolution for over forty years (it was the 1933 debacle in Germany where Hitler gained power without a fight that convinced Trotsky that the Communist International could not be reformed but had to be built anew). For over forty years they have strangled and derailed revolutions in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. And they haven't stopped - all over the world the official CPs seek to strangle, dampen, head off and defuse the mass movements as they have long been doing.

The Communist International was formally dissolved by Stalin in 1943 (as a sop to Churchill and Roosevelt). This monolith, wherein everything of importance was decided in Moscow, has since been subject to powerful and irreversible disintegrating influences - the victory of the revolution in Yugoslavia (1945) and China (1949) and the emergence of bureaucratic castes there with their own narrow national interests, the death of Stalin (1953) whereby the world Stalinist movement lost its leader and supreme arbiter, the Krushchev revelations at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU (1956) were all factors in the disintegration of the world Stalinist monolith, Various conferences, such as the meeting of the world CPs in Moscow in 1960, have been unable to restore the unity of the movement or heal its deep rifts (as between the Soviet and Chinese CPs).

Far from the Communist Party having broken with this counter-revolutionary world Stalinist movement (what the CPA statement euphemistically calls "the international communist movement") it wants to restore and reform it! The miserable apologetics of the CPA statement on the nature and role international level of the apologetics for the workers' states bureaucracies. The CPA still believes the USSR and the other workers' states are quite healthy but suffer from various "defects of socialist democracy." Hence, they downplay anti-bureaucratic struggles in the workers' states and reject the Trotskyist position that conservative and privileged bureaucracies hold power in these countries and that they cannot reform themselves but must be smashed by a political revolution which will preserve the nationalised property relations but institute genuine soviet democracy.

The world Trotskyist movement analysed the Communist International as being irreversibly degenerated by 1933 and concluded that a new world party had to be built. By way of contrast, here's some of the CPA's analysis of the world Stalinist movement forty years later, "The international communist movement at present lacks many features(!) for a world revolutionary movement. This arises from historical reasons(!), including experiences (!) and practices (!) of the Communist International and its dissolution, as well as the Sino-Soviet division and other causes. It lacks the possibilities (!?) for full and free discussion and analysis of the world revolutionary process, and inadequate possibilities (!!!) for united action. There are serious divergences (!) in ideology and practice ... Therefore, the international communist movement, as at present constituted, does not realise its potential power of attraction (!)."

Questions are posed but no answers are provided. What features are necessary for a "world revolutionary movement?" What are the "historical reasons," etc. for the degeneration of the world Stalinist movement? Why can't it carry out a free discussion? Why can't it carry out united actions in defence of the world revolution (after all, there has never been a greater need (Vietnam) or greater opportunities)? Why are there fundamental divergences in the world Stalinist movement and what are they? The CPA resolution doesn't provide an analysis but a pathetic cover-up and a failure to face the reality that the "international communist movement" is completely counterrevolutionary and has moreover irreversibly lost its previous cohesion.

The CPA covers up for the world Str. ist movement and the individual CPs. Who does it have in mind when it say that "the communist parties, especia where they are deeply involved in the mass movement, constitute important sometimes the only, existing organised force for revolutionary change. There are, among parties involved in the me movement, growing trends towards independence and the creative develo ment of marxism." Does this passage refer to the French CP (PCF) or the Italian CP or perhaps the Chilean CP which has so creatively developed Marxism that it is a key prop of Chiles capitalism through its participation in the Popular Unity Government. Take the PCF: some of the highlights of its postwar history include its key role in disarming the armed workers of the resistance who were moving towards the taking of power; its participation in de-Gaulle's post-war reconstruction Govern ment; its support for French colonialism in Vietnam and Algeria; its betrayal of the huge worker-student revolt in May-June 1968 where the question of socialism was clearly on the agenda; and its attempt through the reformist swindle of the Union of the Left in the last elections to head off the growing wave of workers' struggles in France. This is a matter of record and the histories of the other CPs are no more inspiring.

In DIRECT ACTION 43 we said that Tribune had never criticised the betrayal of the Vietnamese struggle by the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies. The statement in Praxis considers this matter but attempts to obscure and minimise the



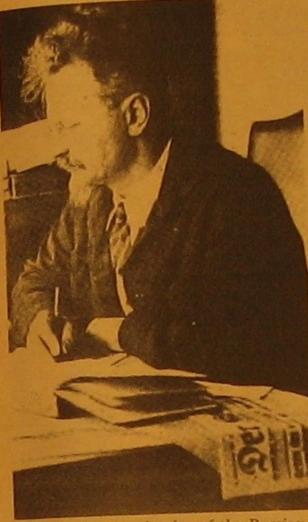
Joseph Stalin-representative of the narrow bureaucratic caste which proposed that socialism could be built in one country-dissolved the Third International in 1943.

depth of the sell-out. The statement correctly says that the conflict between the USSR and China was a big factor in enabling the USA to carry out its aggress ion in Vietnam. It goes on to claim that both "the USSR and China have given substantial military and econom aid to Vietnam - for which each should be given full credit. However, effect of this aid has been considerably reduce by the political consequences of the division, including the fact that the PRC (Peoples' Republic of China) invited Nixon to Peking in February 1972, and the USSR invited him to visit Moscow June 1972. Both were pursuing state interests which were given priority over the fact that each time the USA was escalating its aggression in Indo-China.

It is not true that the USSR and China gave "substantial" aid to Vietnam, they gave was a pittance, compared to what each could have given and to the scale of the US effort. Where were the advanced missiles to shoot down the B-52s and drive off the 7th Fleet? When were the planes to clear away the American fighters over North and South Vietnam? A simple fact is that the Soviet Union gave more, and more advanced, weapons to the bourgeois Egyptian regime than it did to the workers' state of North Vietnam and the insurgent masses of the South. Why wa the American escalation permitted in th first place? Why didn't the Soviet Union make it clear that an attack on the

Democratic Republic of Vietnam was an attack on the USSR? Why didn't the " "international communist movement" use its influence in the world labor movement (especially in Western Europe) to launch mass strikes and boycotts in support of the Vietnamese? It was the much smaller sections of the Fourth International who played a key role in building the international actions against

the Vietnam war. The invitations to Nixon by the USSR and China didn't cut across their aid efforts - they were part and parcel of the same betrayal. They gave Vietnam only enough aid to survive but not to win and finally, in the interests of a detente with imperialism (whose full effects we are now beginning to see) they made a deal with Nixon to pressure the Vietnamese to settle for the Paris accords. The CPA doesn't discuss this last aspect because they support these accords - the CPA criticises the Soviet and Chinese ruling eastes for their invitations to Nixon but



Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the Russian revolution along with Lenin, defended until his death the principles of internationalism on which that revolution and extended through the first years of the Third International.

supports the political outcome of those stance, comrades! In short, despite the window dressing of mild criticism, the CPA refuses to face up to the realities of the Vietnam conflict and thereby acts as an apologist for the betrayals of the Soylet and Chinese ruling castes.

The Communist Party gives a great deal

of prominence to its claim to be an independent revolutionary party. Alec Robertson in the June 19 Tribune saw the 1960s for the CPA as above all concerned with the "fight for independence." This claim seems a little strange in view of the CPA's equally fervent desire to be a part of the world Stalinist movement. What the CPA means by independence" is the shedding of the rassest forms of direct control by Moscow, The "Moscow agents" bogey hasn't done the CPA much good and it is trying to shed such an unpopular image. Undoubtedly quite a bit has changed (leading to the Socialist Party of Australia split in 1971) but essentially the CPA remains a Stalinist party, i.e., there has not been a qualitative change in either its theory or its practice.

Thus we can't agree at all with Alec Robertson when, speaking of DIRECT ACTION (among other left papers) he says (rather patronisingly): "Others, such as...DIRECT ACTION...are appearing fairly regularly and in some cases add something of value to the interplay of information and ideas on the left ... However, of those publications mentioned, all represent an ideological appendage to some political formation in another country...Only Tribune is ideologically independent (of what?! - D.H.)." The CPA is not "ideologically independent" of Stalinism at allhow could it be when, after over a decade of supposed "de-Stalinisation", It has not even got an analysis of Stalinism, nor has it grappled with the positions of the Trotskyist movement on this question? How could it be "ideologically independent" of Stalinism when it sees itself as an integral part of the world Stalinist movement?

Alec Robertson in the above passage tries to slander the Australian Trotskyists by implying that because we are a part of the world Trotskyist movement we ha

abandoned the power of thought and rely on our overseas co-thinkers to do it for us Let us see what is involved here and see what an authentic international party in the making looks like.

DIRECT ACTION 43 pointed out that the Fourth International aspires to be "a world party forged out of the mutual collaboration and common action of national parties which share a common understanding of events and which in each country unite the most conscious elements on a clear revolutionary programme," Our movement is built around the political programme. Without a "common understanding of events" (the formulation is Trotsky's) a revolutionary party on either a national or a world level is impossible. Real discipline and unity in action and democratic discussion are only possible if an organisation is based on agreement on fundamentals, i.e., if it is relatively homogeneous in the Leninist sense. The CPA's "international communist movement" isn't based on a common understanding of events and the interests of the toiling masses but ultimately on the interests of the workers' states bureaucracies. Accommodations of the basic line to the pressure of the mass movement don't alter this assessment.

International links alone can't create a national party with deep roots in the mass movement; that can only be done by the revolutionaries working in that country. But it is also true that no national revolutionary party can develop without international collaboration and advice, that is, unless it is part of an authentic world party. The Fourth International is such a world party in the making. Can Alec Robertson explain why the world Trotskyist movement is undergoing such a resurgence as the revolutionary process is on the rise while world Stalinsim, for all its power, is hopelessly divided and beset by crisis? For all its numerical weakness in the face of its great tasks, the Fourth International is an example of what genuine collaboration means,

Alec Robertson has spent his political life in the Stalinist movement and can't conceive of genuine international collaboration of revolutionaries who agree on fundamentals. We are part of the world Trotskyist movement and value very highly the advice and collaboration of our co-thinkers abroad but we have to make the analyses and final decisions ourselves and that's what we've done. And we make our analyses on the basis of Trotskyism because that's the only way to approach things correctly. Alec Robertson can slander us as an "ide gical appendage" but that only shows what Stalinism has done to his thinking that he can't see the difference between the way the Fourth International functions (and the way the Communist International functioned in its revolutionary period) and the practices of the world Stalinist movement, yesterday and today.

We would like to conclude by quoting some of the final sections of the founding document of the Fourth International in 1938. It is from Trotsky's The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International. We feel that the very tone and spirit of these lines are themselves an answer to Alec Robertson's smears and the CPA's shabby cohabitation with world Stalinism.

"The Fourth International, already today, is deservedly hated by the Stalinists, Social Democrats, bourgeois liberals and fascists. There is not and there cannot be a place for it in any of the People's Fronts. It uncompromisingly gives battle to all political groupings tied to the apron-strings of the bourgeoisie. Its task - the abolition of capitalism's domination. Its aim socialism. Its method - the proletarian revolution.

"Without inner democracy - no revolutionary education. Without discipline no revolutionary action. The inner structure of the Fourth International is based on the principles of democratic centralism; full freedom in discussion, complete unity in action.

"The present crisis in human culture is the crisis in the proletarian leadership. The advanced workers, united in the Fourth International, show their class the way out of the crisis. They offer a programme based on international experience in the struggle of the proletariat and of all the oppressed of the world for liberation. They offer a spotless banner.

"Workers - men and women - of all countries, place yourselves under the banner of the Fourth International. It is the banner of your approaching victory!"

DIRECT ACTION FORUMS

Sydney at 139 ST JOHNS

ROAD, GLEBE.

Friday, July 20, 8.00 pm
"HEALTH SERVICES, THE AMA, AND THE LABOR GOVERNMENT" Gordon Adler, a Sydney doctor and a socialist analyses the crisis in health services and the confrontation between the reactionary AMA and the Labor Government.

Friday, August 3, 8,00 pm
"THE TURN IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION" What's Behind the US Detente with Moscow and Peking? See advertisement on page 7.

Melb

STREET, CARLTON.

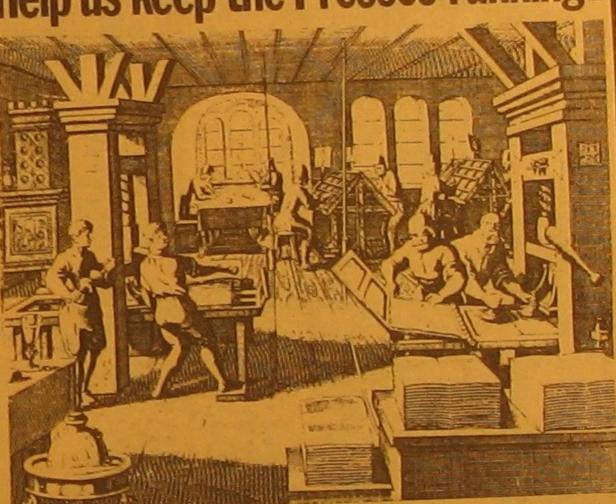
Thursday, July 26, 8.00 pm
"BEHIND THE WATERGATE SCANDAL" Renfrey Clarke analyses the crisis of capitalist politics in the at 140 QUEENSBERRY US and the implications of the Watergate exposure.

> Thursday, August 9, 8.00 pm
> "THE TURN IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION" What's Behind the US Detente with Moscow and Peking? See advertisement on page 7,

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buy our first piece of new equipment - a headliner. We can now eliminate the costly and timely hand process we have been using. The next stage - we need to raise enough money to buy new typesetting equipment. This is more expensive over \$4000. So we have got to the first stage

have \$750, that is \$1500. We can

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ohn Sendy and national secretary aurie Aarons didn't feel happy bout either the cartoon or the cadline in relation to the article. And they wrote a letter to their vn paper sayir just this. They complained the headline and the cartoon (which was, they

his cartoon first appeared in The

ew York Times. One of its sub-

quent antipodean appearances was

the July 3 issue of the Commun-

Party paper Tribune. It illus-

ted an article entitled Nixon-

ezhnev Deal in which a "special

rrespondent" analysed and com-

ented on the Brezhnev trip to the

ommunist Party national president

pointed out, unattributed and actually from a capitalist paper) were at variance with the article which had been worked out at the highest levels of the party.

For our part we think that both headline and cartoon were very much better than the article. In fact, perhaps it was their clarity about the real nature of Brezhnev's American visit which upset Sendy and Aarons. The article was much less clear.

Anyway, it will take more than Stalinist bureaucrat Brezhney and Watergate criminal Nixon to nent he inspires today.

'crush" Karl Mark and the move-



BY NITA KEIG

BY NITA KEIG

In the first major action taken by proabortion forcer since the defeat of the
McKemie Aamb bill in Federal Parliament,
over 400 people, most of them women,
marched through the streets of Sydney on
June 30. They demanded repeal of all
abortion laws and freely available, safe
contraceptives. Marchers carried banners
bearing these demands as well as others
which raised the fundamental issues
related to abortion, such as Abortion Is
A Womans Right To Choose, Women
Unite-Abortion Is Our Right!, Control Of
Our Lives and Our Bodies Belong To
Neither Church Nor State.

A further banner carried at the very end of the march summed up the determined attitude of those participating. It read This Is Only The Beginning!

The march was enthusiastic and militant as it circled the main block of the city with the marchers chanting Repeal All Abortion Laws, Abolish Laws that Murder Women, Every Child Should Be Wanted and other slogans. Scores of placards calling for the repeal of all abortion laws were also carried, along with an array of many other hand painted ones.

The response to the march of shoppers and people in the street indicated a general feeling of support for the aims of the demonstration and very little abuse was heard from opponents of abortion.

The march concluded with a rally in Hyde Park which was addressed by George Petersen, NSW Labor MLA, Briget Gilling, vice-president of the Abortion Law Reform Association, Lynne Smith from the Macquarie University Women's Abortion Action Committee, and Nitz Keig from the Women's Abortion Action Campaign, Later the platform was opened up with women from the march coming forward and relating their experiences with abortions.

abortions.

All speakers took up the question of what to do in the future, stressing the need to continue challenging the existing laws. George Petersen spoke about the legal situation relating to the abortion laws in NSW and that doctors were able to perform abortions with relative impunity. This was so due to the increased reluctance of the police to press charges against doctors performing abortions in light of the legal precedent set by the acquittal of the defendents in the Heatherbrae Clinic case and other Sydney doctors charged under the abortion laws. The situation points to the fact that only the wealthy could easily obtain safe illegal abortions which are virtually unobtainable by the vast majority of women.

Briget Gilling continued with this theme.

Briget Gilling continued with this theme and related it to the establishment of abortion clinics. She spoke of the oppression of women which came about due to the existence of these laws and how this was enforced by the present status quo.

Raising the whole strategical question of just how the laws were to be repealed,

Lynne Smith projected that mass action by women was the only way forward. No change in the present laws which are upheld by the very nature of the system under which we live, she contended, could be won without a fight.

Nita Keig followed this and took up the dominant theme of the march, that this was only the beginning; that a long and militant campaign aimed at continuing to mobilise the widest possible numbers of women in struggle around the issue was necessary. This was seen as the first of many such actions and as a spring board for a more intensive publicity campaign aimed at strengthening WAAC as the feminist group which is fighting for the repeal of the laws.

The march received extensive coverage on Sydney television with one station screening a lengthy film cut of the

march.

The June 30 march and rally was the culmi nation of a vigorous campaign of postering, leafleting and selling badges advertising the action. One WAAC activist personally sold 500 badges, including 200 in one evening, giving an indication of the support amongst the Australian people for an end to the present laws. Support came to build the action and the ongoing campaign which will follow it from a broad group of individuals and a number of organisations. Many people contributed to the finances of the campaign through a regular stream of donations and many more individually sponsored WAAC.

Also as a part of the June 30 activities was the screening in the evening of a slide-show compiled in the United States by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, The show, attended by about 40 people, traced the history of the struggle for a woman's right to abortion

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8



