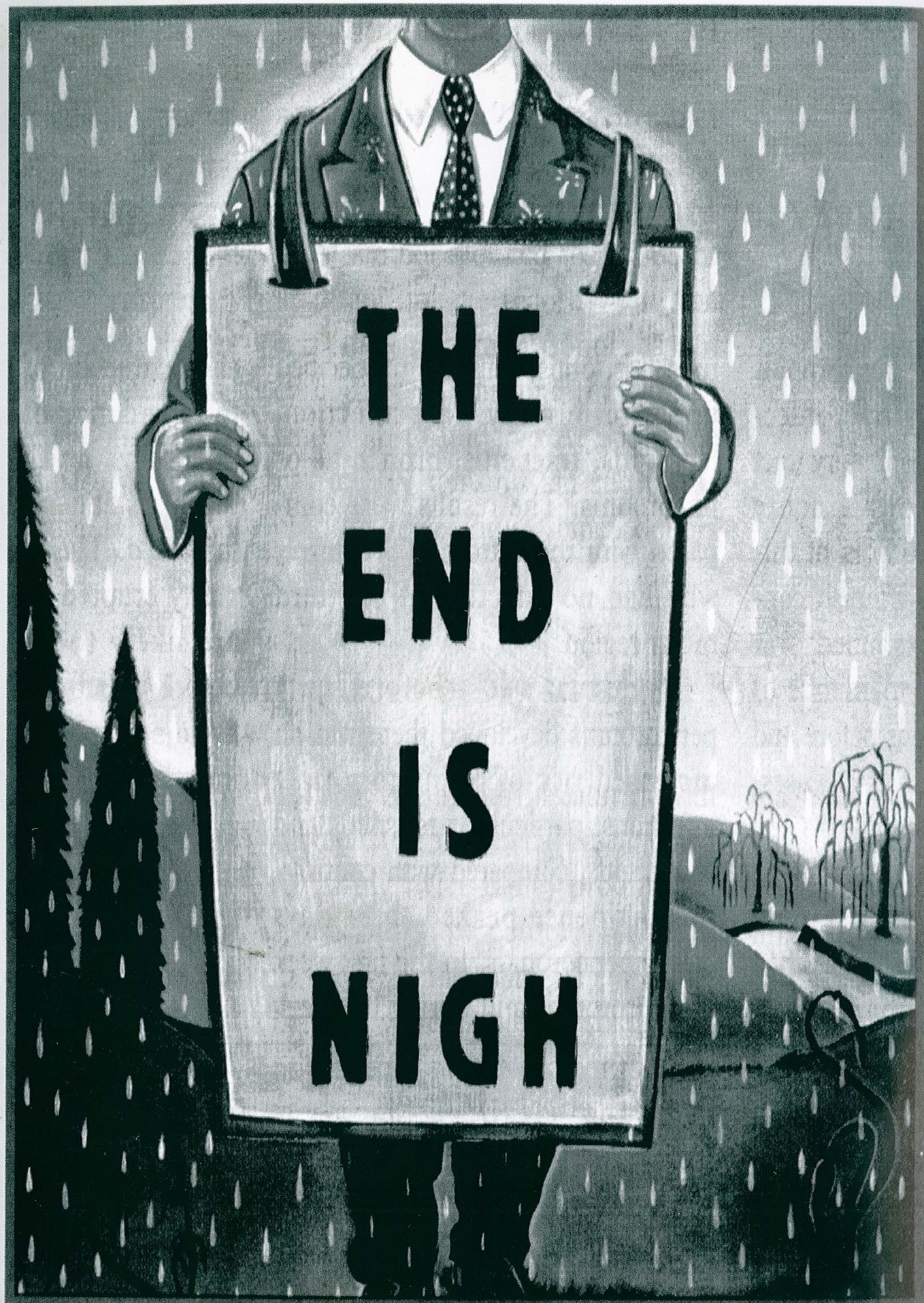




robotics





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## Credits

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**the deadline for the next edition  
 of Rabelais is the 28 July**



## Catholic church, nazi scum.

### Hitting the big time.

On the second of July, the *Sunday Herald-Sun* printed a piece about an article published in *Rabelais*. The *Herald* piece, by Derek Ballantine, was entitled "Church condemns nun 'ghoul' claim", and concerned something printed in the February edition about alleged saint Mother Teresa of Calcutta. Quoting a couple of terms used to describe the ultra-conservative anti-abortion activist, he then commented that:

*LaTrobe University's Rabelais also describes the famous missionary in more malicious and offensive terms that this newspaper cannot publish.*

That's right pal—we can, you can't. Sucked in.

Ballantine alleged that the *Rabelais* article had been 'condemned as hateful and outrageous by the Catholic Church'. To back this up he had quotes from Jack de Groot, executive director for the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace. Ballantine did not say where these comments appeared, which suggests to us that Ballantine simply read the article—several months following publication—and decided to build a story by finding someone to be outraged. Dial-a-quote from the reliable Catholics.

Ballantine also wrote that we have been 'referred to police for articles which appear to advocate the use of drugs', but failed to mention *who* 'referred' us. However, Ballantine didn't concentrate on the drugs issue, instead claiming that 'the attack on Mother Teresa is seen by many as more deeply offensive'. Oh, come on Derek—who did you use as the sample to arrive at the word 'many'? We got one letter of reply (which we printed in the March

edition) and then nothing until the information back-alley of the *Herald-Sun* ran with it. Ballantine's article appeared, the 'outrage' is performed—a miracle of anti-gravity, the self-supporting argument, the self-fulfilling prophecy.

### Mindless political mudslinging.

We thought nothing of it, but then all of the sillier bits of the media began to call for interviews: from *3AW* to *A Current Affair*. The latter caught our collective attention, and visions began to swirl: a flurry of green associated with the significant numerology of chequebook journalism, a kind of *Frontline* meets *Sale of the Century* with us going for The Big Money. One of the *Rabelais* editors and the author of the original article, Melita, agreed to an interview and prepared to let loose a diarrhoeic stream of facts and analysis to counter the constipated conservatism of M.T.'s defenders. In brief she was going to comment on the following:

1. Mother Teresa does nothing to alter the conditions which bring about the poverty and suffering she allegedly treats, and in fact proposes 'solutions' which are, if anything, part of the problem. She thus helps to ensure that her nuns will never be out of a job. In addition, she becomes, by virtue of her assumed saintliness, a de facto 'representative' of the people she treats—who, however, have no ability to influence her words or actions. Should the impoverished of Calcutta organise to address any of their real problems, we can be sure that they would never receive as sympathetic a global hearing as does Mother T. In fact, when they do organise they are never heard at all outside of India. It is only outside of India that she is so absolutely regarded as the model of goodness: in India there is no shortage of critics of

her style of 'charity'.

2. In 1980 Teresa visited Haiti as a guest of the Duvalier dictatorship, praising the Duvalier family as beloved by the poor; very fine people indeed. Christopher Hitchens quotes her discussing Michèle Duvalier as follows: 'I have never seen the poor people being so familiar with their heads of state as they were with her. It was a beautiful lesson for me. I've learned something from it.'

The Amnesty International report for that year noted that 'the rights of assembly, association, expression, thought and information were severely repressed during the year [1979]... The Press Law which was finally promulgated in April 1980 makes it an offence to criticise the President-For-Life or his mother.' Certain kinds of familiarity seem to have been less permitted. A fine family indeed. Amnesty also noted its concerns about 'arbitrary detentions, torture and harassment by the police and the *tontons macoutes*, a paramilitary group in the service of the government... directed at all sectors of the population but especially at political leaders, journalists and human rights activists'. No political parties or trade union federations were allowed to operate. In its 1984 discussion of *Torture in the Eighties*, Amnesty commented that: 'Torture and ill-treatment of detainees in Haiti has been regularly reported to Amnesty International ever since Jean Claude Duvalier took power in 1971.'

3. Teresa is no freak, and in fact large sections of the Catholic hierarchy of her generation were/are friends of dictators, fascists and anti-Semites the world over. While there were certainly significant exceptions to the anti-Semitic rightism of the Church, before and during World

good taste is the first refuge of the witless

War II one didn't have to look far to find such phenomena as the Catholic-fascist state of Croatia; Monsignor Tiso's leadership of the Nazi-collaborationist government in Slovakia; or the immense influence of the Church in the ultra-right politics of Admiral Horthy's Hungary. Similar assessments can be made of the Church in Latvia and Lithuania, where Catholic political parties and priests provoked or instigated massacres of thousands, and would have continued to do so had not the Pope moved to calm things.

4. The church was intimately involved in massive assistance programs for Nazis following World War II. As Simon Wiesenthal of the Wiesenthal Centre has noted,

*the assistance of the Church went far beyond the mere toleration of aid committees and actually amounted to abetting criminals: the most important escape route, the so-called 'monastery route' between Austria and Italy, came into being... Best known was a monastery under the control of the Franciscans, which became a veritable transit camp for Nazi criminals. The man who organised this hideout was no less than a bishop and came from Graz: in his memoirs Alois Hubal subsequently boasted of the many top people from the Third Reich to whom he had been able to render 'humanitarian aid'.*

The Church assisted tens of thousands of Nazis, anti-Semitic murderers and Nazi collaborators to escape from Germany, Croatia and a half-dozen other European states, helping them avoid capture, letting them live in the safety of a monastery or the Vatican, and facilitating their departure from Europe. This helped create the conditions under which these racist killers could be incorporated into numerous right-wing forces throughout Latin America, often acting in death squads and in projects sponsored by the CIA. Some of these fugitives were smuggled into Australia, most notably in the form of the Ustachi fascists from Croatia—a group responsible for the killings of literally hundreds of thousands

of Jews and Serbians.

5. Following World War II, the Church developed increasingly close links with the CIA. This probably peaked in 1948, when the Vatican, like the United States government, feared that the exceedingly popular Italian Communist Party would win the upcoming Italian elections. A campaign involving sabotage and propaganda was secretly paid for by the CIA, channelling funds through the Church. According to Christopher Simpson, 'a substantial part of the funding for clandestine activities in Italy came from captured Nazi German assets, including money and gold that the Nazis had looted from the Jews'. In all the CIA spent about ten million dollars,

much of which went to the election campaigns of a Christian Democratic Party infested with those who had held high positions or been functionaries during the Fascist period.

Then there is Monsignor Don Giuseppe Biccherai of Milan, who was provided with enough CIA money to, according to Simpson, 'buy jeeps, bedding, and guns for an underground squadron of some 300 anti-communist Italian youths for use during the 1948 elections'. This group was active in 'beatings of left-wing candidates and activists, breaking up political meetings, and intimidating voters'.

A report of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre argues that Monsignor Biccherai has another claim to fame: helping to smuggle Walter Rauff out of Europe following the war. Rauff designed and administered the 'notorious gas truck execution program which took the lives of approximately 250,000 people, most of them Jewish women and children who died in unspeakable agony' (Simpson). Wiesenthal's frequent requests for an investigation of Rauff's escape have been ignored by the current

*Melita Rogowsky and similar animals at University are uneducated idiots. Rogowsky's opinions about Mother Teresa smell like communistic remains. All people condemn you and wish you never graduate from Uni. May car run you over.*

Pope John Paul II.

So Mother T.'s affinity for authoritarianism is no aberration. The most amazing thing is that the real history of this blood-soaked church has been so effectively denied.

It seemed like a short fifteen minutes to us. Unfortunately, *A Current Affair* cancelled the interview. They claimed to have just noticed that the original article was published several months ago, which, for some reason, they asserted reduced the novelty value of the whole brawl. And then just today we received the following unsigned note taped to a copy of the *Herald-Sun* article:

*Melita Rogowsky and similar animals at university are uneducated idiots. Rogowsky's opinions about Mother Teresa smell like communistic remains. All people condemn you and wish you never graduate from Uni. May car run you over.*

Cool.

The eds.



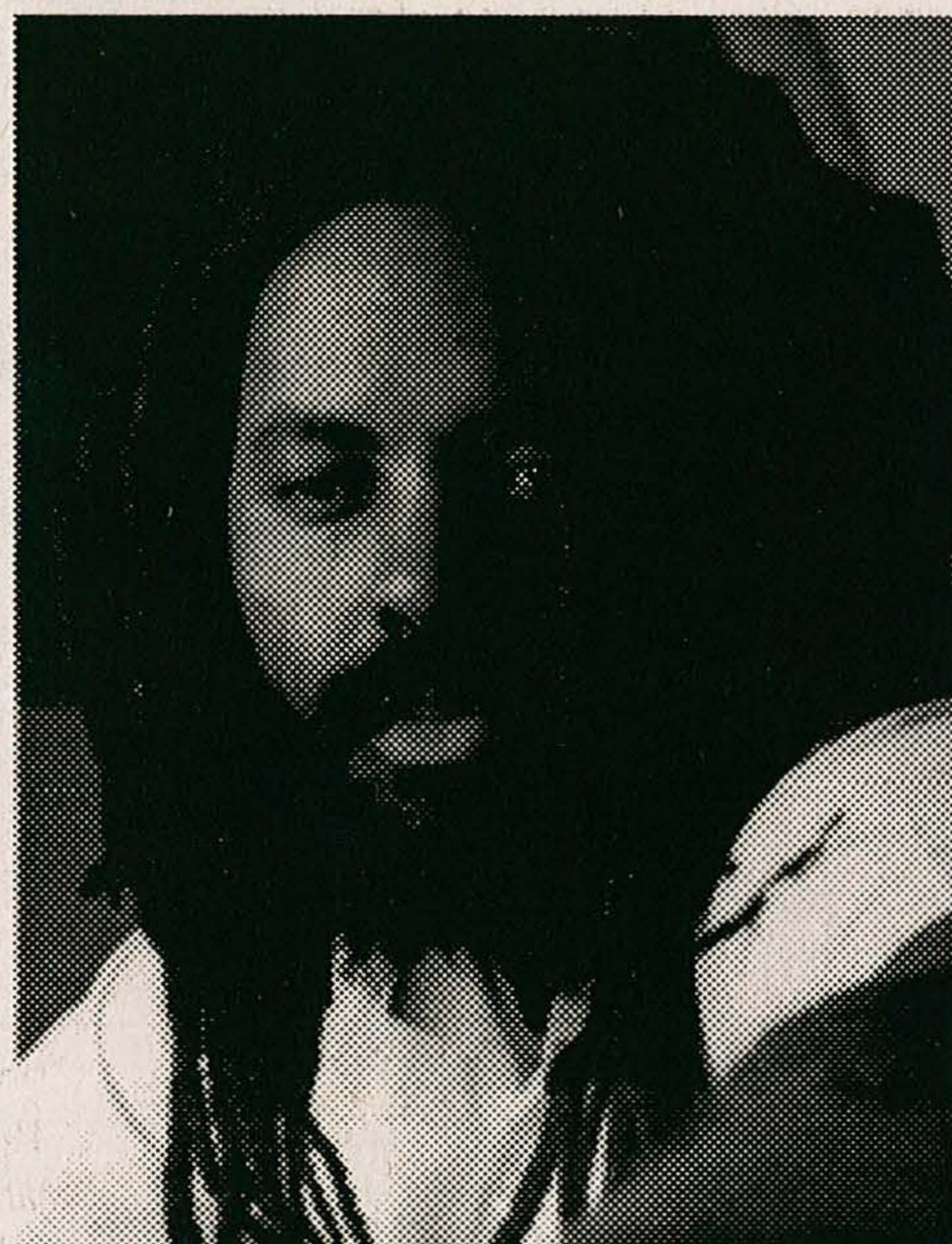
# Mumia Abu-Jamal

By 1991 the United States had achieved the highest rate of incarceration in the world—with 426 prisoners per 100,000 citizens. South Africa and the Soviet Union, lagged far behind at 333 and 268, respectively. In 1994, US President Clinton signed his omnibus Crime Bill, which amongst other things meant an extra 100,000 cops, billions of dollars worth of prisons and a rule whereby anyone convicted of three felony offences is locked up for life. The Bill also provides for 60 more federal offences to be punishable by the death penalty.

The US is the only Western industrialised nation that insists upon maintaining the death penalty and it imprisons blacks at a rate far higher than Apartheid South Africa ever did (see article on page 58 for more on South Africa and Mumia's case). On June 6, just five days after the death penalty in South Africa was abolished—following decades of use as part of the terror campaign which formed the backbone of the white supremacist system—Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge signed away the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal is a black activist, prominent journalist and former member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) who was framed for the murder of a police officer in 1982.

Republican Tom Ridge won the state house on a pro-death penalty platform and Jamal's death warrant is the fifteenth that he has signed since taking office five months ago. By May this year, 27 people had already been murdered by the US State in 1995 alone and in the past twenty years no less than 48 people have been released from prison after serving time on death row for crimes they did not commit.

The over 2,500 inmates of the United States' death rows are generally either black or Hispanic and although blacks constitute only just over 9% of Pennsylvania's population and just under 11% of America's, 111 of the 184 men on Pennsylvania's death row—over 60%—are black. Black Americans are 7.8 times more likely to go to prison than whites and the number of blacks in prison is higher than the number of blacks in college. Almost one quarter of black men in their twenties are imprisoned or wards of the prison system. Given these figures, it is clear that the centrepiece of Democrat President Clinton's 'law and order' drive, the death penalty, is none other than institutionalised racist murder under the guise of 'justice' which is in turn justified by a perceived rise in the crime rate. Indeed, as Gore Vidal once



wrote, 'law and order' is a code word for 'get the niggers'.

**The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP)** has been quite systematic in its efforts to ensure that the State "get on with it". FOP led a successful campaign to halt the broadcast of a series of commentaries by Jamal that were to be aired on National Public Radio. Mumia has been grossly misrepresented by different parts of the mainstream press, in media campaign orchestrated by reactionary forces such as FOP and other 'law and order' fascists. He has invariably been described as a vicious and sadistic "Cop-Killer" who is looking to make a profit on the back of his

crimes (Mumia comments on this phenomena on page 29). President Clinton attended the annual FOP gathering in Washington this May. Here, in a direct attack on left dissidents, he compared leftist-protesters of the 60s with fascist terrorists purportedly responsible for the Okalahoma bombing.

In 1990 the head of FOP, Richard Costello, demanded the "electric chair" for Mumia and an "electric couch" for his supporters. FOP's interventions into Mumia Abu-Jamal's case have been consistent and calculated. The judge at Jamal's trial, Albert Sabo, is a life-time member of the Fraternal Order of Police. Sabo, who was branded a 'defendants nightmare' by the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, has sentenced more people to death (31 to date, only 2 of whom were white) than any other sitting judge in America. Terry Bisson in article in *New York Newsday* (22 June) summed up the Sabo problem when he wrote

"a fellow judge once called his courtroom a 'vacation for prosecutors' because of his bias toward convictions."

Joseph McGill, the prosecutor of the case, now an attorney for FOP, defending its members against charges of corruption, bribery and robbery, is no stranger to frame-up prosecutions either: McGill played prosecutor in the case of Ramona Africa. Africa was a survivor of the 1985 police bombing of the MOVE commune with explosives provided by the FBI, which killed eleven black people (including five children). She was framed and spent seven long years in prison for surviving the attempt to murder her. Ramona was the only person ever charged in the police bombing of which she and her brothers and sisters were victims. One of McGill's other victims, Mathew Conner, spent 12 years in prison before his release in 1989, when it was discovered that McGill had illegally concealed evidence.

**At the time of his arrest** Mumia Abu-Jamal was a well

# a racist

known Philadelphia-based journalist and black activist. A political activist from a very young age, Jamal was beaten and arrested for participating in a protest against racism at just fourteen years of age. In Autumn 1968, he became a founding member and minister for information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

As a result of his news broadcasts between 1970-1981, which took up the plight of blacks, Puerto Ricans and other minority and oppressed groups on National Public Radio and other networks, Mumia was dubbed the "voice of the voiceless". During the summer of 1970, Mumia worked on the BPP newspaper in Oakland, California, returning not long before the Philadelphia police raided all three offices of the BPP.

In the same year as he was framed (1981), at age 27, Jamal was also president of the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalists and in a January issue of the *Philadelphia* magazine he was named one of the "81 people to watch in 1981".

In the 1970's, Jamal published some deeply critical work on the Philadelphia Police Department and Mayor

Frank Rizzo's administration, which also made him somebody "to watch". Something they did consistently and have continued doing despite his being locked up. Jamal's recently released FBI files show that Jamal has been under surveillance at least as late as 1991. As a result of a civil rights law suit by Jamal against prison authorities, it was discovered that the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections has intercepted correspondence between Jamal and his attorneys, which includes several letters this year and at least two letters from last year, which contained important information about the legal strategy concerning Jamal's push for a new trial and the overturn of his death sentence. These letters had been subsequently copied and circulated.

In coordination with the FBI led COINTELPRO (counter intelligence program) operation against black dissidents, Rizzo and the Philadelphia police compiled files on 18,000 people and 600 organisations, the purpose of which was to disrupt the BPP, because of their 'politics' not because of 'criminality'. Of course, they did more than disrupt the BPP—38 Panthers were killed outright.

## his case

At 4 am on December 9, 1981, working night shift as a cab driver, having been fired from his broadcast job because he was too hot to handle, Jamal witnessed his brother Billy being beaten by police officer Daniel Faulkner. When Jamal got out of his cab he was shot in the stomach, presumably by the same officer—as the bullet extracted from his body matched the officer's gun. Mumia was found critically wounded sitting on the curb, bleeding near fatally. Faulkner died within the hour. Already close to death, at the hands of the police Jamal was beaten, kicked and dumped on the hospital floor, where he was bashed once again. He was eventually charged with the

murder of Faulkner. Jamal has always maintained his innocence. Jamal's case was brought to trial just six months after the shooting and he was given just 3 weeks to prepare. Jamal made a request to defend himself and that right was given to him, as it must be, until presumably he was found to be doing too good a job and a lawyer who did not want to represent him and didn't know the case was brought in. The 'reluctant incompetent' as Terry Bisson of *New York Newsday*, has referred to the attorney, didn't know the case (because it had been prepared by Mumia) and could, as a result, only cross-examine the prosecution witnesses clumsily. He thus requested leave which was repeatedly denied. Mumia protested this injustice and as a result he missed almost half of his trial. The defence was allocated just \$150 and his investigator succeeded in interviewing only two witnesses despite the fact that

# frame-up

four witnesses claim to have seen another man leave the scene, and despite the fact that the police had interviewed 125 witnesses.

Figures show that one third of black defendants sent to death row in the US since the death penalty was reinstated in 1976 have gone before all white juries. In Jamal's case, the one juror whom he had selected, an elderly African-American woman, was removed by Judge Sabo (in Jamal's absence), because he felt that the woman had violated a court order. She was replaced by an elderly white man who felt that he couldn't be fair because his best friend, a cop, had been disabled as a result of a shooting. This left only one black juror.

The nearly all white jury retired after having heard 3 prosecution witnesses claim that Mumia fired the first shot and a further witness, a security guard who worked at the hospital where Mumia was treated, report that Mumia confessed to all within earshot that he had shot Faulkner, adding for emphasis, "I hope the motherfucker dies". This testimony contradicted the written reports of the two



## Mumia is to be executed on August 17th

officers who, holding Mumia up and admitting him into hospital, claimed he had said nothing. When Mumia's lawyer attempted to contact the two he was told they were unavailable because they were on holidays. After three weeks of being sequestered in a hotel the jury finally deliberated over the verdict on a July afternoon and, not surprisingly, before the day was over had concluded that Jamal was guilty of first degree murder. Judge Sabo immediately ruled that a decision regarding the death penalty be made the next day.

In what was clearly a violation of Mumia's constitutional rights, his membership of the Black Panther Party and his political beliefs as reported in a newspaper interview were used as evidence of the disrespect for the system that allegedly caused him to kill a policeman. The trial transcript shows the following exchange:

"Q: You've often been quoted as saying this: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' Do you remember saying that, sir?

"A: I remember writing that. That's a quotation from Mao-Tse-Tung...

"Q: Do you recall saying 'All power to the people'?

"A: Yes.

"Q: Do you believe that your actions as well as your philosophy are consistent with the quote: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.'"

"A: I believe that America has proven that quote to be true."

Even though the US Supreme Court has ruled that a person's political view cannot be used against them to get the death penalty, that same Court refused to overturn Mumia's death sentence, despite in 1992, having overturned the *Dawson* case verdict for a member of the far Right 'Aryan Brotherhood'. In a futile effort, Mumia pointed out this inconsistency, only to have the jury decide on the death penalty within the hour.

Prison authorities have cut off all paralegal and press visits in retaliation for increased public support and the release of Jamal's book *Live from Death Row* this May, which has also caused a wave of harassment from right-wing 'law and order' reactionaries. The Philadelphia District Attorney's Office sent official letters to the more influential of Jamal's supporters such as actors Ed Asner, Ossie Davis, Mike Farrell and Whoopi Goldberg, which claimed their support for Jamal was "misguided, misinformed" and repulsive. On June 26th, hundreds of Jamal supporters (including 5 children) were brutally arrested and 274 people were charged in the biggest mass

arrest in San Francisco since 575 demonstrators were arrested for protesting the acquittal of racist cops who beat Rodney King nearly to death.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has clarified what the racist death penalty is about. Support for Jamal is growing, unions and organisations across the world have sent letters of protest to Governor Ridge and many have come out into the streets. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions and sent letters of protest. Since he signed Mumia's death warrant, Governor Ridge has received over 20,000 letters, faxes and postcards in protest. He has shut down his toll free '800' phone line and has repeatedly chosen to change his phone and fax numbers in order to cope with this wave protest. In Johannesburg, South Africa some 15,000 workers took to the streets (see article on page 7 which discusses in detail the situation in South Africa). Mumia's cause was also taken up at a workers demonstration in Rome, where 60,000 to 70,000

workers publicly opposed the death penalty and the sentence imposed on Jamal.

Leonard Weinglass, Jamal's attorney, has filed court papers which document 19 constitutional violations in Jamal's 'trial' and establishes beyond doubt Mumia's innocence with new evidence that will tear apart the prosecutions case. As we go to print, on July 12th, a hearing for a stay of execution is being held in Philadelphia.

**the death penalty, is none other than institutionalised racist murder under the guise of 'justice' which is in turn justified by a perceived rise in the crime rate. Indeed, as Gore Vidal once wrote, 'law and order' is a code word for 'get the niggers'.**

**With less than one month left**, the campaign to save Mumia's life is at a critical hour. Join Jamal's supporters worldwide continue campaigning for his release and the abolition of death penalty. Watch out for posters on campus advertising emergency protests.

Write a letter of protest to Governor Ridge, Main Capital Building, Room 225 Harrisburg, PA 17120, USA; a letter of support to Mumia Abu-Jamal #AM-9335 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090, USA; get involved in the Partisan Defence Committee, which with the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal is organising the campaign. Ring the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) or see Jackie Lynch in the SRC for more information.. The PDC can be contacted in Sydney on (02) 281 2181.

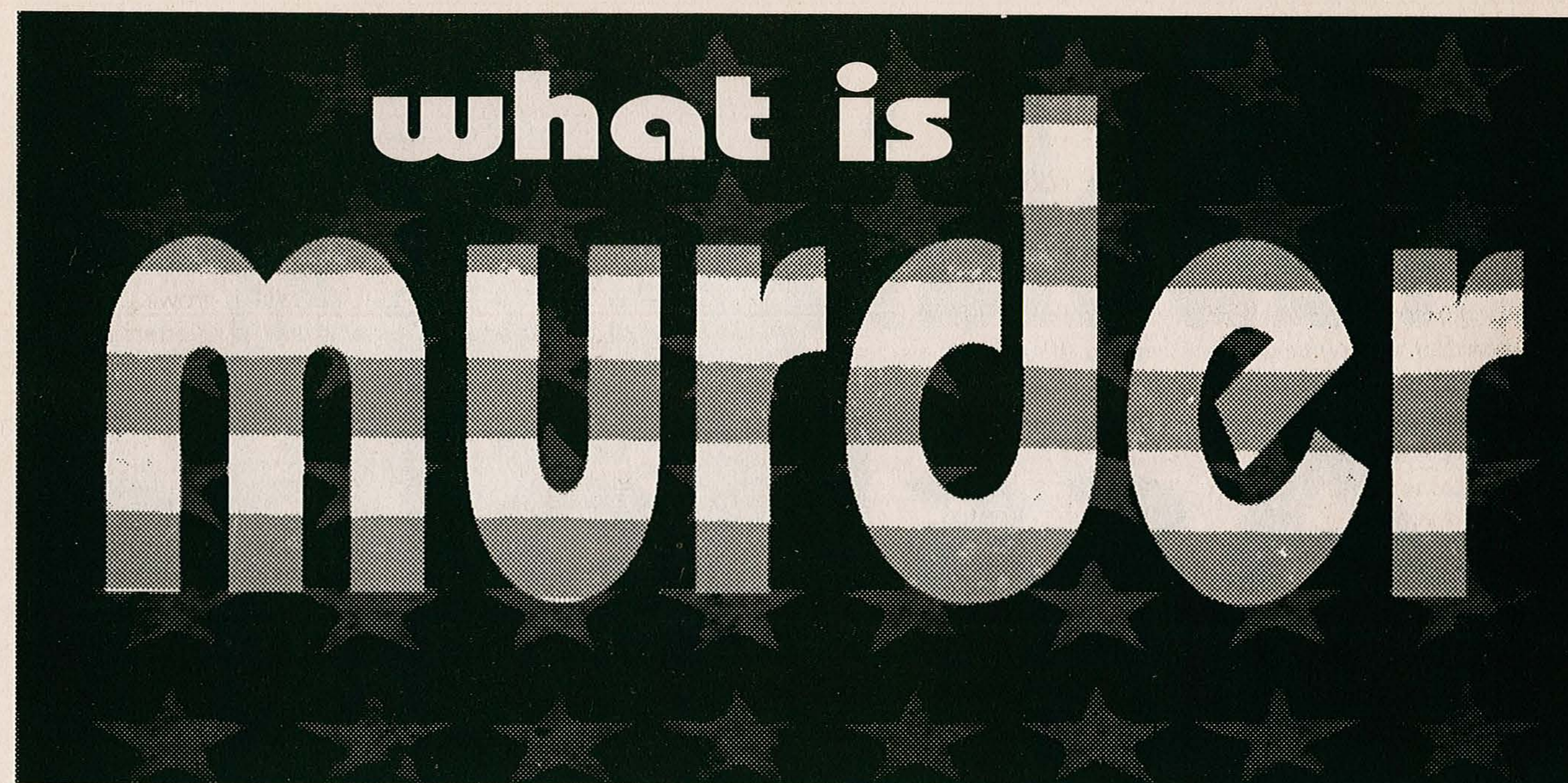
Left Alliance will be screening the video, *From Death Row this is Mumia Abu-Jamal* which details Jamal's case and the COIN-TELPRO terror campaign against the BPP on Thursday the 27 July at 1pm (see the Ratsheet for room details).

**Melita Rogowsky**, with information from the Partisan Defence Committee, *Workers Vanguard* & Leonard Weinglass and thanks to Cass and Ben.

**There was a maggot infested corpse in your room. If you listen closely you can hear a low hum of electricity. You sink into the ear splitting hum. As you move closer you're nose to nose with death. You surrender. The blood spills like rain, a large vacuum cleaner clings onto your mouth sucking out all life. The rays become darker and darker. The trip is a smooth slick blackness as you slide through space on the fee ride. Death is never far away constantly tapping you on the shoulder and breathing gently down your neck. Lights out. Nighty night.**

R Cafari

**RALLY AGAINST FEES AUGUST 24th**



The following are reports of incidents in recent executions in the United States marked by malfunctions and mishaps, compiled by Michael Radelet, a professor of sociology at the University of Florida, and distributed by the Death Penalty Information Centre, in Washington, D.C. According to Radelet there have been at least seventeen "botched" executions since 1976, when the Supreme Court allowed states to impose death-penalty laws. These reports were previously published in *Harper's Magazine*, June 1995.

**John Evans, Alabama, electric chair, April 22, 1983.** After the first jolt of electricity, sparks and flames erupted from the electrode attached to Evans's leg. The electrode then burst from the strap holding it in place and caught on fire. Two physicians entered the chamber and found a heartbeat. The electrode was reattached to Evans's leg, creating more smoke and burning flesh.

Again, doctors found a heartbeat. A third jolt was applied. The execution took fourteen minutes and left Evans's body charred and smouldering.

**Raymond Landry, Texas, lethal injection, December 14, 1988.** Two minutes into the execution, the syringe came out of Landry's vein, spraying deadly chemicals across the room toward witnesses. The observation curtain was pulled for fourteen minutes while the execution team reinserted the catheter into the vein.

**Jesse Joseph Tafero, Florida, electric chair, May 4, 1990.** A natural sponge in the headpiece of the execution apparatus had been replaced with a synthetic sponge; when Tafero's execution began, six-inch flames erupted from the headpiece. Three jolts of power were required to stop Tafero's breathing.

**Randy Woolls, Texas, lethal injection, August 20, 1986.** Woolls, a former drug addict, had to help the execution technicians find a good vein for the lethal injection.

**Jimmy Lee Gray, Mississippi, Gas Chamber, September 2, 1983.** Officials had to clear the observation room eight minutes after the gas was released because Gray's desperate gasps for air were repulsing witnesses.

**Robyn Lee Parks, Oklahoma, lethal injection, March 10, 1992.** Two minutes after the drugs were administered, the muscles in Parks's jaw, neck, and abdomen began to react spasmodically for approximately forty-five seconds. Parks continued to gasp and violently gag until he died, eleven minutes after the drugs were administered.

## what is torture?





# a rabelais guide to Assholes

Rodney Maddock

**I**  
By day Professor Rodney Maddock can be found teaching neo-liberal economic doctrine at La Trobe University. He has moonlighted, however, as an 'adviser' to the Colombian government on, in his own words, 'the restructuring and possible privatisation of the public sector enterprises involved with electricity, tele-communications, water and gas'. In 1991 he made two submissions to the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, which are remarkable in their attitude to the massive State violence in Colombia.

The Colombian military and police have on 'many occasions', Maddock admits, been 'excessively violent in the repression of guerillas'. Also, 'frustrated public officials', understandably perturbed by their failure to control these 'extremely violent' guerrilla groups, have 'on a number of occasions...over-reacted and massacred groups of suspects'. Really lost their temper, huh? Still, the 'guerillas have been just as violent' and 'it would be wrong to blame' the Colombian government for these problems, even though 'from time to time' the police and military have taken 'the law into their own hands [...] imprisoning, killing and torturing people'. After all, it is 'difficult for governments to control all this'. Indeed.

Now this robust democracy 'with free and open elections' has, Maddock admits, excluded 'a significant number' of Colombians from political participation, for reasons and by mechanisms unstated. But all that could soon be a thing of the past, as the 'incorporation of the dissidents into the formal and peaceful political processes of the country [...] is underway'. Not without a few more unfortunate accidents, however, as 'death squads have been active against these reformed guerillas', many of

whom have now been incorporated to death. One wonders how Maddock would define 'free and open elections' such that it includes a system in which a leftist standing for election faces a high probability of murder by state forces or those in collusion with these state.

Maddock refers to the 'violent tradition' in Columbia, which has been exacerbated by a number of factors, including 'high levels of unemployment' and 'attempts at unionisation in some regions'. The politics of repression are here clearly implied, but Maddock does not discuss it further or draw any of the fairly obvious conclusions, ie. that a right-wing regime has been happy to maintain a

of  
**La Trobe**  
charade of elections, whose 'democratic' character is somewhat

lessened by the systematic violence against the Left and general population permitted in the name of 'anti-communism', and more recently in the name of 'anti-drug' policies.

In common with right-wing apologists around the world, Maddock is unafraid of reversing cause and effect, whereby 'terror campaigns against unionists, and [...] terror campaigns to get farmers to leave their land' can be 'a dramatic response to the difficulties of policing' when there are guerillas and 'drug lords'. Though the 'rooting out of violence by state officials' would be nice, it is 'not likely' to occur soon, and so Australia 'should not be condemnatory about failures in the short to medium term', and should give 'specific assistance in the drug war of a police, military or intelligence nature'.

**II**  
It is not difficult to discover problems with Maddock's account. Specifically problematic are the



following of Maddock's assumptions: (a) that the Colombian government has been a well-intentioned bystander rather than an active participant in the massive violence in Colombia, which is perpetrated by 'frustrated' or otherwise maverick individuals or groups; (b) that Colombia has been a 'democracy' in any meaningful sense; (c) that military assistance to fight 'drug lords' will be used for this purpose, rather than to continue the war against the people of Colombia; (d) 'public campaigns' will reduce the 'levels of violence', as if it is simply cultura—a 'violent tradition'—rather than structural—specific elites defending privileges on the one hand, popular defence and opposition on the other; and, for a third hand, a substantial impoverished population leading desperate lives.

According to the International Council of Voluntary Associations (ICVA), drug-traffickers and the guerillas, while 'important actors in the context of violence in Colombia [...] represent only a small percentage of the country's political violence'. The 'much greater problem' is the 'dirty war' being carried out against (according to the UN Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions, Mr Amos Wako) 'the organizations which operate with peasants and workers, be they political parties, trade unions, educators, [or] non-government organizations dealing with economic, social, cultural or human rights issues'. Specifically, 1,300 members of the legal opposition groups in the Union Patriótica were murdered in the period from its formation until 1991, a five year period. These murders included one senator, one congressional representative, three deputies, five mayors and sixteen councillors.

Responsibility for this and most other Colombian politi-

cal violence lies in 'an alliance of sectors of the security forces, the political elite, landowners, business men, paramilitary groups and most recently drug traffickers', who have 'joined together to defend and promote their economic and political interests against armed insurgency and the popular movement'. That is, others saw what eluded Maddock: that it is not just 'frustration' with 'law and order' problems, but some rather more significant political-economic interests which are being promoted when unionists are killed and elected officials of the Left assassinated. This is not to say that the virulently anti-communist, near-fascist ideology of the Colombian Right is simply a cover and a lie, for this also helps to explain why police 'with support from local traders' instituted the policy of 'social cleansing': the murder of 'undesirables'—the homeless, those deemed to be prostitutes, drug addicts, homosexuals, etcetera, with about three hundred deaths falling into this category in 1990.

The over 140 paramilitary 'death squads' are closely tied to the army, and act, again according to the ICVA, as 'the military wing' of the right-wing alliance outlined above. Encouraged by the military in 1984, large landowners set up such groups, whose activities 'were increasingly directed against the local civilian population who were assumed to sympathise with the guerilla or the popular movement', a possibly not unreasonable assumption under these conditions. The para-military groups have acted with impunity, and often with direct co-operation of the military.

The ICVA argue against military aid to solve the problem of drug-trafficking, partly because 'there are well established economic and political links between important drug traffickers and sectors of the armed forces', but more importantly because

*the Colombian human rights organisations fear that increased amounts of military aid will only aggravate the human rights situation. Colombian officials publicly acknowledged last year that US\$ 38.5 million of the US\$ 40.3 million sent to Colombia by the Bush administration as part of the Andean Strategy Narcotics-Related Funding, was used to provide most of the logistical support for a major counter-insurgency offensive [in which numerous] villages and hamlets were subjected to aerial bombardment by the military...*

One could continue indefinitely discussing the forcible displacement of small farmers from their land for the economic

**There was a maggot** with no potential. It took a good look at itself in the mirror and reckoned it would grow into a reasonably attractive fly. Nevertheless, it lamented its fated attraction for excrement and carcasses. In order to cultivate some kind of more refined taste, it took to reading the classics. One day, in an uncomfortable frame of mind, this maggot realised it was bad to eat carcasses. It informed its friend, who, being a practical and perceptive Libra, was only mildly surprised. Feeling quite happy with this resolution, the maggot went out and bought a guitar.

**Florinda Koch**



## death squads

benefit of members of the right-wing alliance, the use of torture, the Colombian armed forces vice-minister's claim that the armed forces act 'on the orders of the civilian government', the use of British and Israeli mercenaries, etcetera.

### III

Maddock doesn't tell his story about a hard day at the office for the hyper-militarised Colombian right-wing just because he likes seeing his name in print. His submission had a point: he was prompting the Australian government to give the Colombians more guns, and to hold back on criticism of their trigger-happy proclivities until some time in the (unspecified) future:

*Only after there are signs of success [in 'solving the problems of the guerrillas and the drug cartels'] should we start to emphasise the need to regularise policing activities. **At that stage we should be willing to contribute to police and army training and to public education campaigns aimed at reducing the levels of violence in the country.** [Maddock's emphasis]*

Unfortunately, we can't dismiss Maddock as an irrelevant crank, nor his recommendations as a militarist's wet dream. He is a *relevant* crank, and his recommendations dangerous, because he enjoys all the privileges and status of a full professor at this university, all the presumed "neutrality" and "expertise" of the academic economist, and a bottom line fixed on the profits that so mesmerise the ALP government. If you see him around campus, send him our love.

**Benva Hoxha**

**Carlos Fernando Castillo**, a member of a judicial commission of inquiry investigating massacres and disappearances in the region of Magdalena Medico, Santander, by paramilitary groups, was among 12 persons killed in an ambush on January 18 presumably by a right-wing death squad.

From the report on Columbia in Human Rights Watch, *The Persecution of Human Rights Monitors December 1988 to December 1989: A Worldwide Survey*, December 1989.



**Fabriola de Lalinde**... a key member of the Colombian branch of the Association of Relatives of Disappeared detainees and the mother of Luis Fernando Lalinde who disappeared in October 1984, was charged with drug trafficking and terrorism after being held in detention by members of the military from October 23 to November 3, 1988. All charges against her were subsequently dropped.

From the report on Columbia in Human Rights Watch, *The Persecution of Human Rights Monitors December 1988 to December 1989: A Worldwide Survey*, December 1989.

**Marta Luz Hurtado**, the 6th Public Order Judge of Medellin who is investigating the massacre of more than 40 people in the mining town of Segovia, department of Antioquia, in November 1988, has been receiving death threats warning her to discontinue the investigation and she and members of her family have been followed. In February 1989, she issued arrest warrants on charges of terrorism against the battalion commander, an army major, the commander of the police post based in Segovia and three civilians for their part in the massacre. Although the three civilians are being held in pre-trial detention, armed forces authorities have failed to arrest the army and police officers, and have only suspended them from duty.

From the report on Columbia in Human Rights Watch, *The Persecution of Human Rights Monitors December 1988 to December 1989: A Worldwide Survey*, December 1989.



A few years ago La Trobe began to collaborate with the mining multinational CRA in its Research and Development Park, selling the company several hectares of La Trobe land. The SRC opposed the deals, in part because CRA had been, was, and indeed is involved in various dubious activities, including the Bougainville mine. As Adam Bandt shows in this article, CRA, through its subsidiary Comalco, has been involved in some union busting also.

# the dubious activities of CRA and Comalco

In order to overcome a 'them and us' attitude amongst the company's workers, Comalco decided to screw them over. At the CRA subsidiary's aluminium plant in Bell Bay, Tasmania, the proud anti-worker tradition was continued last year as Comalco accelerated its push to remove unions from the work place, undermine award conditions and have all workers employed under individual contracts. Although these moves have been temporarily halted by a decision of the Australian Industrial Relations Commission, an appeal has reportedly been lodged, and Comalco seems unrepentant about its actions.

At the start of last year, workers were asked whether, instead of all being employed on award conditions and at award rates, they wanted to have a new enterprise agreement which included an option for workers to move to individ-

In order to overcome a 'them and us' attitude amongst the company's workers, Comalco decided to screw them over.

ual contracts. An individual contract is (as its name suggests) an agreement between the whole company on the one hand, and an individual worker on the other. An award, by contrast, is a uniform set of conditions and wage rates which covers a designated group of workers, and must have the support of the relevant union. In the secret ballot on the company's proposal, 70% of the eligible employees voted and 83% of those employees voted against the move.

Unperturbed by this democratic expression of the workers' sentiment, Comalco had its sights firmly set on the financial benefits of a deunionised workforce where below award conditions could be enforced. Since 1991, the company had successfully resisted union moves to secure wage rises through enterprise bargaining, but that was no longer enough. Ms Katherine Gould, the company's Principal Personnel Adviser, was asked to report on ways to accelerate the project.

In an options paper, Ms Gould recommended to senior management that they *should not* simply offer staff contracts to operators and tradespeople 'in the hope that large numbers of them would accept and then apply to have the award converted to minimum rates.' Ms Gould's rationale was that this

would be in breach of the award (and hence the Industrial Relations Act). Ignoring this advice, management decided to adopt exactly this strategy.

## Individual contracts

Even though the company knew it was contrary to the Act, and even though the workers had collectively voted against it, every worker on award rates was sent a letter asking whether they wished to move off the award and on to an individual staff contract.

The contracts contained an 11-13% pay rise: quite attractive when the company had denied workers one for three years. It was clear that this was the only way the company would willingly give a wage increase. On the possibility of wage increases through award changes under enterprise bargaining, Ms Gould said: 'I stated that the Company had two non-negotiable requirements for any Enterprise Agreement—direct cost saving and an option for employees to move to staff [i.e. individual contracts]. I pointed out that the union's proposal met neither.' How unreasonable.

This salary increase would, however, come at a price. The terms and conditions of the employment contract were expressed to be subject to company policy, which may change from time to time. In other words, regardless of what

was in the document signed by the employee, any of the terms of appointment could be changed unilaterally by the company at any time.

To give a taste of what this 'company policy' might be, some of the other terms of the contract included:

- the power of the company to move the worker to any other CRA factory, whether it was nearby, interstate or overseas;
- an annual salary adjustment whereby the worker is not given any rights to negotiate about the adjustment;
- the power of the company to order the worker to work overtime without any additional payment.

The contractual condition which perhaps signals most clearly the company's authoritarian intentions is that forbidding 'paid or unpaid outside activity which is detrimental to, or contrary to, the interests of the company'. Given that the company gets to define 'the interests of the company', this incredibly sweeping power would, in the opinion of the Comalco, give the company the legal right to sack a worker for organising with other workers, for striking, for demanding a wage increase, for making public statements about the company's employment practices or, arguably, for joining a union.

## Trust

This ultimate aim of atomising the workers at the plant and subjecting them all individually to the power of the company was reflected in Comalco's methods of getting them to sign on the dotted line.

Each worker had a personal interview with their supervisors, and if they didn't change their mind at first, they had several interviews. According to reports from the union, at these meetings Comalco actively discouraged workers from seeking legal or union advice. Comalco also told them that the award would remain as a 'safety net' if they moved to an individual staff contract. As it transpired, however, the Industrial Relations Commission held that this would only apply if the worker remained a union member.

Unsurprisingly, the company encouraged workers to resign from the union.

According to Comalco, moving to a staff contract represented a worker's trust in management. Conversely, remaining on award rates was a sign of disloyalty, a suggestion that the company did not have that particular worker's best interest at heart. Bearing in mind that over the previous two years this trustworthy CRA-subsi-dary had retrenched many of its workers, and

## union-busting sweeties

that salary rises were being doled out sparingly within the context of an overall cost-saving to the company, the pressure on individual workers was intense.

The power of capital over labour could hardly be more transparent than when well paid and trained Comalco employees sit a worker down individually, accuse her/him of being untrusting if they remain on an award, suggest that she/he needn't seek legal or union advice and then 'offer' to put her/him on a contract which the company can change at any time.

## Team spirit

CRA and its subsidiaries spare no expense to convince workers that identification with a union is bad, in that only by 'working together' will the company succeed. Posters are produced which have all company members pulling on a tug-of-war rope in one direction. The implication is that unions are on the other end of the rope, along with competitors which threaten the company's market share. 'Teamwork wins' screams the corporate slogan which urges workers to pledge their loyalty to the company. 'Working together' is defined by the company in some abstract sense which excludes collective struggle with and in the form of the union, just as





There was a maggot. God, I really hated that bastard. Still do, in fact. Stupid. Had this moronic propensity to say really incredibly stupid things. Couldn't help it. He would think long and hard, in a serious and outwardly intelligent manner, and then... the horror! The very air itself would scream in incredulous outrage; anyone overhearing the remark would flee swiftly, quietly. The meaning of such moments would grip the maggot fiercely but, though tragically conscious of his terrible condition, he was beyond reform. I know this maggot intimately. I know of no other who could truthfully say the same.

Eddie Ross

Corporate success hides the grim reality of retrenchments and wage stagnation. Comalco must have an incredibly well-developed sense of irony when, at the same time as it promotes cohesion and common endeavour, it 'rejects the notion put by the unions that there is no basis for paying different remuneration to employees performing the same work.' In other words, whilst promoting their own peculiar brand of solidarity, Comalco retains the right to discriminate between workers doing the same job by raising/cutting their wages on whatever ground it likes. The suspicion that anti-unionists and/or docile wage slaves are the preferred employees of the company is confirmed by Comalco's submission to the IRC: 'an employee, lacking trust in the company should not be remunerated at the same level as a staff member.'

It is most likely that Comalco misses the black humour of its corporate public relations campaigns. Indeed, from the company's point of view it all makes perfect sense. Comalco wanted a malleable workforce, where it could control every employee's action via an individual contract with terms which could be changed by the company at any time. The penalties for working with the union or getting involved in collective activity would be severe and swift. Comalco's control over its employees lives - inside and outside of work hours - is extended and enhanced, costs are reduced as the award is jettisoned and union membership dwindles leaving the board of directors without any immediate threat of collective opposition to its actions. All under the banner of 'teamwork'.

#### The unions

Whilst the CRA subsidiary obviously used a variety of means to remove any barriers to its dream of a scared, malleable and deunionised workforce, the unions don't escape criticism either. One is left

## CRA and La Trobe and everyone else

asking, for example, why there hadn't been greater militant action over the preceding years to achieve wage rises, instead of vain attempts through enterprise bargaining to draw concessions from an unwilling employer. Similarly, it is telling that the union's response to the push to individual contracts was to fight it out in the Industrial Relations Commission instead of in the factory.

Perversely, the ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) presented the favourable decision of the IRC not as a successful stand against the individualisation of workers, nor a blow to corporate power, but instead ran a story in their newsletter under the headline 'IRC ruling confirms the right to choose'. One cannot imagine a more inappropriate banner. The so-called 'right to choose' is exactly the same line pushed by organised capital in its moves to erode award wages and conditions and destroy union membership. By abstracting the issue to the level of inalienable liberal rights, the ACTU is helping to dig the grave for collective opposition to the power of capital. Given their recent history, this probably isn't so perverse after all.

#### Conclusion

Whatever the unions' failings, one can't deny that this was a well organised push by Comalco to reduce costs and extend control over labour, and they were prepared to achieve these ends by virtually any means necessary. The occurrences at Bell Bay should not be explained away (as the IRC does) as simply the exploits of a nasty company with bad intentions. Comalco was trying to do what most other companies would love to do, namely exercise the power of capital over labour free from any fetters. Ironically Comalco could have, by and large, used legal means to achieve their ends, means given to them by a Federal Labor Government.

The Bell Bay action is, however, only one event in a long history of CRA's grotesque activities. As the reports of similar experiences at Boyne Island and Weipa come in, and as one looks back at Hamersley Iron and Bougainville, it is clear that few Australian companies have recently been as willing as the CRA group to bust unions, undermine awards and manipulate their employees.

Adam Bandt

Department of an Honest Week's Work for an Honest Day's Pay

# State Government WORKPLACE AGREEMENT



## What is a Workplace Agreement?

YOUR STATE GOVERNMENT, in association with vested interests everywhere, has thoughtfully drawn up this simple, easy-to-understand document for you to read and, of course, sign. Please do so immediately—and then don't give it a moment's more attention! You've got better things to do, haven't you?

### Part A

1. SIGN HERE before reading anything, OR ELSE: \_\_\_\_\_

Employee's Consent

### Part B

2. I agree that I have done as suggested in Part A of this Agreement

I understand that:

- i) I MUST stick to the negotiated conditions for the duration of my employment, and that my employer can change them whenever he/she wants to.
- ii) I WILL vote Liberal.
- iii) I WON'T get paid for overtime.
- iv) I WILL COOK 45 more hamburgers an hour than I previously did, and, as a reward, will work ten extra hours per week, lose a week's holiday, and have my pay restructured so that I receive \$125 per week.
- v) I WILL LOBBY for homosexuals to be hanged.
- vi) I WILL BE out of bed by 8.00 am on my rostered day off (if I deserve one).
- vii) I DO NOT THINK that I would be better off on the dole, because I don't believe in the dole, because my boss already pays too much tax.
- viii) I BELIEVE John Howard to be a modern thinker and a man of vision and integrity, and not at all racist. (Or at least, not any more.)
- ix) IF, DURING THE COURSE of my employment, I am so badly injured or maimed in the workplace that my quality of life is greatly reduced, I promise to be happy receiving in return nothing more significant from my former boss than a warm, friendly greeting card every Christmas.

Terms & Conditions

#### IT IS IMPORTANT TO READ THIS SECTION CAREFULLY

- You haven't got a leg to stand on
- Your boss hates him/herself and will take it out on you
- Your conditions can only get worse
- People are worse off in Haiti
- Your pay is being docked while you are reading this form

Remember: Australia is JOB READY — and so are YOU

### Part C

I AGREE THAT I have agreed to everything I have already agreed to, and, just to be on the safe side, I might as well agree to sign my name again while I'm here. This Agreement has not really been explained to me, but I don't mind, honestly.

Short & Curlies

Second signature of Employee

Date

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_

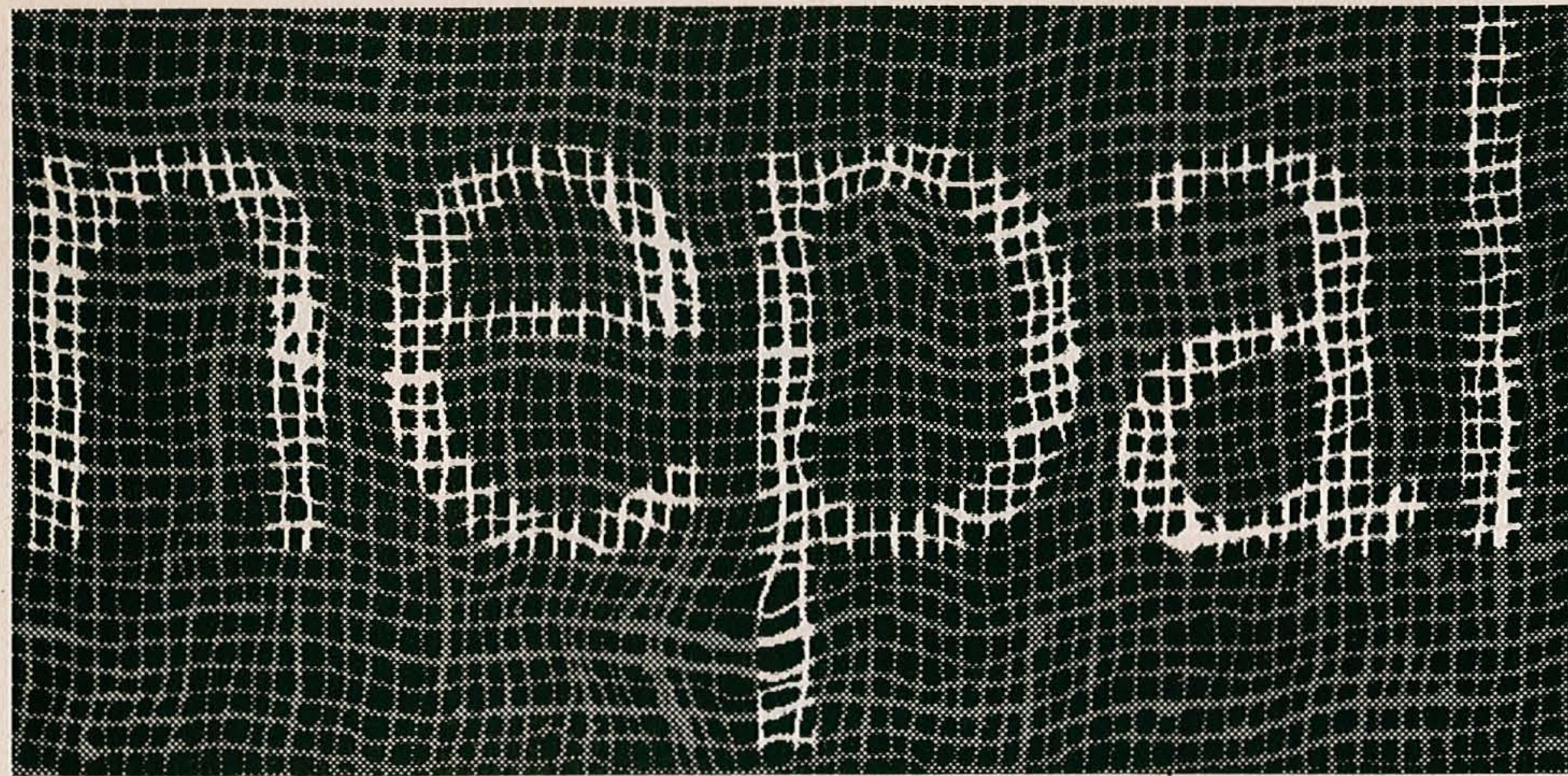
Boss's signature (forged)

Date

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_







# The First Post-Cold War Communist Government

**There is no place for the Communists in a Kingdom. Hence the Communists can never come to power in this country.** *Rajeshwor Devkota, a pro-royalist party leader, two months before the November 15, 1994 mid-term elections.*

The rest is history. The Communist Party of Nepal Unified Marxist-Leninist emerged victorious, winning the largest number of seats in the parliament in the November 15 mid-term elections.

### A Tale of the Unexpected.

Not only to people inside Nepal but internationally, the victory of the communists was unexpected news. In the post-"cold war" era where anti-communist ideas continue to dominate global politics, the victory was the least-expected event of the year. It is the second time in the history of the international communist movement that a communist party has come to power through the ballot. (The other being Chile in 1970.)

The election victory of the CPN-UML has nourished new debates and discussions within the left in many countries. It has also posed new challenges to dogmatic leftists, and especially those who continue to define the left movement in very limited and traditional ways without considering the diversity and particularity of circumstances within different countries. Forming a pre-revolutionary government is also a new experience in the international communist movement, where the dominant perception is that communists cannot come to power without a successful social revolution.

### Victory via election.

It is unusual for a communist party to participate in parliamentary elections, much less form the government within the existing social and economic structure. There is still a strong perception that participating in elections means abandoning one's revolutionary stance or moving towards revisionism, a right deviation.

It is only recently that Nepali communists have participated in elections and played an important role in establishing and strengthening democratic rights in Nepal. This was designated as the appropriate method of building up the political consciousness of the people, as well as of developing the movement in the country.

In 1959, Nepal's first multi-party election was held. The communist party participated and emerged as the third largest party in the parliament. The Nepali Congress (a bourgeois party) won the majority of seats and formed the government. However, the inexperience of the Congress Party threw the country into chaos and, after one and a half years, King Mahendra dissolved the government and the parliament, and introduced the partyless and autocratic Panchayat system that lasted for 30 years. During this period of repression (1960-1990), Nepali communists adopted the policy of utilising what token elections there were as opportunities to express their voice and as one of the best ways for the party to reach out to the masses.

After the successful 1990 pro-democracy movement—which was jointly fought by the communists and Congress to overthrow the autocratic Panchayat system and establish a multi-party system—all political parties, including communist parties, were legalised. There was a new constitution which set the rules for the 1991 multi-party parliamentary election.

In the 1991 election, the Nepali Congress formed the government, securing 110 seats out of 205. The CPN-UML



**Each theory should be tested through its practice. We are trying our best to move forward from within the boundary of peaceful struggle. Its optimum development is only to form government through peaceful means, and to provide relief to the people within the current state structure. It is progressive and of maximum benefit to the people, and is itself an important thing and an achievement in the movement to establish a people's democratic system. But to achieve the ultimate goals there still remains a stride to take forcefully.** *Former CPN-UML Secretary General Madan Bhandari.*

became the main opposition party in parliament, securing 65 seats.

In July 1994, following the resignation of Prime Minister Koirala, the King dissolved Parliament and scheduled mid-term elections for November.

In February 1993, after a decade of dynamic debates and discussions inside and outside of the party, the 5th Congress of the CPN-UML approved "people's multi-party democracy" as its political program. The people's multi-party democracy program, engineered by the late CPN-UML leader Madan Bhandari (who was killed in May 1993), is designed to eliminate all forms of feudal and imperialist exploitation and domination. Some of its political and social features of the program include:

- a. The separation of powers;
- b. Building an open, pluralistic society;
- c. The primacy of the constitution;
- d. The protection and promotion of people's fundamental rights;
- e. A lawful, democratic state;
- f. Majority rule in government;
- g. The use of foreign capital and technology to serve the interests of the people and the nation;
- h. The decentralisation of political power to the local level, including control of local resources for local needs;
- i. The empowerment of women and indigenous people through the decentralisation process, as well as through the protection and preservation of culture and tradition;
- j. Foreign policy based on domestic interests.

The essence of the political structure is the people's democratic state with a system of multi-party competition. Unlike previous definitions of the new democratic system in countries like China, Cuba, North Korea or Vietnam it includes the people's basic democratic and human rights such as the right to organise, freedom of the press, periodic multi-party elections, the rule of law, and religious and cultural freedom.

Defining the path of the struggle, the CPN-UML Congress believes that each and every country has its

own particular geo-political situation, which determines the way of struggle depending on the existing socio-economic structures, people's level of consciousness and the level of, and degree of participation in, the class struggle. The Party believes that each and every political force has to first go through a process of analysing their society on the basis of their own historical and political realities, taking into consideration social composition, cultural diversity, the status of women, minority and indigenous groups—before making decisions regarding the path of struggle.

The CPN-UML regards Nepal as still dominated by a feudal agricultural production system: over 90% of the people live in villages with backward and feudal systems of land-ownership. The Nepali economy is controlled by a few landlords, as well as foreign capitalists and imperialist forces. The feudal monopoly in agriculture and imperialist monopoly in the industrial sectors are two main obstacles.

In defining the roles and responsibilities of the mass and professional organisations—including those of students, peasants, women, trade unions, teachers, professors and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)—the Party states that they are independent and may formulate and carry out their own policies and programs, and may mobilise the masses on sectoral or community issues. The party's role is to provide political leadership, but these organisations are free to criticise and even to oppose, if the government and the Party are not addressing their sectoral problems as well as the people's issues in general.

### Challenges and prospects.

"As communists, we always believe in revolution and want to establish a revolutionary government through revolution. But, given the present international and national situation, it is wishful thinking to imagine an immediate revolution in the country. So our Party has chosen a more practical path, forming a government by election to protect the people's rights and improve their living conditions." (A CPN-UML member of Parliament.)

The Nepali people hailed the election victory of the CPN-UML as the victory of their long struggle. People







## nepal

### After the Honeymoon.

It has already been more than 100 days since the formation of the CPN-UML government—not enough time to judge a government or expect concrete results, but more than enough time for any government to initiate policies and give some indication to the people that it is moving in the right direction.

In the past 100 days, the CPN-UML government has undertaken important initiatives regarding agricultural development in Nepal, forming two major national commissions—the National Land Reform Commission and the Commission on Landless Peoples—to study and make recommendations for the implementation of a land reform system in the country, as well as to provide land for landless peasants. The government has also taken steps to abolish the bonded labour system in farming, discrimination against women, and the trafficking of young women.

Similarly, the government has taken steps to amend unequal foreign treaties, especially with India. The government has started a nationwide campaign against official corruption, bribery and nepotism.

In a recent interview with a local newspaper, a CPN-UML activist said, 'It is too early to predict the future performance of our government. Before making any comments on the role and performance of the government, we must take into account different factors which directly or indirectly influence or affect government decisions. The most encouraging factor for the Party and the government is that people have hailed the initial steps. The beginning in impressive.'

### Rajan Bhattarai

*Rajan Bhattarai is a member of the 1992-95 Secretariat of the Asian Students Association. Since this article was written the King, at the request of the CPN-UML government, has dissolved Parliament and scheduled elections for November. This announcement was greeted with mass celebrations in the streets.*

have set their expectations high on the CPN-UML government in regards to the improvement of their daily lives. Amongst the 19 million Nepali people, over 90% live in villages, in poverty without the basic necessities such as enough food, basic education, health care, electricity, sanitation, drinking water and transportation facilities. People also want to have immediate relief from their generation-long sufferings from feudal and foreign exploitation and domination. The present government cannot just make swift and substantial changes to the existing order. The much-needed changes will come slowly but surely.

Another challenge for the CPN-UML government is its minority position within the Parliament. The CPN-UML has 88 seats, with six other left-wing seats making 94 out of 205 seats. Any bill or proposal this government wants passed by the Parliament has to garner support from the opposition parties. This minor-

ity position creates a number of obstacles in the course of decision-making and the implementation of the government's program. In addition, a communist party in power has double responsibilities to fulfil. On the one hand it has to continue paving the way for the further development of the people's movement for social change. On the other hand, it also has to run the government, providing better facilities and improving the living conditions of the people.

The CPN-UML and the government are two different entities, which should have clearly delineated work and responsibilities. The Party is the politically superior body and it will continue to guide the government, providing political leadership. The government has to focus on the planning and implementation of development, and also carry out immediate relief work for the people—a commitment made in the Party's election manifesto.

RALLY AGAINST FEES AUGUST 24th

# LIVE FROM

Mumia Abu-Jamal has spent the last thirteen years on Death Row in the United States, framed for the murder of a Philadelphia policeman. The following is an article written by him illustrating the prejudicial hypocrisy of the American media.

# DEATH

### A Jaundiced "Eye on America".

The urbane Dan Rather, sitting as the sole anchor of the evening's newscast, premised the segment coming up as one which would deal with a case of a criminal "who profited from his crime," a theme seconded by correspondent Anthony Mason, and sounded by the subjects of the segment.

Viewers were left with the unmistakable opinion that the man depicted in the segment was getting "rich" off of the killing of a cop in Philadelphia.

Nothing could be further from the truth. That edition of "Eye on America" is Exhibit A of "How to produce a biased, prejudicial and non-objective report." It was an attack on the writer, by appearing to be an attack on a book; a book that deals with many things, but not the crime for which the writer has been convicted—a fact obvious to anyone who can, and does, read.

It is undisputed that the writer was convicted of a crime, and yes, the book—*Live from Death Row* does deal with crime—but it deals with the

crimes committed by this system, this government, members of the Philadelphia Police, and the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections—crimes that no court has condemned! It illustrates that some crimes are punished, and others are not. That is the real reason why this system, and its media mouthpieces (themselves huge multinational corporations) are attacking this book.

Isn't it ironic that the very entity that claims its lifeblood is the First Amendment to the Constitution attacks someone for daring

# ROW

to practice the identical claimed constitutional guarantee? What is more important,

however, is the case that wasn't mentioned in that segment that claimed to deal with "those who profited from crime," and why.

Who recognises the name "Stacey Koon"?

If you say, "one of the cops who almost beat Rodney King to death," you would be half-right. He is also the author of the book, *Presumed Guilty: The Tragedy of the Rodney King Affair* (Regnery Gateway, 1993). Mr Koon is also a beneficiary of the Koon Defense Fund which has collected, as of 4-5 months ago, an estimated \$4.6 million dollars—*million!*

In his letter soliciting funds for the support of his legal efforts on appeal, and his wife and five kids, the call for financial support is under the titles: Sgt. Stacey C. Koon, L.A.P.D.

Sgt.? L.A.P.D.? Isn't Koon a convicted criminal?

Further, isn't he, by writing a book about the crime for which he was convicted—"profiting from his crime"?

Apparently, to the editors at CBS, not so, for who among the readers who are reading this column has not seen the brutal videotaped beating of Rodney King—for the crime of being a 'big nigga'? In his letter soliciting funds, Koons writes, "Rodney King, a musclebound, 6 foot 4, 240 pounder, had attacked LAPD officers before the famous video tape was made."

"At one point," King adds, King "exhibited superhuman strength."

When is a criminal not a criminal? When they are cops convicted of crimes? How many of the cops across the country contributed to this convicted criminal?

You would not learn this from "Eye on," for this was not, apparently, "news." In truth, it isn't news when white cops beat, kill, or torture, black men, women and children; that is the status quo.

At night before the event at the law enforcement memorial in Washington D.C., over 100 cops (Mostly from the New York Police Dept.) wrought havoc upon the Washington Regency Hotel, by acting like a squadron of drunken louts—they ran through the hotel buck naked, sexually harassed innocent women who lodged therein, sprayed fire extinguishers into the air conditioning system, and beat on doors, shouting "Open up! Federal Police!"

What constitutes crimes for average people, becomes "boys letting a little steam off".

Who profits from crime?

Don't the cops?

Doesn't the media?

**Mumia Abu-Jamal**

21 May 1995



For years the student movement has made 'access to education' a primary focus, with little open discussion of why. This article asks:

# what's the fucking point of access?

## Let's take a look at what's really happening.

It is class divisions that are most important in determining access to higher education. In the context of the extraordinary acceleration in participation during the late 80s (actual numbers of students from the lowest income stratum doubled), there was not much change to the relative proportions of upper, lower and working class students participating in higher education. In 1980, students whose parents had not completed secondary education had one half of the chances of enrolling in higher education compared with students whose parents had studied at a post secondary level; in 1984, the chances were just under 0.3; in 1989, just over 0.3. The pattern is similar with respect to family wealth: at the beginning and end of the decade those whose family wealth was in the lowest quartile had about half the chances of participating in higher education than those in the first quartile. Similar variations in participation rates occur with residential areas. In 1986, the chances of a young person attending a university if they lived in middle class Kew or Woollahra were about six times greater than those of a young person in working class Sunshine or Bankstown. This is the first point.

The second point is that the expansion of higher education fosters credentialism, especially in an economy which has high unemployment and in which employer selection of workers is already substantially based upon the possession of credentials derived from post-secondary education. That is, the labour-market value of any given credential—the ability of such a credential to get the possessor a job—drops as more people come to possess it. Thus, in order to achieve the same employment effect, someone has to stay in education longer. (Of course, employers will still make

use of such criteria as past work experience, as well as politics, race, gender or class background, in deciding issues of hiring and firing. To a large extent credentials are themselves effectively judgments made on the grounds of race, class, gender and politics.) Many of the people who will be staying longer—who are already doing so—are, in an economy as hierarchical as ever, destined for low-wage work. Undergraduate and post-graduate education are both now expensive, so more people are paying more for qualifications in order to get jobs which they could have previously hoped to get with less or no post-graduate qualification or without a degree at all. (Needless to say, the expansion of higher education has occurred together with the lowering of real wages, the shift towards casual and frequently non-unionised work and the rise in unemployment. The former does not cause the latter, or vice versa, but both are outcomes of related processes which have systematically increased inequality in Australia over the last decade.) As credentialism advances, up-front post-graduate fees are beginning to take on the functions previously held by upfront undergraduate fees: ensuring that access to education and many of its economic rewards remains a function of an individual's access to wealth.

**In this context, years of student poverty** plus substantial accumulated debts (from both HECS and the loans scheme of student financial 'assistance') constitute an enormous transfer of wealth *away from* the poorer end of the population. The fight against 'user-pays' education is the fight against this appalling redistribution.

Of course, most of those at the poorer end of the population are locked out of higher education anyway,

but this will not slow or stop credentialism. As the higher paid jobs come to require higher credentials as a condition of entry, these will still find most of their few potential avenues of *individual* upward-mobility blocked, and the situation will probably get worse rather than better. Simon Marginson has noted that:

*'Shop floor to manager' is a thing of the past: management training is the fastest growing area of tertiary education.*

Increasing access to higher education cannot in and of itself decrease economic inequality. The central hierarchies of capitalism are not in any way challenged by the existence of mass education: there will still be high and low paying jobs; there will still be unemployment; and ownership of the 'means of production' will still operate as the central defining criterion of power and wealth distribution. (An expansion of higher education will not, in all likelihood, change the composition of those individuals who own the means of production—and who cares anyway? Whether or not fifty percent of the BHP board is female or not should surely only interest that miniscule proportion of the population for whom this will be an option, and regardless of whether they have all risen from rags to riches, the fact will remain that their riches are built on the backs of millions in, so to speak, rags.) In short, the only ways to argue that expanded higher education will benefit the mass of the population are to argue that:

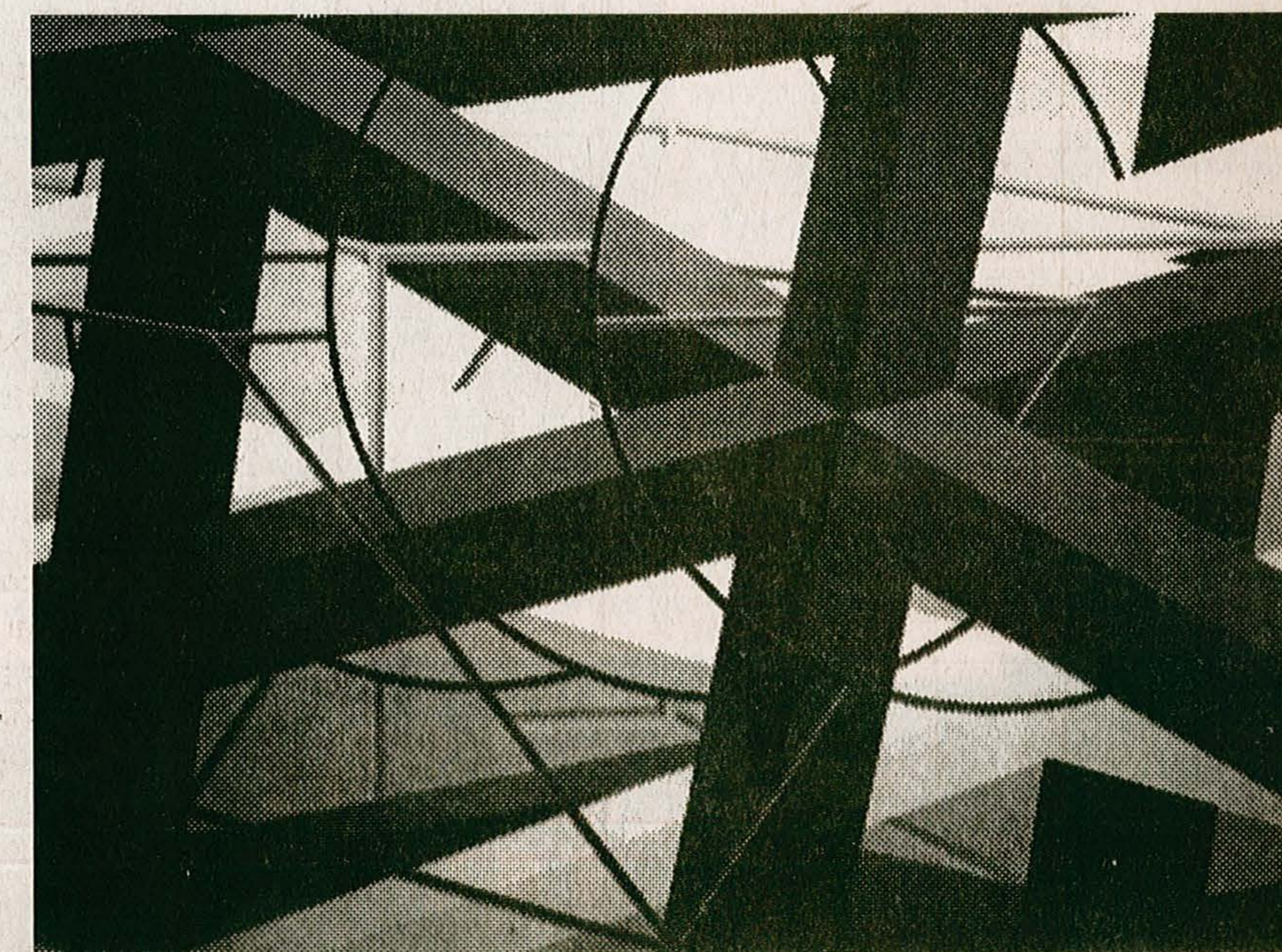
- (a) higher education has inherent or non-economic value with benefits (to the individual of 'society') overriding the (deplorable) costs; or else
- (b) the expansion of access to higher education is vital to the improved performance of the economy as a whole—or at least the new high tech sectors—which will lead to more of the higher paying jobs that people want; and
- (c) the most important inequality is *inter-generational*, ie., increased access for the working class can allow for increased inter-generational mobility between classes: if the children of the working class were not systematically excluded from higher education, a working-class background would not then virtually guarantee a working-class future.

The first is only relevant to the question of increasing *economic* inequality if one assumes that these inherent or non-economic values—'critical thinking', for example—have economic effects, such as a greater ability of the educated to defend

themselves, to organise politically within the workplace or outside, etcetera. Prove this if you can. In any case, it seems highly unlikely that the expansion of demand for higher education has resulted purely from a desire to be more learned. Rather, it seems highly *likely* that individuals were and are seeking presumed economic benefits for which post-secondary education is a necessary—if not increasingly sufficient—condition. It is difficult to argue that people should regard education as about *more* than getting a job when there is a significant possibility that higher education will not even get anyone a job in the first place. Of course, we can declare access to higher education to be some abstract 'right' of all, but we should certainly not adopt a politics premised on *not* noticing anyone's motivations for participation.

The second proposition, concerning potential gains for all to be achieved through a better economic performance, is clearly the justification assumed by the Australian Labor Party and the ACTU. By itself it is, unfortunately, untrue, as the last decade should make clear—neither the private sector nor the government are willing or capable of undertaking the steps which could, theoretically have the positive results occasionally predicted in the techno-utopian documents of policyland. The ALP attempted to and succeeded in restoring corporate profits, but not much of this seemed to 'trickle down' to a general population experiencing a rapid increase in inequality.

The third proposition—creating the possibility of individual upward-mobility—will not change the *number* of those at the bottom end of capitalism: it will just reshuffle places for a more equal distribution of injustice and inequality. Thus we arrive at a question: what are the values behind a push to increase overall access to higher education?





## yet more on education and capitalism

If we wish to increase the upward-mobility of the traditionally oppressed whilst leaving the structural hierarchies intact, we should actively seek, not to increase the overall number of people in higher education, but rather to change the composition of those participating. Unfortunately, on any large scale this is hardly a viable strategy: fighting relative privilege amongst wage slaves in a declining economy is likely to divide what should be an opposition united against the system which forms this zero-sum game. The experience in America shows that people under threat come

**A movement that is unable to take into account and act on the specific oppression and disadvantage of people on the bases of race, class or gender has given up the right to call itself progressive.**

to understand very fast that the capitalist economy is a zero-sum game, and that any strategy which posits them as in effect disposable is not a strategy with which they can feel comfortable. This unease has been used with disastrous effect against the Left and minorities by right-wing Democrats and Republicans, most notably in the consid-

erable success that the Right achieve in persuading sections of the black community in California to vote for the psychopathic anti-immigrant Proposition 187. Thus in the United States, while affirmative action has been very good at questioning the declared 'neutrality' of existing forms of assessment and grading, it has been largely disastrous in building social solidarity against capitalism or its most basic forms of entrenched privilege.

Individual competition within a capitalist market is a struggle to succeed *relative to other people*: every win for someone is a loss for someone else. With increased access and increased unemployment goes harsher competition: for Year 12 scores, entry to elite courses, entry to postgrad study, postgrad scholarships, jobs. No-one wants to become a member of that despised group: the underclass. What we are discussing here is the contemporary political economy of fear.

A movement that is unable to take into account and act on the specific oppression and disadvantage of people on the bases of race, class or gender has given up the right to call itself progressive. On the other

hand, a movement based solely on creating the upward-mobility of the few at the expense of the many is one with no prospect of dealing with the nature of the problems at hand.

If large-scale affirmative action—whether based on race, or class, or even on gender—is likely to be counter-productive in forming a strategy opposing capitalism, a push for a *generalised* increase in access to higher education within existing economic arrangements is unlikely to succeed at that which affirmative action does, or at least could, achieve: the transportation of oppressed elements—small elements of the oppressed—into what remains of the middle class.

Empirically, the mass expansion of access has not led to significant shifts in the demographic bias of participation—higher education is still heavily skewed toward the privileged. The expansion was an expansion of middle class access. A simple push for more places in higher education ignores most of the real reasons why people are excluded from, or do not participate in, higher education—including those reasons which are raised by campaigns for affirmative action.

**Of course, some of the traditional Left** might regard such limited forms of upward-mobility within capitalism as a weird goal anyway, which may be one reason why the thorough questioning of forms of assessment and grading has not been on the agenda of the student movement for a long time—and neither, on the whole, has the issue of credit transfer. Of course, these are not as sexy for the student movement as simply announcing support for 'education for all'—a program whose real content, if any, is rarely made explicit.

On the Right the situation is even worse: one finds either nostalgia for falsified versions of, according to taste, the Whitlam or Menzies eras, or uncritical acclaim for the status quo, or reactionary fantasies about 'market control' of education. At this point only a militant defensive struggle, alongside a thorough examination of the relations of education, State and capitalism, can hold out hope for a renewal of the student movement and a reinvigoration of student participation in the struggle against capitalism—a struggle which must ultimately seek to move beyond the *quantitative* toward *qualitative* change and a break with the present order.

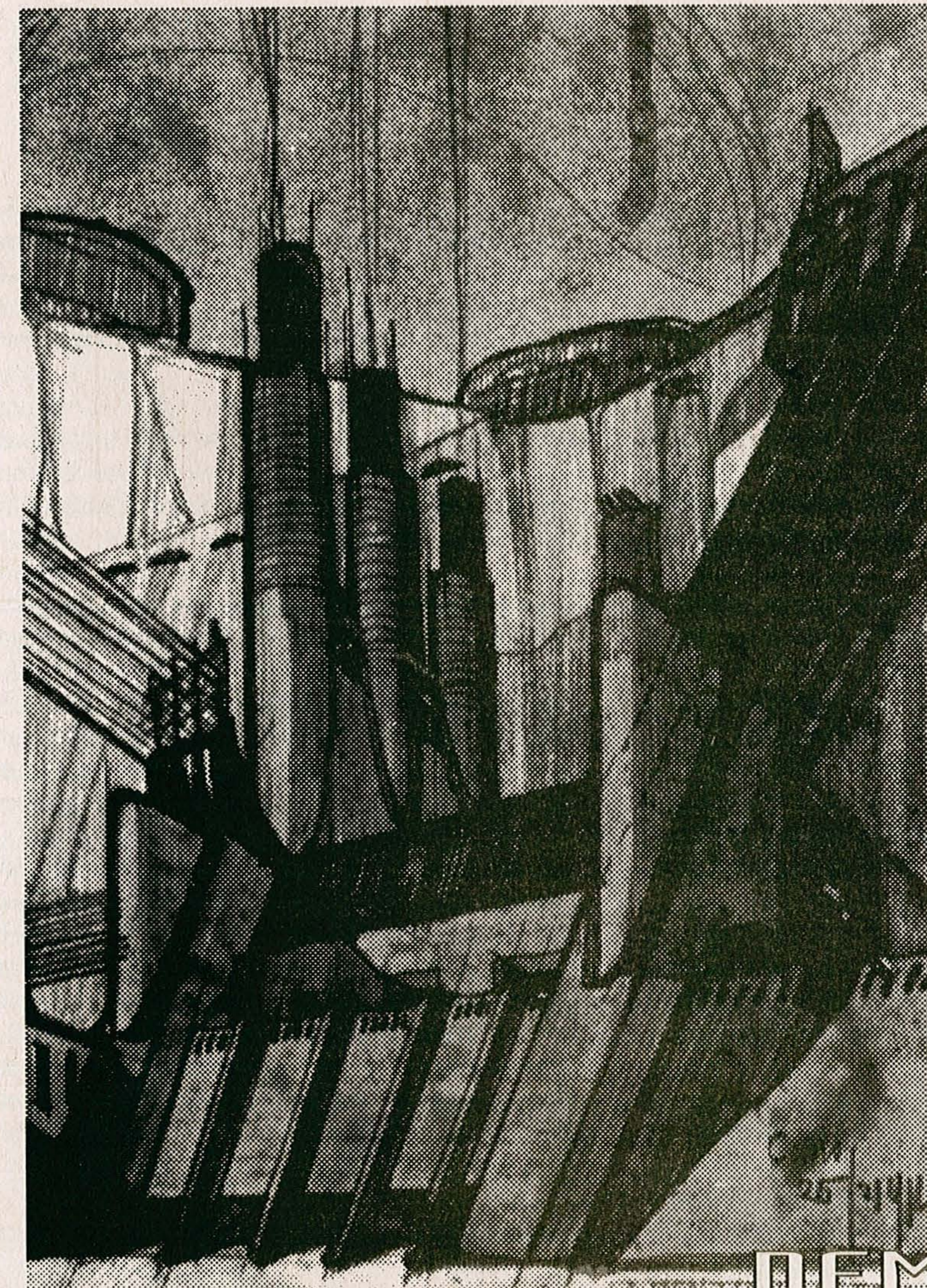
**Ben Ross.** With thanks to Cass Bennett.



# NO FEES FOR DEGREES

## rally

No Fees for Degrees



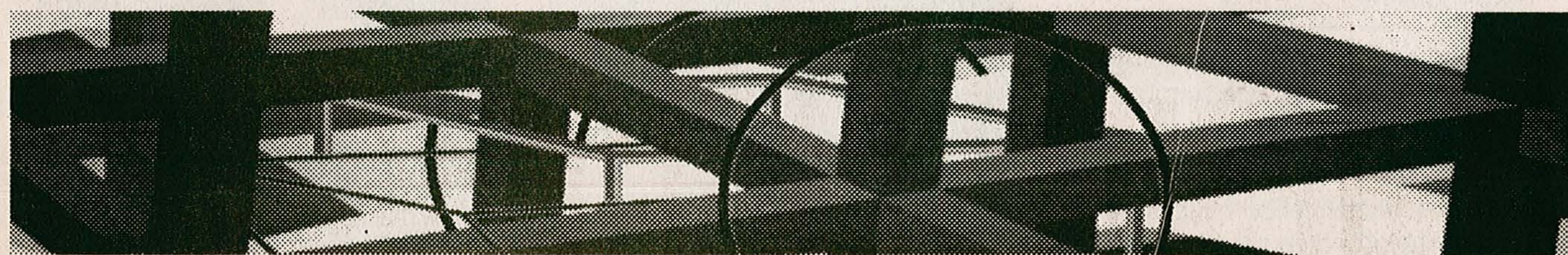
They say that a University degree will count for something, that it will get you a better job than all those without a degree. What they don't tell you is that an undergraduate degree is becoming worth less every day. They also don't tell you that most postgraduate courses now charge up-front fees. What they do tell you is that if you are a permanent resident you will have to become a citizen or else pay HECS upfront and lose your AUSTUDY.

The Government is decreasing their spending on higher education enabling full, upfront fees to be to be charged for all tertiary students.

Let's put an end to this situation.

DEMONSTRATE

# Thursday 24th August



RALLY AGAINST FEES AUGUST 24th



assholes of australia presents...

# AN EVENING

*"The crazy trotskyite elements of the conservation movement are hell-bent on economic sabotage and they have found a willing ally in the ABC."*

Graeme Campbell being loony in 1991.

Graeme Campbell is a very bad man. Campbell is a maverick. A rabble-rouser. A mud-flinger. A racist. As the Honourable Member for Kalgoorlie, anti-green activist, zero migration advocate, and member of the ALP, Campbell is the kind of politician who fills his spare time by writing (sub-literate) conservative manifestos for the future of Australia. Campbell fancies himself as a latter day Huey Long—a rebel reactionary who bucks the 'system' (including the highly factionalised ALP) in favour of the interests of the little person—providing that the little person is a white heterosexual anglo-saxon. Campbell is a bigot—this article is a brief foray into the world according to Graeme.

Kalgoorlie, which spans the north-west of Western Australia, is purported to be the largest single member electorate in the liberal democratic world. Kalgoorlie is made up of pastoral and primary industries, with mining companies prominent amongst the few opportunities for economic growth and employment. Kalgoorlie is a fairly marginal ALP seat; however, Campbell's refusal to toe the ALP party line over immigration, Mabo and the gold tax has earned him a kind of folk hero status, which he carefully cultivates through his grandstanding in the press and the publication of a newsletter *The Campbell-Nevill Report* which he edits with Mark Nevill, the WA MLC for Mining and Pastoral Region. Campbell has initiated his own "anti-faction faction" of which Campbell and Nevill alone claim membership. Indeed, Campbell and Nevill even operate a joint office in Kalgoorlie.

Campbell and Nevill have also started a Coalition for Sustainable Development; a gathering of right-wing anti-conservation activists who organise under the guise of promoting environmental responsibility. The Coalition involves the mining and forestry industries; its development is one of a series of broadsides that Campbell has made against "the economic saboteurs who run the various so-called environmental groups". Campbell's hatred for the Green movement is well-known; he delights in taunting the ALP over their attempts to "buy off the greenies" with the World Heritage listing of various locales. During the 1990 election he called for the sacking of Graham Richardson, the then Federal Environment Minister over the listing of Shark Bay. Caucus were not amused and Bob Hawke informed Campbell that he wouldn't be visiting Kalgoorlie during the campaign. Campbell told Bob that he didn't need him.

But what Campbell is perhaps best known for are his (well publicised) views on immigration. In a 1990 discussion paper entitled "The Australia of Our Dreams or Just Another Argentina"; Campbell outlined his racist vision of Australian society; assimilate or perish.

"The fact is that Australia is an Anglo-celtic country. Most of the migrants who came here, came voluntarily and have assimilated well. Most migrants would still like to integrate. If they do not, then we, as a country, are entitled to ask: why are they here at all?"

Further to this, Campbell identifies particular threats to Australian society in people of Islamic faith: "Fundamentalist Islamic cultures are incompatible with western liberal democracy and we should impose an immediate ban on immigration from countries where this type of religion is a problem and we should immediately stop funding islamic schools and indeed all ethnic schools and other fringe groups."

Campbell makes mention of the "ethnic industry" and of "professional ethnics" who refuse his model of integration and are therefore "fascist" when they accuse him of racism. Hence Campbell posits the figure of the enemy alien; foreigners who refuse to accede to the norms of 'our' society and are therefore seen as threatening division and chaos. 'Ethnics' bring their problems into 'our' country and are to blame for social instability. According to Campbell, "all immigration should be geared so that it does not place intolerable strains on the fabric of society."

The positing of a homogenous Anglo-celtic 'Australian' identity is a racist whitewash of Aboriginal sovereignty: Campbell's view on Aboriginal people confirms his bigoted outlook. Campbell wants there to be tighter restrictions on the definition of Aboriginality. In a blatant disregard of miscegenation, Campbell wants Aborigines to prove that they have at least one quarter aboriginal blood before they can be classified as such. Campbell defines Aboriginal culture as a "poverty culture" utterly dependent on handouts from white government agencies and incapable of self-determination. After meeting with Jigalong elders (who asked for more housing), Campbell told a press conference that what the

WITH

# Graeme

# Campbell

Jigalong really needed was a big police station. Police, claims Campbell, are the best social workers in the world. And if the Department of Community Services was abolished, then more money could go to the police force.

Campbell is very good at co-opting dissent (witness the Coalition for Sustainable Development) and way-laying the racist label by claiming (as he frequently does) that many Aboriginal people (or in the case of his opposition to Asian immigration, Vietnamese people) agree with and support his point of view. Campbell will go to great lengths to manufacture 'community support'.

In 1992, Multiplex, a construction and development company had undertaken a project which was opposed by the owners of the land; the Aboriginal people. Campbell supported the development. He claimed Aboriginal support for the development and helped to organise a demonstration of Aborigines to this effect. The demo was funded at least in part by Multiplex and was condemned by Aboriginal leaders. Caught co-opting Aboriginal struggles for his own ends, Campbell was unapologetic.

In May of this year, Campbell defied an ALP ban to speak at a Queensland League of Rights meeting, the second time Campbell had addressed this far right racist outfit in recent years. Campbell is among seven state and federal politicians who have called upon the US government to exonerate right-wing demagogue, Lyndon La Rouche. La Rouche and the League are connected to the Citizen's Electoral Council whose publication *The New Citizen* car-

ries advertisements for the thuggish National Action group. La Rouche himself believes that Queen Elizabeth pushes drugs and has suggested that those who murder gay men will be remembered as "the only force which acted to save the human species from extinction." La Rouche claims that the holocaust did not happen and that the Nazis rise to power was sponsored by the Rothschilds. While Campbell, however claims that he in no way endorses the League's policies, his view on immigration is remarkably similar to theirs.

Hypocritically, considering the roasting given to Alexander Downer over his League connections, the ALP have only ever seriously disciplined Campbell once: when he crossed the floor to vote against the gold tax, he was suspended from caucus for a brief period. That the ALP continue to support Campbell is no big surprise. The ALP needs Kalgoorlie. The ALP don't think that they can win the seat without Campbell. Campbell's racist views on immigration policy are in line with the ALP's tendency to lock-up 'illegal' immigrants in detention camps and to continue to privilege English speaking migrants over others. Campbell is an embarrassing and very public example of the ALP's substitution of 'multicultural' rhetoric for an open immigration policy. Remember the ALP's White Australia Policy? Graeme Campbell certainly does.

Jackie Lynch



not a good man. no, no, no.

**There was a maggot, but there wasn't.**  
I stood there with nothing left of my face except the torn fleshy bits where my fingernails had been. But anyway, there was a maggot with the face of Larry Emdur, or should that be there was a Larry Emdur with the face of a Maggot, for truly there was such a Larry Emdur. But as I was saying, there was a Maggot in my meat pie, but I didn't mind because at least it wasn't a human eyeball, don't scoff I tell you I've seen it. So anyway, there was a maggot.

Zoot Spincter



# COINTELPRO

**"I'm gonna make Attila the Hun look like a faggot after the election's over."**

**—Philadelphia Mayor Frank L. Rizzo on how he would deal with his political enemies after his 1975 re-election campaign.**

The name **Fraternal Order of Police** (FOP) brings to mind chilling images of a 'brotherhood', a secret boys club akin to that of the Freemasons, or worse still, the Klu Klux Klan. Indeed, the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police has, for the past twenty five years, served as a cess pool for retired cops. In an earlier article in this edition of *Rabelais* (Page 6), on the racist frame-up of Black Panther Party (BPP) member, Mumia Abu-Jamal—who is currently awaiting his execution, due to take place in less than a month—both the Judge and prosecutor of Jamal's case were lifetime members of the FOP.

Also a member of the FOP was F. L. Rizzo, the son of a police sergeant who served for 45 years. Rizzo himself, joined the force in 1943 and had made his way to commissioner by 1967. Rizzo was perhaps best known for his police-can-do-no-wrong credo and his moralistic fetish for 'law and order' which appealed to the fears and anxieties of the white middle class in Philadelphia. The archetypal authoritarian personality, Rizzo liked to present a tough, fearless image and showed a brazen disrespect for the very laws he claimed to uphold, if and when they stood in the way of him harassing, detaining, arresting or raiding his targets.

Rizzo was also known for his ability to woo the media, at least in his hey day anyway, when he would produce 'news' at the pull of a trigger: a raid followed by a press conference, a few good photos and some catchy quotes would earn him the favour of the press, who in turn rewarded him with a healthy amount of personal publicity.

No other American police officer was able to court the press as effectively as did Rizzo, who even went to the bother of supplementing their incomes. All these favours paid off in the end—he became, according to Frank Donner, an 'urban folk hero...and sure-fire candidate for the Mayoralty', a position which he eventually achieved in 1972. Before Rizzo became police commissioner, the Philadelphia Police Department worked side by side with his hero, FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover. Rizzo cultivated this relationship both as commissioner and as Mayor.

The 700 pages of **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) files that Jamal recently obtained after almost three years of fighting for them, prove without a doubt that the Philadelphia Police Department's Civil Defense Squad (CD) or Intelligence Division 'red squads', were, in the 1960s and 70s, in collusion with the FBI's 'Counter-Intelligence Programme' known as COINTELPRO, as well as four other security agencies, namely;

the Naval Intelligence Service Office; Military Intelligence; Office of Special Investigation and the Secret Service. So the boys played something like an armed version of interschool sports; spying on their enemies and helping each other out where ever they could.

Lieutenant George Fencel, leader of the Philadelphia CD squad has boasted that they kept some 18,000 dossiers—a number which make the FBI files pale in comparison—which included information such as: the name; address; photo; a rundown of the person; and the date, time and location of the different demonstrations and groups that the individual had picketed with.

The FBI and the Philadelphia Police Department were also closely linked to FOP, sharing in many instances, the same membership. The evidence clearly shows that beginning in 1967, the

Philly CD utilised a number of different informants, sponsored and paid for by the FBI. In exchange, the Philly cops supplied the FBI with information gleaned from its electronic surveillance (phone and office taps)—a field which the FBI was reluctant to enter. More significantly, the FBI and Philadelphia police force's aggressive counterintelligence initiatives against black activists such as the BPP and the Afrikan Peoples Party (APP) were those on which the FBI modelled its brutal intelligence programme, COINTELPRO.

**COINTELPRO**, the brainchild of FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover, began in 1967 and was expanded the following February. Hoover had a passionate hate for all dissidents, but in particular black activists in the BPP. Of the

293 COINTELPRO Operations against black groups, 233 were against the Panthers. In what can only be interpreted as a direct death threat, Hoover said of black dissidents:

*The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries.*

Rizzo and his cops along with Hoover, had it in for Jamal. In 1968, at 14 years old, he was brutally beaten and arrested by the Philly cops for protesting against the racist segregationist, George Wallace. From the day that Jamal attended a May Day demonstration demanding the freedom of political prisoner, BPP leader Huey Newton, the Feds began to track his every political move. Filled with clippings of articles written by Jamal for the *Black Panther* newspaper and reports of his public speeches, the FBI dossier, also included memoranda and letters between the FBI and its intelligence agents which detail Mumia attending

The name Fraternal Order of Police brings to mind chilling images of a 'brotherhood', a secret boys club akin to that of the Freemasons, or worse still, the Klu Klux Klan.

# files

demonstrations where "he spoke against the 'pigs' ". On 24 October an FBI report on Jamal urged that he put under maximum level surveillance because:

*In spite of the subjects age (15 years), Philadelphia feels that his continued participation in BPP activities in the Philadelphia Division, his position in the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP, and his past inclination to appear and speak at a public gathering, the subject should be included on the security index.*

Implicit in the FBI files is that Jamal was targeted for more than just surveillance. His name was placed on two government hit lists: the FBI's Security Index (SI) of those deemed to be a 'threat' to 'national security' and the Administrative Index (ADEX) of those who should, in the case of a 'national emergency', be rounded up and thrown into concentration camps. The files show that, years before he was framed for the murder of police officer Faulkner, the feds repeatedly attempted to set Jamal up on felony charges (including murder), without any basis, except that he was an articulate and talented member of the BPP who had become a pet hate of Rizzo and Hoover. This was standard procedure in the COINTELPRO terror campaign on dissidents, which the FBI justified on the grounds that since the 'purpose...is to disrupt...it is immaterial whether facts exist to substantiate the charge.'

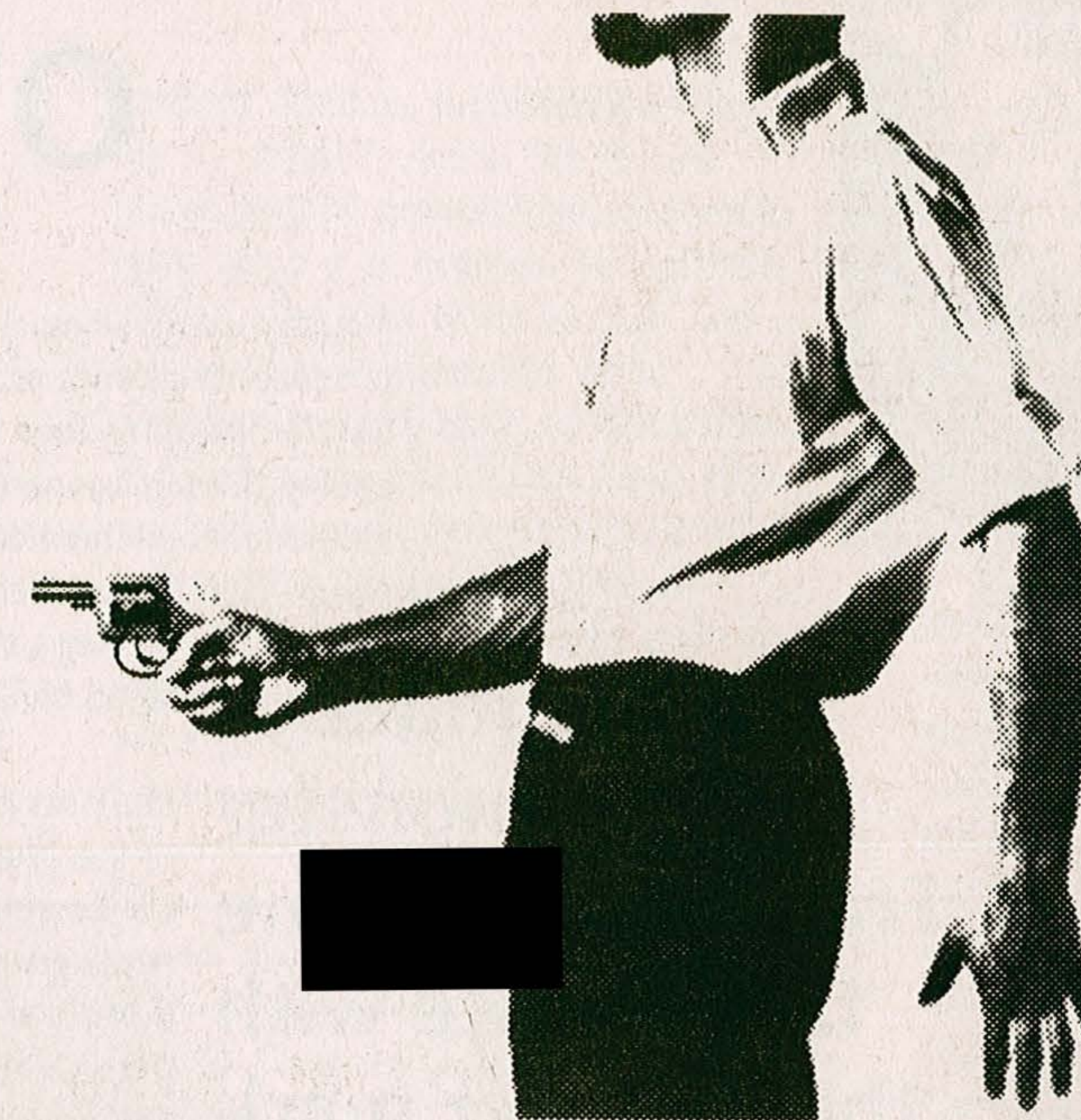
COINTELPRO's war on black dissidents ranged from the absurdity of an attempt to frame Jamal (back in 1973), for the murder of the governor of Bermuda, with no sustainable evidence except that he had studied in the Third World Studies Department at a College in Vermont which was supposedly visited by 'leading a black extremist from Bermuda', through to the horror of the assault on the MOVE organisation in 1978, of which Jamal was a supporter, and again by the Philly cops in 1985.

MOVE was a mostly black back-to-nature commune in Philadelphia's Powelton Village, against which Fencel orchestrated a callous offensive lasting from May 1977 to August of 1978. It began with a seven-week blockade of a four-block area in an effort to starve the group out, complete with eight-foot high fences, the screening of area residents, their families and guests as well as arrests for things like crossing the street without permission. The siege culminated in a shoot-out in which six MOVE members, twelve police and firemen were injured and one policeman killed at a cost to the state of more than \$2 million.

Despite claims from the FBI that COINTELPRO ended in the

70's, leftist harassment and racist terror continues to this day. The framing of Jamal for the murder of Faulkner in 1982 was the opportunity the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police had been waiting for in order to lawfully fry yet another Panther. A further attack on MOVE in 1985—for which the FBI provided the explosives—saw the death of 11 blacks and is only one amongst many brutal assaults on dissidents in the last decade.

During the reign of Hoover and Rizzo's racist terror, 38 Panthers were killed outright and today there are many black activists, now political prisoners who were either members of, or associated with the BPP or the MOVE organisation. Countless bashings and summary executions of other blacks on the streets of all American cities take place every year, one of the most recent being the murder of 35 year old Aaron Williams on June 6 of this year, when 12 San Francisco cops viciously beat him to death.



*We're dealing with a group of fanatics, yellow dogs that they are. We are prepared for any eventuality. We are dealing with psychotics and must be in a position to take them on. These imbeciles and yellow dogs...we'd be glad to meet them on their own terms. Just let them tell us when and where.*

Rizzo making clear his views on the Black Panther Party following the 1970 raids of three Philadelphia BPP offices by teams of forty-five heavily armed police stakeout men and ten detectives.

Melita Rogowsky, with information from *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America*, by Frank Donner, 1990

*Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, the Partisan Defense Committee, Winter 1995

*Workers Vanguard*, the Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the US, May/June 1995.

For more information on the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal and other political prisoners in the United States contact the Partisan Defense Committee on (03) 9654 4315.



# marijuana

With the recent controversy over 'skunk weed' and the police disruption of the Mullers Inc. club protest over the illegality of cannabis, it is worthwhile to look back on the history of cannabis prohibition and its foundation of corporate greed and racism.

# the ASSASSIN of youth

Cannabis was made illegal in the United States in 1937. Australia had prohibited marijuana some ten years earlier, ever since Great Britain agreed on our behalf to sign a South African amendment to the International Opium Convention, which outlawed cannabis. However the climate of public opinion that led to the U.S. crackdown and to intensified scrutiny in Australia on both agricultural and recreational use of cannabis was based on two things; hysterical racism and blatant lies.

For centuries hemp had been used to manufacture rope, clothing, sails for sailing ships, as well as for medication and of course relaxation. The early government of the United States encouraged and indeed legislated the mandatory growth of hemp crops for a limited period to gain financial independence from Great Britain. Benjamin Franklin started one of the first paper mills to use cannabis, and both George Washington and Thomas Jefferson grew cannabis on their plantations, and smoked it too. Editions of the King James and Guttenburg bibles have been printed on paper made from hemp. The first U.S. flag was woven from hemp fibres, and the early drafts of the U.S. constitution and Bill of Rights were printed on hemp paper. Indeed, up until the beginning of the 20th century cannabis was grown, processed and smoked worldwide. What went wrong?

By the late 30's a fully mechanised cannabis

industry was looking like a definite possibility. Hemp crops could produce four times as much paper from the same acreage of pulp crops up to four times a year. The biggest obstacle was of course the big business figures with large timber holdings and investments in chemicals used in the process of producing paper. Companies such as Hearst, Kimberly-Clark, DuPont and St. Regis stood to lose millions and perhaps even faced bankruptcy.

**If the hideous monster Frankenstein came face to face with the monster marijuana he would drop dead of fright. Harry Anslinger**

DuPonts chief financial backer was Andrew Mellon of the Mellon Bank of Pittsburgh, who in his role as FBI Secretary of the Treasury appointed Harry J. Anslinger as the head of the newly-created Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (FBND), the predecessor to today's Drug Enforcement Agency. Both Anslinger and Hearst would lead the campaign against hemp, or more specifically against marijuana, almost entirely along alarmingly racist lines. Hearst had run anti-Mexican headlines in his newspapers ever since 800,000 acres of his Mexican timberland was seized by Pancho Villa's army in the Spanish-American war. The picture of lazy dope-smoking lecherous Mexicans was only one of the many grossly racist caricatures Hearst would promulgate over the

next thirty years, along with anti-asian "yellow peril" propaganda and stories of great numbers of cocaine-crazed black men terrorizing the country and raping white women. After the onset of marijuana paranoia, and coincidentally when Hearst looked like he could be facing serious losses against hemp production, coke-crazed racist slurs became dope-crazed racist slurs. It's no surprise when you consider that most of the anti-marijuana and anti-jazz propaganda at the time was endorsed and produced by the Ku Klux Klan.

#### The evils of jazz.

Harry Anslinger, a frightening chap to be sure, next deduced that an effective method of banning the "devil weed" would be to put covert surveillance on all jazz musicians nationwide.

## a trojan horse of sickening compulsion

Why? According to the little world of his own mind, jazz musicians were responsible for the nations decline, they were "low-lives" peddling dope to the nations white youth. People now acclaimed as brilliant artists were to be the nonsensical scapegoats of a blatant program of white supremacist propaganda. Artists such as Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Dizzy Gillespie and Cab Calloway were all targetted by Anslinger for incarceration. The hazy reason given for this ridiculous proposal was that jazz could not be performed by a person who wasn't under the influence of marijuana, the beats being too fast for a 'normal' musician to perform. Fortunately this proposal was shot down by his superior, Assistant Secretary Foley. Hearst was also fond of denigrating jazz along entirely racist lines: it was frequently described in his papers as being anti-white and voodoo-satanic. Spooky, huh?

#### On the Vicious Negro Crime Wave and "The Gore Files"

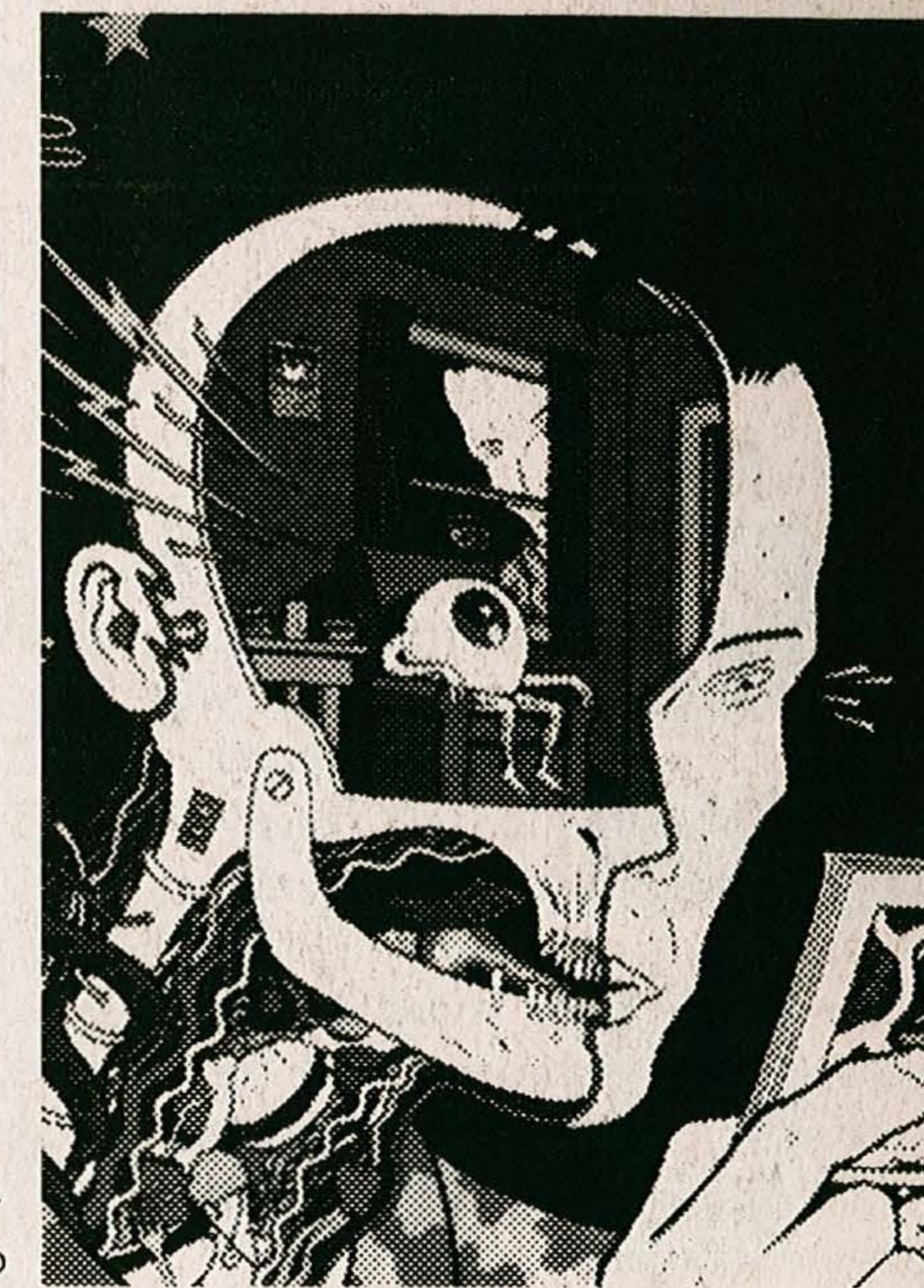
Hearst also seemed to enjoy spreading tales of "negro viciousness". The vicious behaviours described were usually violations of the existing apartheid-style laws, as mild as stepping on a white man's shadow or looking him in the eye for more than three seconds. While this would have offended only the far right loonies of society who typically seem to take a perverse pleasure in being offended at anything they put their mind to, the case against marijuana was strengthened by a series of articles, published in Hearsts newspapers, known as the "Gore Files". These sensationalist pieces would cover acts of

random violence, supposedly committed by dope-smokers. The stories played to two predominant concerns; racist notions of negroes 'having their wicked way' with white women and the destructive affects on white teenagers caused, again, by black men and jazz music. The "Gore Files" attributed almost any crime that occurred to the smoking of cannabis. Tales of teenage boys smoking a joint and hacking their family to pieces with an axe were common, as were screaming headlines bemoaning all the mixed-race babies being born to women tempted by jazz and "thick-lipped negroes". In a surreal display of altogether too prurient behaviour, Anslinger took the Gore Files to Congress as positive 'proof' of the evils of marijuana. Comments such as "smoking marijuana might make a black man look at a white woman twice" or indeed "fall under the influence of listening to jazz" were tossed about with reckless abandon without the members of Congress raising a single objection. Marijuana was subsequently made illegal, both for recreational and agricultural purposes.

#### Where is the danger anyway?

It is perhaps peculiar that Congress would listen to the ranted lies of one psychopath over the U.S.'s own Surgeon General, yet that is what occurred when the Gore Files were believed over the Surgeon Generals words to the Cannabis Advisory Subcommittee of the League of Nations;

*"It may be taken for a relatively long time without social or emotional breakdown. Marijuana is habit-forming in the*



*same sense as sugar or coffee."*

Indeed in 1894 and 1930 two major studies were done on the use of marijuana. The first was carried out under the auspices of the British Governor of India to determine any adverse affects caused by heavy bhang (cannabis) smoking. The second was the U.S. Government sponsored Siler Commission study on the effects of smoking on off-duty military servicemen in Panama. Both studies concluded that the smoking of marijuana was harmless and that there should be no criminal penalties attached to its use. Even the A.M.A (American Medical Association) came out against the move against marijuana. Dr. James Woodward testified on behalf of the A.M.A. pointing out the somewhat obvious truism that the FBND case was based on tabloid sensationalism, replacing any real testimony from real people, with the spurious Gore Files of Anslinger and Hearst. Woodward testified because of the concern felt by the medical profession that a vital drug for treatment of a variety of illnesses was about to be made illegal for no discernible reason. A large part of the reason for the A.M.A's tardiness in responding to the issue had been the deliberate re-identification of cannabis as the rather obscure marijuana.



## jazz isn't much better

**There was a maggot** squirming about on a kitchen window sill. It was, as for as maggots go, quite attractive. It's mother looked upon it with loving eyes. By far, this was the pettiest little thing she had ever seen. In fact, it's mother barely looked at the maggot's siblings. What great things could be achieved by such a beautiful being? Surely she must be some kind of messenger from God. Suddenly, without warning, the mother screamed "My baby, please don't harm my darling baby!" But her screams went unheard, as all were engulfed by a choking mist from above.

**Helene Plozza**

na (misspelled in the States as 'marihuana') or the "killer weed from Mexico". When it was asked by the doctor why the upcoming Marijuana Tax Act bill had been prepared for two years without consultation with the medical profession, he was denounced by the committee and Anslinger in particular and excused from testimony. When the act actually came to the vote in Congress and it was asked if the A.M.A had been consulted, Representative Vinson claimed falsely that the A.M.A were in full agreement.

### A convenient tool with varying methods

Over time the effects of marijuana as described by government and 'scientific' bodies have varied considerably. Anslinger had used racism effectively in denouncing cannabis in the U.S., but when he exported his message to Australia, marijuana was suddenly depicted as a drug that caused wanton sexual actions in everyone who took it. In 1938 Australian papers began to run such informative pieces as the following:

*"A few cigarettes containing marihuana—the drug which causes its victims to behave like raving sex maniacs, and has made pathetic slaves of thousands of young Americans—have been smoked at recent parties in Sydney."*

Or, more graphically;

*"Under the influence of the newer drug, the addict becomes at times almost an uncontrollable sex maniac, able to gain satisfaction from only the most appalling of perversions and orgies. Its effect is the same on either sex."*

This changed yet again when Senator Joe McCarthy was wheeled out to lead his tirade against imagined enclaves of

fanatical communists. According to McCarthyist propaganda, marijuana was spread throughout the country to make people weak and passive before Communist infiltration. Instead of the Anslingerite axe-wielding rooting maniacs marijuana was supposed to create it now made people into pacifists.

### Continuing the lies today

Many of the studies concerning the use of marijuana are either leftovers from the Anslingerist/McCarthyist era or the works of such 'experts' as Dr. Gabriel Nahas whose assertions of chromosomal and hormonal damage done by marijuana have been dismissed and ridiculed by any serious, independent study in the field. Sadly the bullshit research of Nahas is still the favourite of such friendly 'libertarians' as the DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency), NIDA (the American National Institute of Drug Abuse) and far right-wing figures such as Kurt Waldheim and Lyndon LaRouche. LaRouche's own 'War on Drugs' style organisation embraces research such as Nahas' and is supported by the likes of Nancy Reagan, Jerry Falwell, Jimmy Swaggart and other luminaries of the religious far right. Even the bizarre Anslinger style fixation on 'drug endorsing' music is still part of the

agenda for many anti-drug agencies. The Reagan/Bush Chief Drug Advisor, Carlton Turner, has stated that rock and jazz musicians are destroying America with their "marijuana drug-beat music" and LaRouche's fixation on banning any involvement with any form of music written this century is more paranoid than either Anslinger or McCarthy could have possibly hoped for.

The sad fact is that we are still duped into believing government sponsored lies concerning marijuana and other drugs today. The liberation from lies about marijuana and other drugs will not come about through government legalisation and subsequent commodification. Replacing the governments punitive power with productive power will not allow the individual freedom that can be offered by alternative methods of drug awareness such as decriminalisation, it will simply place tighter control over what is used by who, and for what purpose.

### Michael Brown

Sources:  
The Emperor Wears No Clothes, by Jack Herer.  
Hemp and the Marijuana Conspiracy in Australia, by John Jiggins.

**There was a maggot** of pain in Psycho-Curry's gut. A wrenching black spider of torture writhing like a kangaroo birthing the statue of David, spitting fire and bile into Psycho-Curry's stomach. Psycho-Curry tore open his shirt and scabbled at his stomach. His fingers strong his fingernails sharp he pierced the skin and shoved aside the muscle. Slipping in between his duodenum and his liver he found a hard little rock just over his intestine. Grasping it Psycho-Curry pulled and pulled until he heard a wet pop.

He held the black stone up to his eye and said "Cancer, I knew it."

**Zoot Sphincter**

RALLY AGAINST FEES AUGUST 24th

# what is

The Europeans who ventured to the New World in the first decades after Columbus's discovery shared a complex, well-developed, and, above all, mobile technology of power: writing, navigational instruments, ships, warhorses, attack dogs, effective armor, and highly lethal weapons, including gunpowder. Their culture was characterised by immense confidence in its own centrality, by a political organisation based on practices of command and submission, by a willingness to use coercive violence on both strangers and fellow countrymen, and by a religious ideology centered on the endlessly proliferated representation of a tortured and murdered god of love. The cult of this male god—a deity whose earthly form was born from the womb of a virgin and sacrificed by his heavenly father to atone for human disobedience—in turn centered on a ritual... in which the god's flesh and bloods were symbolically eaten. Such was the confidence of this culture that it expected perfect strangers—the Arawaks of the Caribbean, for example—to abandon their own beliefs, preferably immediately, and embrace those of Europe as luminously and self-evidently true. A failure to do so provoked impatience, contempt, and even murderous rage.

Stephen Greenblatt, *Merveous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World.*

# what is imperialism?

In Panama, the Americans invaded and destroyed the capital city in order to save the people from a drug-dealing tyrannical President. In Iraq, the salvation of suffering Kurds was portrayed as a key motif of the West's punitive military invasion. The invasion of Somalia was carefully labelled *Operation Restore Hope*. According to former US President George Bush, the objective of this adventure was no less than to do 'God's Work' and 'save thousands of innocents' Frank Furedi, *The New Ideology of Imperialism: Renewing the Moral Imperative.*



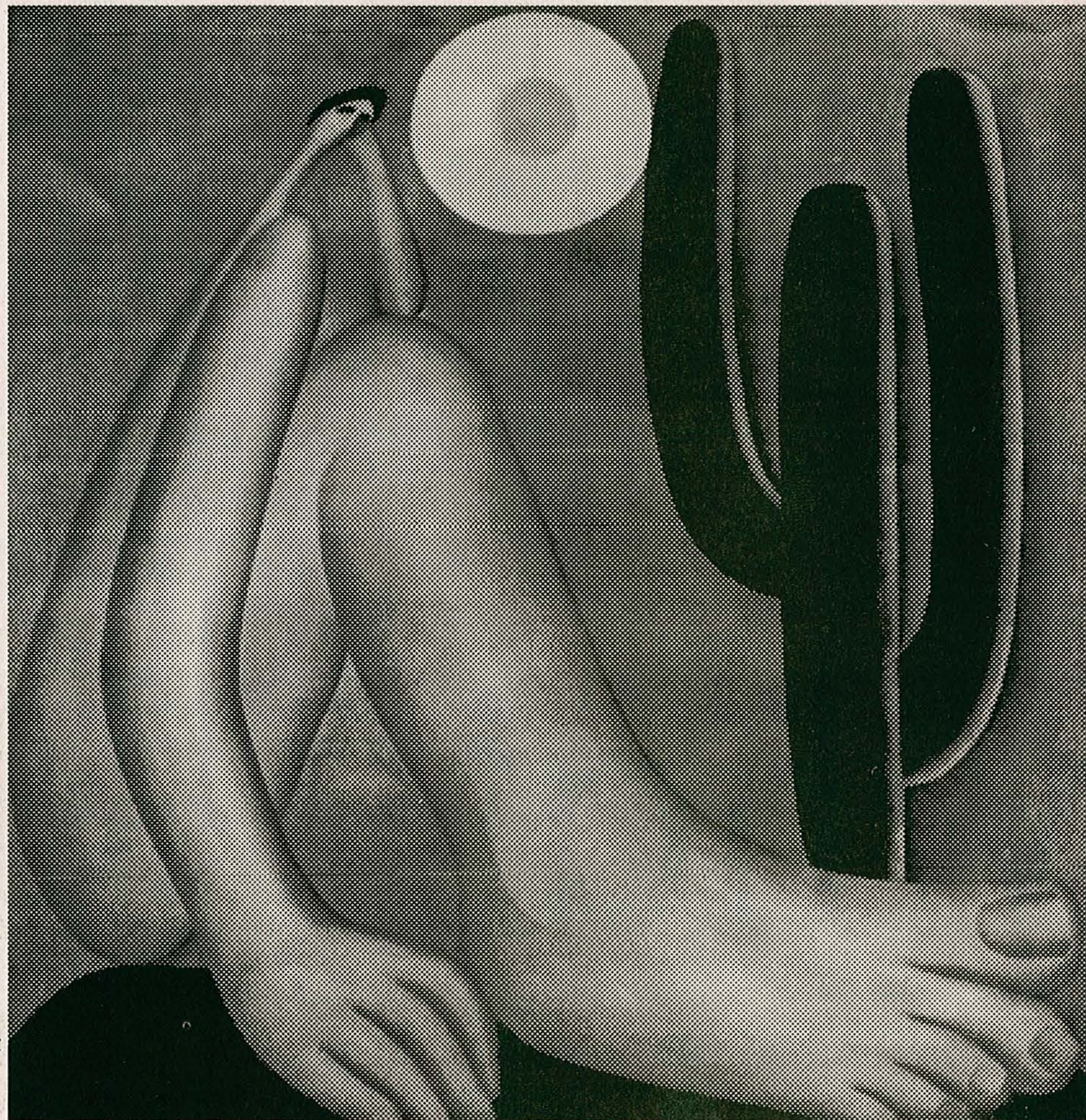
# undercover cops at latrobe

**Nigel Peacock** examines below, the arrests of two La Trobe students at the close of the Mullers Inc. 'Smoke In', in the Agora, which resemble those depicted in the popular eighties cop series, *21 Jump Street*, complete with anti-drug racist hysteria and a cop with a complimentary Johnny Depp styled goatee.

Cannabis sativa (along with a wide range of other drugs) happens to be prohibited in Australia for two basic reasons. Firstly, cannabis is illegal because it serves as a convenient means for the state and its authoritarian agents to reinforce power relations (class, race gender and so on). Secondly, the state manages and maintains power relations to service the imperatives of capital. The reactionary pro family ravings of deluded anti-drug crusaders only work to enforce the social acceptance of these goals. The following is a brief description of why members of Mullers Inc and others gathered in the Agora late last May for a 'smoke-in', why we enacted this 'criminal' activity, the presence and actions of undercover pigs, and the student occupation of Administration three days later.

The basic premise of the 'smoke-in' was to demonstrate against 'regressive state and commercial control of cannabis'. This premise does not lend itself to demands for 'legalisation'. Current legalisation campaigns have not adequately dealt with, for example, high-THC content cannabis or why illicit drug takers generally face harassment and surveillance from pigs and other orifices of the state.

About fifty of us gathered in the Agora for an hour or so to defy the law. No objections were raised, no pigs seemed to be present, so we smoked to our mind's content and had a pleasurable yet hazy time. We



were, though, very wrong about the presence of the pigs.

Forty-five minutes after we finished and most of us had disappeared, two undercover pigs who had been observing us for some time seized two members of our group. Carmicheal, whom we shall label pig one, did not bother to inform his snare that he was under arrest whilst dragging him across the Agora. Nor did pig one state that he was an officer of the law. The arrested two were taken to Mill Park pig pen, questioned and held for three hours, then charged with possession and usage of cannabis. All this attention and effort on the part of the pigs for the smoking of a plant which is used widely and has no

known side effects that can begin to compete with many legally obtainable drugs.

More importantly, Carmicheal and Mann (pig two) assumed that their subjects of endearment were, what the groovy blue boys and girls call, 'traffickers'. This was a mistake, but it was not a case of mere stupidity; their choice of selection was arguably based on certain racist stereotypes. The two guys arrested happen to be of Mauritian origin. White culture likes to commonly associate the trafficking of illegal drugs with what it considers 'other'. For example, the criminal drug economy has in Australia long been associated with both the Mafia and the Golden Triangle.

White bourgeois culture determines which drugs are legal and which drugs are not. Racism lends itself to a variety of means and forms. Age is also a factor. Those arrested are barely out of their teens. 'Youth' have been frequently perceived as a disruptive force to the predominant social order. The 'youth period' is one of intense social conditioning. Pigs like to play their part, being paid to not only control the 'bad' but also to mould 'good'.

La Trobe's Administration is also a guilty party. We made a request, well before the smoke-in took place, to be informed if they called the pigs. We thought (however naively) that if we let Administration know what we were doing they would at least honour such a simple request. Instead, they went ahead and called their old pals—apparently deciding not to give a shit about us. When we talked to those individuals in Administration responsible for calling the pigs we were met with denials and told to go away. We were beginning to wonder if they had set us up.

At a meeting of students held three days after the smoke-in, it was decided by those present to put forth some demands to Administration concerning their involvement and why pigs were so freely coming onto campus. We were met with same response as before. We then occupied the building. Whilst we did-

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n't exactly strike the jackpot, namely to see everybody's favourite Vice-Chancellor, we had one wild time. It took three hours but we reached an agreement of sorts. Administration agreed, for example, to let the SRC know if they became aware of the pigs on campus (big deal). We also came face to face with the vast difference between what Administration spend on themselves and what they spend on student resources (I wouldn't mind lifting some of the very expensive pieces of art adorning the Council Chambers).

In second semester, Mullers Inc, aside from its more relaxing activities, will be campaigning to have the the charges dropped as well as organising another smoke-in.

The reasons for the smoke in were highlighted and informed by what has taken place. It indicates one reason why the state should be held in contempt. Pigs, contrary to popular mythology, can and do come onto campus anytime they please. Knowing that at any given moment students, like the rest of the world, come under frequent pig surveillance leaves one with a kind of uncomfortable feeling.

Mullers Inc can be contacted through its pigeon hole in SRC.





# DON'T START Allowance Application Form

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### OFFICE USE ONLY

To make you think we're writing things about you

[ ] [ ]

**1** Did you go through the phone book about five minutes before filling out this form? Yes  Come on!

**4** Did you do a bullshit training course? Yes  No

If Yes: how many does that make now? .....

Now go back to Question **18** →

**2** Did you chant "thank God John Hewson didn't get in" at least three (3) times during the last fortnight? Yes  No

If No: what do you think you would be now doing if he had got in? Tick

- a. Living in a cardboard box
- b. Working for \$3 an hour (a. still applies)
- c. hiding in the mountains shooting at soldiers

**6** Did you do any cash in hand work that we don't know about and have no way of finding out about? eg. you helped your uncle, who is a builder Yes  No

If Yes: Are you stupid enough to tell us how much you made? \$ .....

**3** Did you watch 'Donahue', Oprah' or 'Sally Jesse Raphael' during this period? Yes  No

If Yes: how many shows? .....  
Whom do you prefer? .....

List at least two (2) topics discussed.

#### Topic 1

Show .....  
Subject .....  
Interesting points raised .....

#### Topic 2

Show .....  
Subject .....  
Interesting points raised .....

**7** Did you wake up before 11.00 at least one morning during the past fortnight? Yes  No

If Yes: why? .....

Now go to Question **14** again →

**8** Did any of the things listed below happen to you in the past fortnight? Tick

- You didn't get to bed until 4.00am
- A parent asked you what you plan to do with your life
- You had an argument with a relative who works 60 hours a week
- You couldn't afford to go to a restaurant with your partner
- Your partner felt sorry for you and paid for the meal
- A politician on the TV gave you the shits
- You sat by the kerbside weeping while posing for a cliché "unemployed" newspaper photo
- The half-priced bread you bought had blue dots on it
- You extended your phone bill again
- You hocked your CDs again

### OFFICE USE ONLY

Hopeless case <input type="checkbox"/>	Has a new tattoo <input type="checkbox"/>
Badly dressed <input type="checkbox"/>	Arrived late <input type="checkbox"/>

### Declaration and Signature

I declare that I am pulling the wool wherever possible and that I will fob off any attempts to get me work. I declare that I have not read the small print blah blah blah and I need my dole by tomorrow because I owe half of it already.

Signed ..... Date ...../...../.....

Gag stolen with permission from Lies Magazine 9, Summer 9495.



# the exploitation of

# australian outworkers

Try to imagine this ....

You are a migrant woman of non-English speaking background and have arrived in Australia within the last five years. You are looking for work, but have little or no knowledge of the English language and have children that require childcare. Then, you hear from an acquaintance that he is looking for people to sew garments for the clothing industry from home. You think that all your problems are answered and apply for the job. You are instructed you that you must register for social security benefits prior to obtaining the work. They even help you fill in the forms, and tell you how much of your earnings to declare, how much they will pay you on the books, and how much in cash. You begin work and find that in order to complete your work on time, you must work from 12 to 18 hours per day, 7 days a week, for as little as \$2 per hour. Sometimes you don't even get paid for the work you have completed. You wish that you could work in the factory with your friend who belongs to a union and works regular hours while being paid five times more than you. In your isolation, you are not aware of any entitlements for your work. Trying to find regular employment frightens you because of the legal implications of your taxation status and social security payments.

The example above describes the common experience of people known as 'outworkers', that is, people who work from home for the clothing industry. These appalling working conditions reflect the reality of working in a sector without an organisation such as a union that acts on behalf of all workers in that sector as a representative to the employers or governments. Unorganised labour such as this occurs when unions have been deliberately banned, defunded or discouraged.

**"In an ideal market economy with no regulation of any kind, the distinction between formal and informal would lose meaning since all activities would be performed in the manner we now call informal."**

Simple and yet so effective.

If you are an outworker, it is most likely that you are involved in what is known as the 'informal' economy. The informal economy, as opposed to the formal economy, is the sector of industry that works outside of the formally structured relationship between workers and employers. It avoids legal structures inherent in the formal working conditions, such as the payment of award wages to workers as well as the payment of income tax. Portes, Castells and Benton point out that the informal economy usually has a systematic connection with the formal economy; depends on workers accepting a worse deal in terms of both working conditions and wages; and a certain level of government support for the continuation of an informal economy. Even if it loses

control over its activities, it will be compensated by the renewed economic growth that informalisation creates.

In the past, the bulk of research into the hidden informal economy was carried out in 'Third World' countries, because it was thought that such conditions weren't present in advanced capitalist countries. However, the Textile, Clothing & Footwear Union of Australia (TCFUA) launched a campaign in July 1994, aimed at raising awareness among outworkers of their rights to award wages and certain working conditions. The report released in March 1995 titled *The Hidden Cost of Fashion: Report on the National Outwork Information Campaign* pointed to evidence of high levels of exploitation of workers within the clothing industry. The TCFUA estimated that over 300,000 outworkers currently exist in Australia. Outwork is incredibly demanding, requiring at times, an 18 hour working day to complete a job on time and family members to frequently assist the outworker. This includes children working long hours after school, on weekends and on holidays who are not counted as outworkers in the statistics.

Some scholars suggest that uncontrolled, exploitative relations of production are representative of the working conditions of a capitalism of the past rather than advanced capitalism. It is said that capitalism is regressing to the conditions found in the 'sweatshops' of New York in the late 19th century, described by Waldinger and Lapp as "...the centre for a garment industry based on the labour of immigrants toiling in the dark, crowded tenement rooms...". Writers such as Portes, Castells and Benton, however, say its not a regression but the inevitable progression of capitalism: "In an ideal market economy, with no regulation of any kind, the distinction between formal and informal would lose meaning since all activities would be performed in the manner we now call informal".

Government policy of 'deregulation' is aiding the process toward the big Aussie sweatshop in the sky... It effectively minimises its control over industries and alters 'the terms of trade' between trading nations by lowering

the tariffs on imported goods.

The Australian experience of this can be recounted when, in 1989, the ALP government began a massive restructuring program called the Textile, Clothing & Footwear Industry Development Plan. Its aim was to 'free up trade' by lowering the tariff on imported goods which meant that Australian made products would be considerably more expensive by comparison. The government believed that the Plan would boost the economy and the benefits would somehow 'trickle down' to the working class. The 'trickle down' effect hasn't happened yet, but there has been a flood of burdens placed upon workers, initiated by those at the top of the hierarchy.

Unable to compete with the cheaper imported goods, companies within the TC&F industry have been forced to either close business or retrench workers—many of whom had been working in the industry for the majority of their working lives, and were not skilled in any other area. The Plan has resulted in the loss of over 40,000 jobs as well as a significant increase in the number of outworkers.

The transition of these workers into the informal economy was inevitable. Due to their often illegal work status, this large, unorganised and de-unionised sector is powerless to protest working conditions. Informalisation assists, is therefore encouraged and even enforced by employers who seek to increase their profit margins by decreasing the standard of working conditions. The government knew that this would happen—the game was rigged. It is estimated that 3/4 of companies use outworkers to produce the majority of their garments, formerly hiring up to 10 workers in the factory and up to a further 250 outworkers.

The TCFUA report acknowledges this and says "Outwork is not a characteristic of the clothing industry of Australia, the industry is structured around it."

A complicated system of contracting work to the outworker, results in either confusion to the employer's as to who is to pay taxes, or deliberate tax evasion. It is understandable, therefore, that taxation is of major concern to outworkers. They told the TCFUA that they feel trapped and powerless to move into formal employment due to past breaches, but stated that they *did* want to be included in the formal economy.

The government has actively played a leading role in the gross exploitation of hundreds of thousands of working class migrant women with its highly sexist, racist and classist policies. Outwork becomes the only viable option for many women who have young children but cannot afford childcare. Women outworkers

are often required to take care of children, do housework and complete other 'unpaid' work such as care for the elderly or disabled family members as well as complete the required 'paid' work.

In this light, how could anyone dispute 'feminist' Naomi Wolf's statement that the ALP, in its current form, is a socialist government?

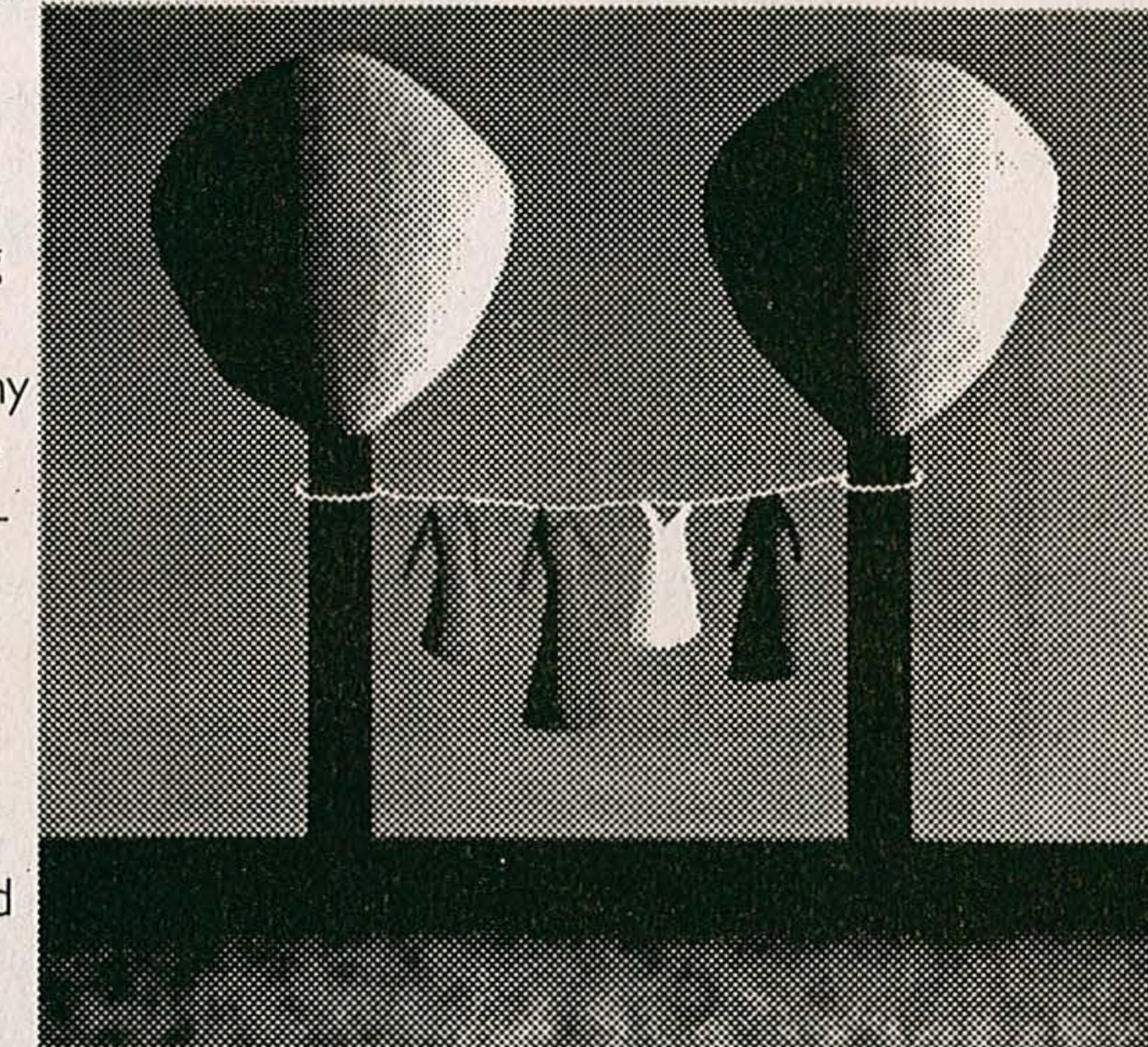
Meanwhile, employers continue to treat their workers in a manner that would've made slave owners proud. Employers are well aware of the strong desire of outworkers to maintain the little income they have, and often use intimidation tactics such as harassment on top of the exploitative wages. Outworkers remain silent for fear of revenge from employers, who are often people known to their family. It should be noted that if outworkers were paid the award rate, they would be earning up to five times the amount, and hence wouldn't require social security payments to make ends meet.

Incidentally, companies were approached by the TCFUA during the National Outwork Information Campaign and were asked for their co-operation for ensuring that labour involved in producing garments for them was paid according to award rates. And here's the surprise...that section of the report was subtitled 'Not much good news'.

As trends in the Australian capitalist system slowly but steadily move toward a low paid, unorganised and de-unionised work force, 'not much good news' will be the title of the next chapter planned for Australian workers—this time, however, it will not be confined to simply describing the situation of outworkers. In the face of increasingly repressive employment of workers across the world, the insidious nature of a de-unionised workforce paves the way for even more oppressive conditions for workers in all sectors. Lessons need to be learnt from the experiences of workers in the textile, clothing and footwear industries. Workers and unions need to prepare for attacks such as those already being experienced by workers in the third world and now in many first world countries including Australia. Be organised and ready to resist.

**Valentina Srpanska**

*The Hidden Cost of Fashion: Report on the National Outwork Information Campaign*, is available on request, free of charge, from the TCFUA on (03) 347 3377.



**There was a maggot in her mouth. An oily worm. She shoved a handful in. They wriggled, until she gagged, spitting them out. One had gone down. She decided to drown it. Finding a cup, she climbed a chair to the tap, He turned up. Him. "That's my bait, you stupid bitch", he said, seeing the opened container and the maggot on her lip. He was going to get her. Jumping from the chair, she lunged, smashing the cup into his horrible worm, his maggot. She ran, she was going to tell her mother what he had been doing.**

**Robert Cullen**

OUTWORK



# *Collected Works*

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# christopher

Christopher Boyce is probably best remembered as he was portrayed in the movie *The Falcon and the Snowman*. Nevertheless, his 'spy case' illustrates a prime example of CIA interference in Australian politics. His is a sad and pathetic story of a young man who believed in truth, justice and the American way, and specifically democracy, and got fucked over by everyone.

Between 1975 and 1977, Christopher Boyce—through his friend Andrew Daulton Lee—sold some CIA intelligence information to the Soviets at the Soviet embassy in Mexico City. Boyce was working for TRW Incorporated, a company contracted to do communications work for the CIA. Daulton Lee, addicted to heroin and other drugs, needed the money and dropped by the Soviet embassy on some of his drug runs. Boyce's commitment to spying for the Soviets was fairly half hearted. Shortly after the affair began Boyce changed his mind. Daulton, who had anticipated this reversal, and who very likely needed the money for his drug habit, had photocopied the original material and used it to blackmail Boyce into continuing the supply of CIA intelligence information. Instead, Boyce

began sending *Playboy* pictures and outdated, less sensitive material. Furthermore, Boyce turned down two job offers with the CIA which would have provided him with greater access to CIA intelligence information. Politically, he did not, and has not since, displayed any ideological leanings toward the Soviet Union.

According to a pamphlet produced by the *Christopher Boyce Alliance*, the CIA were aware of Boyce and Lee's espionage activities and were able to use Boyce in order to gauge KGB activity and methods. According to Victor Marchetti, a former top ranking CIA official cited in the pamphlet, the CIA commonly use "discovered" spies in counter-espionage activity: "Americans involved in espionage are commonly encouraged

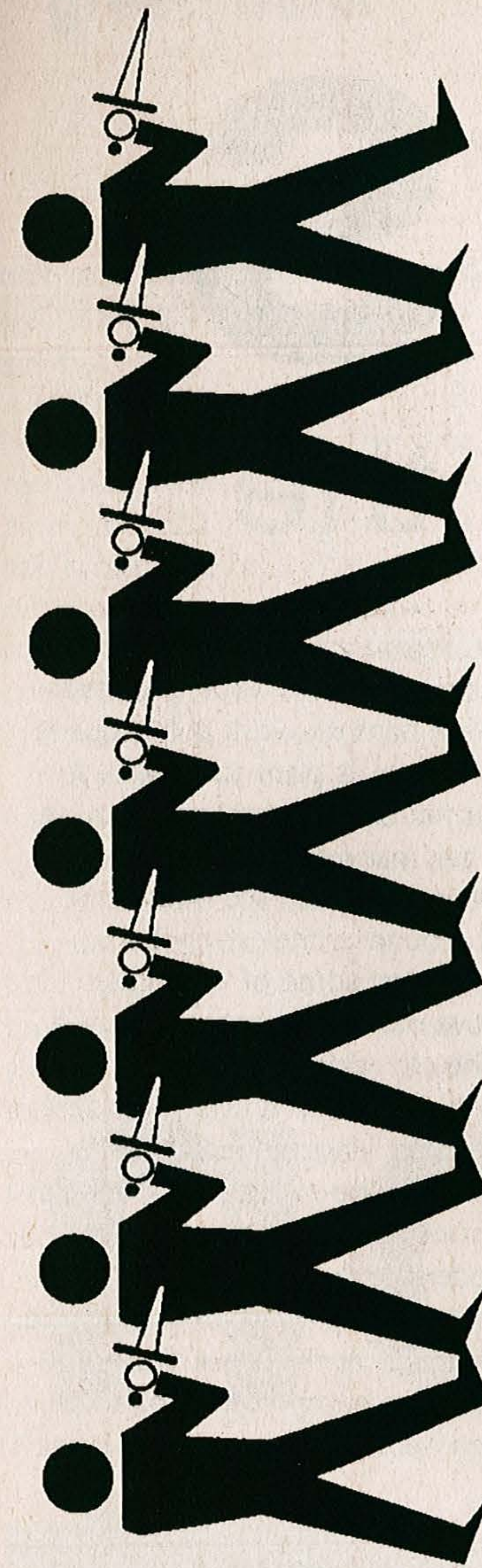
to cooperate with the Soviets in order to learn more about what kind of information the KGB wants to collect, to discover more about KGB methods and equipment, or merely to occupy the time and money of the KGB on a fruitless project." Several months before April 1975, Gene Norman, a fellow worker and former CIA undercover agent, spoke to Boyce about plans he had devised to sell information to the Soviets.

Given the known high level of CIA surveillance of the Soviet embassy it is difficult to believe that the CIA were not aware of Andrew Daulton Lee's first visit in April 1975. He came in through the front entrance. It is an important legal point since if the CIA did know, the defence could claim entrapment and both men may have been acquitted. Nevertheless, the CIA maintained throughout the trial that they first became aware of Boyce and Lee's activities after Lee was arrested by Mexican police outside the Soviet Embassy in January 1977. Boyce was convicted and is not due for release until 2008.

Boyce explains that his decision to begin selling information to the Soviets was prompted by his disillusionment with the USA. This disillusionment, in the context of Watergate, the Vietnam war and the issues raised by the civil rights movement, is not particularly unique or interesting. However, his position of employment in the CIA-run Black Vault, a communications relay room that gave him access to America's most secret espionage operations, made him privy to communications from Pine Gap and CIA activity in Australia, and specifically CIA involvement in the destabilisation and sacking of the Whitlam government.

Information Boyce gave during his trial about what he knew of CIA activity in the events leading up to November 11, 1975 has been suppressed. Nevertheless, in a 60 Minutes television interview with Ray Martin, he made known that the CIA were not honouring the Executive Agreement of the Rhyolite Project (Pine Gap) which stated that all information was to be shared between the American and Australian Governments and that the CIA were very concerned with the "socialistic" politics of the Whitlam Government, in particular Whitlam's desire to know 'what was going on' at Pine Gap. He also stated that "Central Intelligence residents, there at TRW in the Rhyolite Project, [they] called Mr Kerr; 'our man Kerr'" and claimed that the CIA had infiltrated the hierarchy of the Trade Union movement. Many of Boyce's claims have been substantiated by Jonathon Kwitny in the book *Crimes of Patriots*.

**The CIA and ASIO** had some reason to be nervous about the Whitlam Government. Lionel Murphy, the Attorney General, who had reason to suspect ASIO was not informing the government of its activities, led a surprise raid on the ASIO offices. James Angleton, the CIA's chief of counterintelligence, in an interview in 1977 referred to Murphy as a "bull



in a china shop" and was obviously deeply miffed by the threat the Whitlam government was posing to the cosy CIA/ASIO relationship. In addition, Whitlam did not have his staff undergo the usual security checks and in October 1975, sacked the head of the overseas intelligence agency whom he accused of deceiving him about its activities in East Timor. On November 2, 1975 Whitlam stated publicly that the CIA was financially helping the Country Party (now the National Party). He repeated the allegations again on November 6, and was to bring further evidence to Parliament on November 11, 1975.

The famous Shackley Cable shows the CIA's consternation at Whitlam's allegations that CIA money was being used to fund the Country Party and the subsequent exposure of their agents:

press coverage in Australia was such that a number of CIA members serving in Australia have been identified ... it is not possible for CIA to continue to deal with the matter on a no comment basis.

The leaking of the Shackley Cable provided substantial evidence in support of Boyce's allegations that the CIA were involved in a destabilisation process. It suggested that the CIA and ASIO cooperate without the knowledge of the Australian government, thereby implicating ASIO as allies in the whole Whitlam coup affair.

Given the Whitlam Government's antagonistic attitude toward the secret services, the appointment of Sir John Kerr as Governor General, a man with well known CIA connections, is difficult to understand. Kerr had well known long associations with CIA funded and run organisations such as the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom and the Asia Foundation; both exposed in the American Congress as CIA front organisations involved in anti-communist propaganda work. In addition to this, Whitlam must have been aware of ASIO and CIA involvement in the overthrow of the Allende Government in Chile in 1972. Perhaps the Whitlam Government believed, despite all the evidence, that as a democratically elected government of the 'first world', it would be OK to antagonise the secret services, (merely by wanting to know what the secret services were doing), and still run the country. Hence, the constitutional coup was met with surprise and incomprehension by the Whitlam government.

On November 11, 1975 Sir John Kerr, as Governor General, dismissed the Whitlam Government. That Kerr had a well known and close association with the CIA could be a coincidence. It is perhaps difficult to believe that a political backwater like Australia would attract the attention of the CIA. Nevertheless, two years later, a now largely forgotten 'spy' named Christopher Boyce confirmed that, at the very least, the CIA were very interested and paranoid about the activities of the Whitlam government. Some still refuse to believe, or even entertain the possibility, that there was a (bloodless) coup in this country.

Revealingly, in a speech to Parliament in November, 1986, Peter Staples refers to a conversation between Whitlam and Warren Christopher, the then Assistant Secretary of State for Asia in the South Pacific, on 27 July 1977, he quotes Whitlam speaking of Warren Christopher:

... The President (Jimmy Carter) asked him to say: That he understood the Democrats and the ALP were fraternal parties; That he respected deeply the democratic rights of the allies of the US; That the US administration would never again interfere in the domestic political processes of Australia; and That he would work with whatever government the people of Australia elected.

**There was a maggot. A stinkin', ugly, fat, dirty, fuckin' maggot. And it was me. And I am it's mother. And we are one. It calls me 'carrion', so it can feed on me without remorse, and I call it 'maggot' so I can hate. We share one space, one mind, and wear one shimmering gown in which to dance to death and birth and re-death and the union of the two. For us death is a feast of Epicurean delights and birth is a pre-paid zone two bus ticket to our destination. Journey safely sweet maggot, and dance along.**

**Plod**

**Hazel Blunden & Fiorinda Koch**



# south african unions join campaign to save jamal

**The campaign to save Mumia** Abu-Jamal has touched a deep chord in South Africa, where thousands of black unionists and anti-apartheid fighters have vivid experience of the racist prisons and the threat of the gallows which sent hundreds of political prisoners to their deaths. In recent weeks, a number of South African unions, as well as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the predominantly black union federation, have made urgent appeals to save Jamal's life.

African National Congress (ANC) secretary general M.C. Ramaphosa fired off a protest letter to Pennsylvania governor Ridge on June 2, urging Jamal's death sentence to be commuted and demanding a retrial of his case. COSATU noted in its letter that the union federation,

*representing one and a half million members, would like to express grave concern at the death sentence imposed on journalist, Mumia Abu-Jamal... Our organisation has struggled against all forms of racism, oppression and the use of the death sentence to silence political activists. We are therefore vehemently opposed to the death penalty on both ideological and humanitarian grounds.*

On June 6, in its first major decision, the Constitutional Court in Cape Town abolished the death penalty, ruling that capital punishment was unconstitutional. As *New York Times* Johannesburg correspondent Harold French noted, for decades, execution was used "as a means of terror in enforcing the system of racial separation known as apartheid." Both in the United States and South Africa, the barbarous death penalty is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied fundamental rights to whole peoples, reducing man to a beast of burden. The U.S. is the sole Western industrialized country to maintain this vicious racist practice.

For years, Pretoria held the title of "hanging capital of the world." According to the Johannesburg *New Nation* (17 February), during the decade between 1979 and 1989, at least 1,212 people were hanged in South Africa. In the early '80s, railways strikers of the SARHWU union were executed. The executions reached a crescendo during the township revolts of 1983-87. But when the white-supremacist regime decided to open negotiations with the African National Congress, "unbanning" it along with other anti-apartheid groups in February 1990, a

moratorium on the death penalty was simultaneously declared.

Taking their place among a growing number of labor organisations around the world, several key South African trade unions have joined the fight to save the life of America's only death row political prisoner. These include the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU), the Food Farming Beverage and Allied Workers Union (FFBAWU), Turning Wheel Workers' Union, the Steel Mining and Commercial Workers Union (STEMCWU), the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), and the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA).

The May 26 protest letter from NUMSA noted:

*On behalf of our 187,000 members of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, we wish to express our grave concern at the death sentence which has been imposed on journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal.*

This union, which organises the combative auto workers from Port Elizabeth to Durban and Johannesburg, is at the very

**There was a maggot**, one of many, who had burrowed into the white, long chest of the Sleeper. Everything else was intact, even the brown, thick hair that the child ran her fingers through.

She moved easily through the dirt around the Sleeper, careful not to wake him. No waking now, metamorphosis had already begun.

From her golden head, she took a daisy chain, placed it around his neck, and passed her thin hand over his eyes. The light from within shimmered and a tear fell from the Sleeper as she pulled him through his maggot nest down to Hell.

**Heather Myers**

heart of the power of the South African black proletariat. Former union president, now Member of Parliament, Moses Mayekiso faced the death penalty when he was jailed as part of the "Alexandra Five." Mayekiso and his comrades were released in part through an international campaign on their behalf.

The struggle to save Mumia has particular resonance in South Africa, where the fight against the death penalty has been a key part of the struggle against apartheid rule. Just as black Americans saw in apartheid rule a mirror of their own oppression, South African leftists and workers organisations are taking up the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The SACCAWU supermarket workers, who waged a hard fought struggle last year against the Pick 'n Pay grocery chain, wrote in a letter to Governor Ridge:

*In South Africa we have long struggled against racism and oppression and the use of jails and death sentences to silence political activists... We know from bitter experience how a state criminalises the activities of political activists in order to silence them. The case of our first democratically-elected President is but one example.*

*Your system of justice is on trial. MUMIA ABU-Jamal must not die.*

A number of socialist organisations have also joined the fight. Last September, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action wrote that WOSA and the Workers' List Party "call for the immediate abolition of the racist and barbaric death penalty, and add our voices to all brothers and sisters in the United States and elsewhere who are demanding a retrial, at the very least, for Comrade Abu-Jamal." The Workers International To Rebuild the Fourth

International sent a protest telegram stating:

*Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed. The racist police force will try together with the state to use this case and 'trial' of Abu-Jamal to intimidate other radicals. We take courage from the principled struggle waged by the comrades around Abu-Jamal and support you wholeheartedly.*

On June 12 the South African Communist Party sent a protest. And the New Unity movement wrote to the PDC that their comrades are "angered and appalled" by the signing of the death warrant, and noted that:

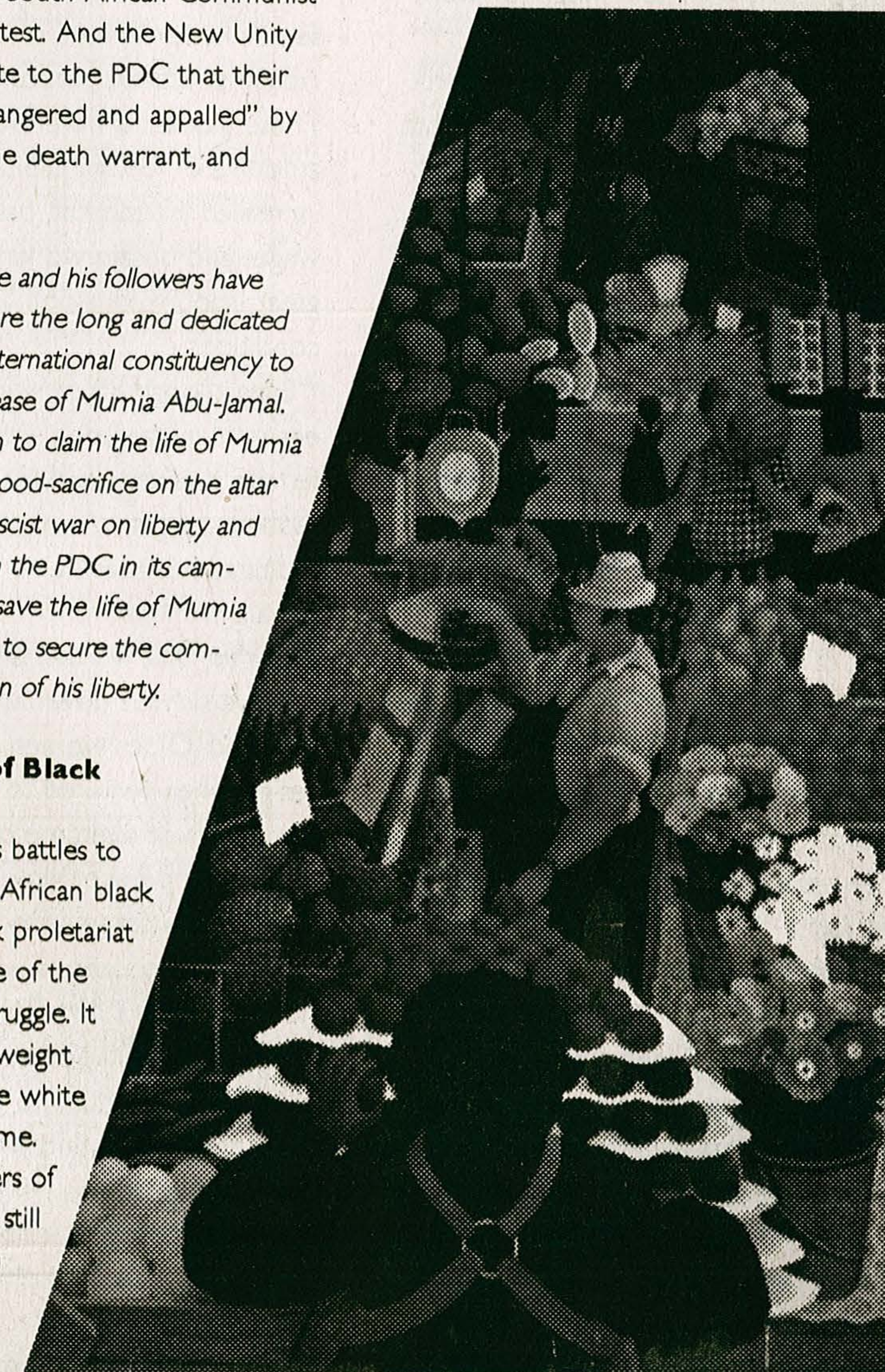
*Governor Ridge and his followers have chosen to ignore the long and dedicated efforts of an international constituency to secure the release of Mumia Abu-Jamal. They now wish to claim the life of Mumia to provide a blood-sacrifice on the altar of mounting fascist war on liberty and justice. We join the PDC in its campaign both to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal and to secure the complete restoration of his liberty.*

## **Powerhouse of Black Labor.**

In the huge class battles to forge the South African black unions, the black proletariat came to the fore of the anti-apartheid struggle. It was their social weight which rocked the white supremacist regime. The black workers of South Africa are still fighting to obtain their freedom from racist

oppression and capitalist exploitation. From South Africa to the U.S., the campaign against the racist death penalty is part of the fight to smash the whole chain of repression of the capitalist state in the struggle for international workers revolution.

From Partisan Defence Committee, *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* 22, Summer 1995.





# president's report

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It's been a while between editions, so I have a lot to report on. Bear with me, I'm sure you'll find something of interest in what follows(?)

## Needle and Syringe Disposal Units

I was directed by the Education and Welfare Action Group to investigate the installation of Disposal Units in highly populated areas of the University, such as the Agora. I have put a proposal to the AIDS Advisory Working Group outlining the reasons and need for the units. My main argument being that students have asked for them, which obviously shows a need.

## Student Charter

Last year the Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee released a "Student Charter" which outlines what they see as the University's responsibilities with regard to students. NUS have made various suggestions for amendments. The SRC will soon be drawing up our own policy on this issue.

The University may be using the AVCC document in its Enterprise Bargaining negotiations with University workers. If this is the case, and I believe it is, I want to ensure that the student perspective is put—by students!

As soon as the SRC's policy on this matter is decided, I will ensure it makes it into *Rabelais*.

## Video Camera

The SRC recently ordered a video camera for use by SRC committees, office bearers and clubs. The camera is of high quality and takes both VHS and Super VHS tapes. I'm absolutely certain the camera will get a lot of use!

We will soon be working out the practicalities with regard to hiring and/or borrowing. I'll put the details in the next edition of *Rabelais*, but in the meantime come and see us.

## Federal Budget

Despite claims that the Federal government has been "soft" on students, the following was contained in the Federal Budget.

### Austudy

Eligibility denied for Permanent Residents and New Zealand students who have been in Australia for more than three years. \$20 less for students living at home. It is assumed these students are not paying rent.

### HECS

Further discount for up-front payment of HECS of 15%. This change discriminates against those students who cannot afford to pay up-front.

Permanent Residents and New Zealand students who have been in Australia for more than three years must now pay up-front HECS, and are not eligible for the 25% discount.

With regard to Permanent Residents and New Zealanders, 25,000 students will be effected by the changes to HECS, and 50,000 will be effected by the changes to Austudy.

With regard to the loss of \$20 per week in Austudy for students living at home, many thousands will be effected.

The SRC passed the following policy on the Federal Budget:

*The SRC deplors the changes to Austudy eligibility and HECS liability which were handed down in the Federal Budget. These changes are racist in the extreme as they attempt to define people's rights according to race.*

*Furthermore, the SRC believes that the attack on non-citizens is yet another step towards up-front fees for all students."*

**"There was a maggot between his legs, I swear it. It had to be the smallest penis I've ever seen."**

**"Well what the fuck did you expect, these guys only hang out at beats 'cos its the only way they can get laid."**

**"No, that's not what I meant. I don't think having a big dick necessarily makes you more sexually attractive. In fact, small dicks look quite nice. It's a fairly ugly part of the anatomy and in one sense, the more unobtrusive the better. Mind you, I shouldn't have acted so surprised."**

**"Why not?"**

**"He was only seven."**

**Chuck U. Farley #2**

It has recently come to light that the changes relating to Permanent Residents and New Zealanders may be illegal. Australia is party to the *United Nations Convention Against Discrimination in Education* adopted in December 1960. Discrimination is a violation of rights enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which Australia supports. Discrimination on the basis of race, national or social origin, which denies equality of treatment in education or access to education of all types and levels, is contrary to the United Nations convention. This legal challenge is being pursued by NUS. However, this challenge will be meaningless if there isn't student activity to back it up. All students—and I mean ALL students because you WILL be next, mark my words—should fight this attack.

## Permanent Residents and New Zealand Students at La Trobe

There has been very little coverage of the changes in the Federal Budget affecting students. The SRC sent letters to all La Trobe Permanent Residents and New Zealand students and held a meeting to explain the changes. There were many students in attendance who cannot, for various reasons, gain Australian citizenship and may therefore be forced to leave Uni. If you think for a minute that this group is relatively small, think again. Furthermore, as I said before, if the government is successful this time you will be next—if they get their foot in the door with up-front fees for "some" local students it's only a small step to intro-

duce fees for all students.

## Blue Stocking Week

Firstly, Simone (SRC Women's Officer) should be congratulated on the wonderful job she did with Blue Stocking Week. In my experience it was the best Blue Stocking Week ever at La Trobe.

I helped out a bit by organising a forum on "Women and the Politics of Education". The guest speaker was Lyn Yates who is director of Women's Studies at La Trobe. Lyn's talk was great and the discussion was great too!

## Funding Agreement

The SRC still has not signed the Funding Agreement between us and the University. We have managed to negotiate many changes to the original—which was pretty appalling. There is one change we are still trying to get, which is to outline exactly what is contained within "Administration Costs". The University would rather keep this term vague as it enables them to take money from us at will. However, needless to say, we will ensure that the parameters of this provision are very clear indeed. The Funding Agreement will be put to a General Student Meeting early in second semester. The University is making a very deliberate attempt at intervening in student control of the SRC, so please attend to find out exactly what is happening.

## Women's Research Officer/Education Research Officer

The SRC's new Women's Research Officer is Margaret Kent. Margaret will work very closely with Simone Howard (our Women's Officer) and the Women's Action Collective. She is available for one-on-one advice—so pop up and see her. The SRC's new Education Research Officer is Jill Sparrow. Jill has a strong background in student issues and is already doing a wonderful job in providing us with support and information. Jill will work very closely with the Education Officers and the Education and Welfare Action Group. Jill is also available to provide advice on academic grievances and the like—just make an appointment and she will help you out. Please make Jill and Margaret feel welcome.

## University Council

The State government recently advised the University that it would like changes made to the University Act. (La Trobe University exists via an Act of State Parliament). The University was asked to consider the size and composition of Council. That is, the government wants the University to downsize the Council to make it more "efficient". The main thrust of the argument was that for a "business" to run effectively, the governing board is usually made up of approximately 8 people. A working group was established to consider the matter, of which I was a member. We established that the current size and composition of Council is in fact effective(?). Of course I argued that student representation should not decrease, and if anything



should increase.

I'm letting you know this and it may not be the end of the issue. The government, as we all know, are hell bent on ridding the state of democracy. I'll let you know if anything more happens.

## LUPA

The La Trobe University Postgraduate Association has recently been recognised by University Council as a separate entity to the SRC. The parameters and role of LUPA are still to be considered/negotiated. If you would like further information please see Karen or Paul in LUPA, or myself in the SRC.

## Academic Board

At Academic Board on 17th May I presented a thorough paper outlining why fees are fucked, and exposing the University's contradictions between policy and reality with regard to fee courses. Regardless of the fact that the student demands (drawn from the GSM in March) are within the bounds of existing University policy, the Board could not bring itself to follow through. Needless to say, the recommendations were not passed, except for a commitment to a review La Trobe's situation with regard to fee courses. Big whoop.

## Internet

The Union has advised they are considering installing Internet



cabling in the Agora area. Yippee. We have been investigating the possibility of installing Internet in the SRC for some time, but have been limited by the cost involved. We may finally move into the 20th century after all.

## Fax Number

The SRC's fax number has changed to 9479 3550. We are now part of the University's system, so there is no cost for internal faxes.

Just as a reminder, the SRC provides a fax service for students at (per page): 50c local; \$1 interstate; \$2 overseas. Very cheap indeed.

## Disability Action Plan

The SRC recently prepared its Disability Action Plan which outlines seven strategies for making the SRC more accessible for people with disabilities. It was a difficult process and a lot of work went into it—but we're all pretty pleased with the result. There will be much more about this in the next edition of *Rabelais*. One of our goals is to organise a Disability Awareness Day. There are many wonderful ideas coming up, such as theatre performances, sport presentations, talks and films. We are hoping that many areas of the University will get involved in this day, such as the Union, SARA, student clubs and of course the Disability Liaison Officer. If you have any ideas or want to be involved in organising the Awareness Day please see me, Michael Nolan, Suzie Rich or Jill Sparrow in the SRC.

## Holidays!

I'm taking a much needed break. I'll be away between 10th and 21st July. In my absence Diana Quin has been elected Acting President. Di should not be expected to pick up all the complexities of the job in two weeks, but she will be able to do official stuff if it is necessary. So, don't despair, life does go on without me (believe it or not).

with love from your (soon to be) havin' fun in the sun President,  
**Lynda Memery**

## Up-front fees—in through the back door?

The recent Federal budget has meant a number of changes for students—most of them bad. Hidden among the general cuts to AUSTUDY (stricter guidelines, \$20 per week less for independent students living at home, and AUSTUDY cut overall by 35 million dollars) is a particularly nasty attack on the tens of thousands of permanent resident students studying in Australia.

Within the budget papers is a claim by the Federal government that permanent residents who have been here for more than three years without taking out citizenship have not "shown a commitment to Australia". This followed by a new criterion for both AUSTUDY and HECS which makes students without Australian citizenship ineligible to either defer their HECS debt or to receive AUSTUDY. The result is that thousands of permanent residents will now be forced to become Australian citizens—or if they don't want to, or can't do this, to pay their HECS up front.

That the government is using financial hardship as a means of pushing people to take out Australian citizenship is bad enough. But there are a number of students who really don't have the option of becoming citizens.

Many permanent residents haven't become Australian citizens because it means that they lose their original citizenship. For example, Malaysia does not allow dual citizenship, so any Malaysian born students who applies to become an Australian citizen automatically loses Malaysian citizenship and many accompanying rights. For a student who has family overseas, it then become much more difficult to visit them, and probably impossible to take up employment there if things don't work out in Australia.

So why is the government doing this? After all, the majority of permanent residents (at least those who can) will probably take out citizenship to avoid the up-front HECS and to keep getting AUSTUDY, so the government is hardly going to save a significant amount of cash. University administrations are likely to go berserk at the prospect of having to check every student's citizenship papers an enrolment each year. And even the group of academics from Monash who kicked off the whole beat-up about permanent residents "rotting AUSTUDY" have attacked the legislation as unworkable.

This raises the question of what the government gets out of discriminating against permanent residents. Well, these new measures simply mean that there is now one more group of students who are paying some sort of up-front fees. The introduction of compulsory up-front HECS for permanent resident students simply helps to further establish the idea that students should be paying for their education. The more fees there are for anyone, the more they are accepted as normal. Already, overseas students are paying full up-front fees, while the deregulation of post-graduate courses has given the universities greater freedom to charge fees for more and more post-graduate courses. Now Vice-Chancellors around the country have begun to argue that because overseas students are "allowed" to pay fees, Australian students who don't make the quota should be "allowed" to pay fees as well. And it's easy to see where this logic leads us - straight down the path to a user pays education of up-front fees for all.

So far it is only fear of student protest that has stopped the government from introducing up-front fees for all undergraduates. And that means that we can't afford to relax now. If students let them, universities will simply continue piling on the fees, while next year the Federal government will come up with some new way of making us pay more for our education. That's why we have to keep up the protests and demonstrations, starting with the No Fees in second semester.

**Jill Sparrow, Education and Welfare Researcher**

# education & welfare

## Demonstration at the 50th anniversary celebrations of the United Nations

EWAG helped to build for a demonstration which involved around 100 people protesting at the attendance of Gareth Evans, Federal ALP minister for foreign affairs.

Gareth Evans has presided over the foreign affairs position during a turbulent period in the south-east asia pacific region. A period where among other things the Indonesian army has massacred hundreds of East Timorese people, systematically wiping out East Timorese resistance to the 1975 invasion by Indonesia. And while it seemed that Australia had no reason for condoning this action through silence, or for aiding in the training of Indonesian military, the East Timor Gap was being carved up for Australia to mine for oil. Gareth was also busy making friends with Indonesian Government officials for Australian investment.

Gareth has also seen an important period for the people of Bougainville, invaded by Papua New Guinea a number of years ago. Engaged in a war of resistance to reclaim the land for themselves, the Bougainvillians have been confronted by a savage Papua New Guinean Army intent on retaining the invaded territory. The Australian Government has provided the Papua New Guineans with helicopters and other military equipment to kill the Bougainvillians. There is substantial mining interests held in Bougainville by Australian mining companies such as CRA.

Gareth is also involved in a whole host of other interesting adventures such as providing the French with uranium to explode in the Pacific, providing the Philippines with uranium to use for an unsafe nuclear power plant, providing Philippines army officials with training which is used to kill their own civilian population and also aiding in a peace process in Cambodia which systematically strengthened the Khmer Rouge while demobilising government forces.

This man was invited to La Trobe to open the UN 50th Anniversary conference and as such received a welcome he should be getting used to given his record. 100 angry protesters greeted Gareth and explained their disgust at his 'money above lives' attitude—an attitude representative of the ALP, the party to which he belongs. The demonstration gained a lot of media attention and was a success in allying various interested groups in opposition to the international policies of the ALP.

## Permanent Resident Students get shafted by the ALP and NUS

In the May budget, the ALP has developed strategies to recover HECS more effectively by forcing students who are permanent residents to pay HECS up-front if citizenship is not gained within 3 years. Following a report by Monash academics which supposedly found that there was a trend whereby permanent resident students would finish their degrees and rejoin their families without paying their HECS debt—a trend said to be found particularly among Hong Kong students—the government moved to catch these so-called Asian cheats by charging them up-front fees. In a move which at the same time further imposes an up-front fee paying regime onto the higher education sector, while tapping into popular notions of nationalism such as committing oneself to Australia and the flag, the Federal Government has won widespread support, including critical support by the National Union of Students (NUS).

John Graham, national President of NUS, in a media release after the budget "commended the Federal Government on its back down on proposed increases to the Higher Education Contribution Scheme" going on to say that NUS "welcomed increased education places showing the government's commitment to improving opportunities to enter tertiary education." These comments came from the national president as around 25,000 permanent resident students realised that to gain access to tertiary education since the budget changes means up-front fees and no Austudy.

It is unclear who Graham believes will benefit from the government's mythical 'commitment to improving opportunities to enter tertiary education', however it is clear how John Graham can dismiss such a matter as the permanent resident students who according to the Labor Government are cheating them out of money. John Graham himself is a member of the Labor Party and works in the National Union of Students to streamline such policies as charging HECS while getting the ALP re-elected at the next federal election.

**Sarah Bennetto**

There was a maggot in the once solid tree as it toppled between the grassy breasts of the hills. Hollowed, devoid, it united horizontally with the earth. As I do, lying in this iterating whispering field. A wooden monument in a bed of metallic grass. I feel isolated from this tanned lover. His malevolence transpires upon my physicality. I float over his supple shoulders, with that breeze, through that grass, over those hills, looking back at the tree. Let me, also, lie inert and akin with this silver land. True emancipation. Vacant and departed, as the maggot does its work.

action group



Graham and NUS do not challenge the fundamental racism involved in singling out permanent resident students, nor do they call into question HECS as a shift towards a user-pays tertiary education. Rather, John Graham uses his position to offer advice to the federal government on how to improve the collection of HECS, a collection which does not discriminate, a collection—you could say—which screws everybody equally. Consider his advice.

Explaining that "citizenship is a very poor indicator of whether an individual is exploiting these loopholes in the system"—such as leaving Australia without paying a HECS debt—Graham goes on to advise the government on how to go about recovering students' HECS liabilities;

*The more equitable way to introduce these changes [closing the supposed loopholes which people are meant to be exploiting] is through tightening up the reporting of foreign sourced*

*income...and by requiring all residents permanently leaving the country to pay back any remaining debt,*

these moves, according to Graham, would be 'non-discriminatory and more effective.' More effective in recovering what is already well documented as being a lifetime of debt, a mechanism designed to shift the cost of education onto students while the ALP decreases their higher education spending. With so-called friends like John Graham, who needs enemies.

At this stage of the campaign against the imposition of fees and a privatised education system we need people who are willing to oppose all forms of user-pays systems such as HECS and to stand alongside permanent resident students in a fight which effects all students.

**Join in the No Fees for Degrees campaign, come to the National Day of Action on the 24th of August.**

EWAG meets at 1pm on Mondays in ELT 2

**Up-coming events:**  
Ex-Political Prisoner from Chile will be speaking on her experiences and the situation today in Chile. Stay tuned for details.  
Video and speaker on the revolutionaries in the Philippines and their fight to save the rainforests. Again, keep your eye out for details.

**Nick Bolger & Tracey McKerrow**  
Co-Convenors Education and Welfare Action Group

## No Fees Teach-in

As the government prepares to hit all students with up-front fees, students are getting organised in the fight against an education which is becoming privatised (ie. not for us but for private business). **If you think that fees don't affect you, think again.**

The teach-in will include speakers, discussion groups and lunch.  
**Date:** Saturday 29th July  
**Venue:** Union House, Melbourne University  
**Time:** 12:00 noon — 5:30pm

# women's researcher

Fees create an obvious problem for students hoping to gain a tertiary education. All fees make studying harder to finance, whether they be enrolment 'charges', deferred HECS fees, or the dreaded upfront fees. Whilst all students are adversely affected by such measures, some groups, usually traditionally disadvantaged ones, are more vulnerable than others; one such very large group is women.

The general climate in Tertiary Education has been undergoing rapid and radical change over recent years, particularly since 1988's White Paper.. Overwhelmingly, these changes to the structure and philosophy of tertiary institutions have been damaging, as the ethos of economic rationalism causes universities to adopt a corporate character, emphasising efficient management, vocational courses and adopting corporate sponsorship. Funding cuts have brought about many negative changes, including larger class sizes, bad staff-student ratios, charges for course notes, and less support teaching such as tutorials,

amongst other things.

There are many important issues facing the future of tertiary education for women, and there is far more to be said about them than is possible here. Two of the most pressing are women's access to postgraduate study, and their employment prospects after graduation, whether or not they have undertaken postgraduate study.

Full upfront fees for undergraduate degrees have been avoided for the time being (unless you happen to be a permanent resident without Australian citizenship), although the Government has gradually been introducing lots of small 'charges' that amount to the charging of some fees for study. However, postgraduate study has recently been 'deregulated', meaning that institutions are now free to charge full upfront fees for a given proportion of their courses; at this stage, La Trobe is fortunately one of the three Universities in the country that is charging for less than 4% of its postgraduate courses—but it is unlikely

to remain that way. There are no standard, universal guidelines on how Universities should implement fees, and so they can charge as much or little as they wish, for whichever courses they wish, in whatever way.

Fees for post-graduate courses have a number of effects that impact particularly badly on women, and the essential factor is money; many women are not in a position to afford fees. This is particularly disturbing at a time when women actually outnumber men in postgraduate study—but are significantly a much smaller proportion of fee-paying students.

In postgraduate study where HECS payment is possible, 53% of students are women, as compared to fee courses, where the proportion of women enrolled drops to only 36% of students. When surveyed as to the reasons for their non-participation, women usually cite money as the reason.

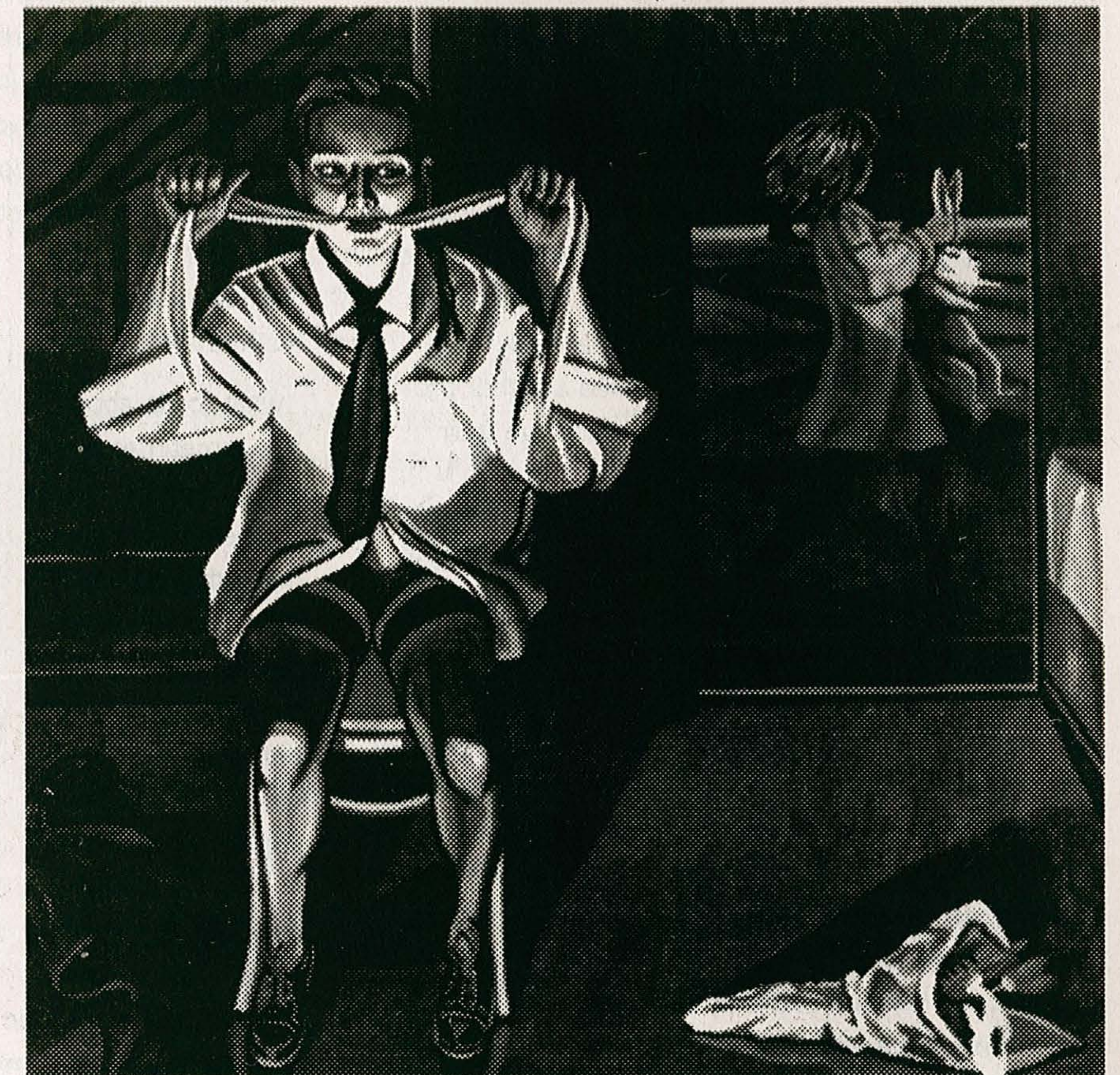
There are many structural reasons why women are less likely to be in a position to pay fees than men. In order to afford fees at all, the vast majority of postgraduate students need to be, and in fact are, in full-time employment. Women are still earning only 73% of the male wage, are concentrated in less prestigious areas that attract lower rates of pay, and are far more likely to have domestic and child-care responsibilities which limit the amount of time that they spend in paid work.

In addition, whilst the fee bill is often picked up by employers wishing to provide on-going training for their employees, it is emerging that employers are more likely to be prepared to fork out for a male worker; 49.6% of male students were receiving financial support from employers, compared to only 31.5% of women.

DEET concedes in a recent report that this is probably a reflection of entrenched sexist attitudes in the workforce, and describes women's underrepresentation as fee-paying students as also a product of "the operations of the labour market"—but beyond these observations, does not seem to regard these issues as the Government's problem, or as indicating that fees are therefore having an adverse impact on women's access

to postgraduate study.

Fees are also in danger of further exacerbating the labour force segregation of women; the more prestigious, career-oriented courses in business and management are more expensive, and provide vital access to growth areas in science and technology, areas where women have traditionally been absent. Women's participation in study is concentrated in traditional areas partly



because the courses are cheaper, such qualifications will lead to lower-paying graduate jobs, because they are perceived as 'feminine' occupations. In fact, for lower-income students, whether male or female, fees are in danger of perpetuating economic disadvantage: courses that will lead to well paying jobs cost more to enrol in, and so are more readily accessible to people who already have money, than to those without.

Cultural issues also play a part in determining women's access to fee courses; in more traditional families and cultures, when money is scarce, the education of boys is more likely to be a priority than that of girls. This is highly relevant at a University like La Trobe, where the student body is made up of a large number of diverse cul-



## src women's researcher's report

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tural and ethnic groups; obviously, the socio-economic circumstances of a family will also play a part in determining whether or not a family can afford to sponsor tertiary education, whether or not it is regarded as important, and for which family members.

It is doubtful then whether or not women's hard earned and recent gains in the post-graduate field can be sustained and built upon as up-front fees become more common.

Another disturbing issue is what actually happens to women in terms of employment prospects once they graduate. Women, as discussed above, are still concentrated in lower paid professions such as health services, as opposed to business management which is still a 'boys own' area.. Women are much less likely than men to attain senior positions in their chosen field, and are earning on average 21% less than men a week. Therefore, women are also being taxed a higher proportion of their incomes in order to discharge their HECS debt.

Having a degree does not guarantee a good, long-term job, or even any job at all. Men and women with exactly the same qualifications do not enjoy the same prospects, either; of graduates earning \$40,000 or less per annum, more are women. But amongst graduates earning over \$40,000, there are nearly twice as many men—these differences are more pronounced again in graduates with a bachelor degree than with a post-graduate qualification. In both cases, in the over \$60,000 salary range, men outnumber women many times over.

Women are also hampered in their employment prospects by the fact that they are often not in a position to follow standard career paths, having more fragmented work histories due to the demands of childrearing and domestic duties. The cost and scarcity of decent (or any) childcare creates difficulties for women wanting to remain in full-time employment, too. Women make up 70% of all part-time and external students, and a large proportion of these women are mature aged, often as a direct result of these issues impacting on their lives

A more general problem for graduate employment is the sheer lack of available jobs; unemployment is still high, especially in professional fields. Women are more likely to be the losers in such an economic climate. Part of the reason for the Federal Government's 'promotion' of higher education earlier in the decade was an attempt to artificially keep unemployment rates down, by chan-

neling potential dole queue school leavers into tertiary institutions. The courses that are pushed are often highly vocational and specialist—the idea of education for education's sake, education that encourages analytical and critical thinking has all but disappeared in the quest for visible economic returns. There is more emphasis on training than education in tertiary institutions.

Despite all of the extra courses, there has remained a hierarchy in the perceived value of qualifications, so that some have far more credibility than others, and are more likely to lead to jobs. Increases in tertiary places have not meant more jobs, either. The actual value of credentials is also dropping, so that people are in the position of having to retrain and gain further qualifications, in order to be "viable" on the job market.

### what to do about it

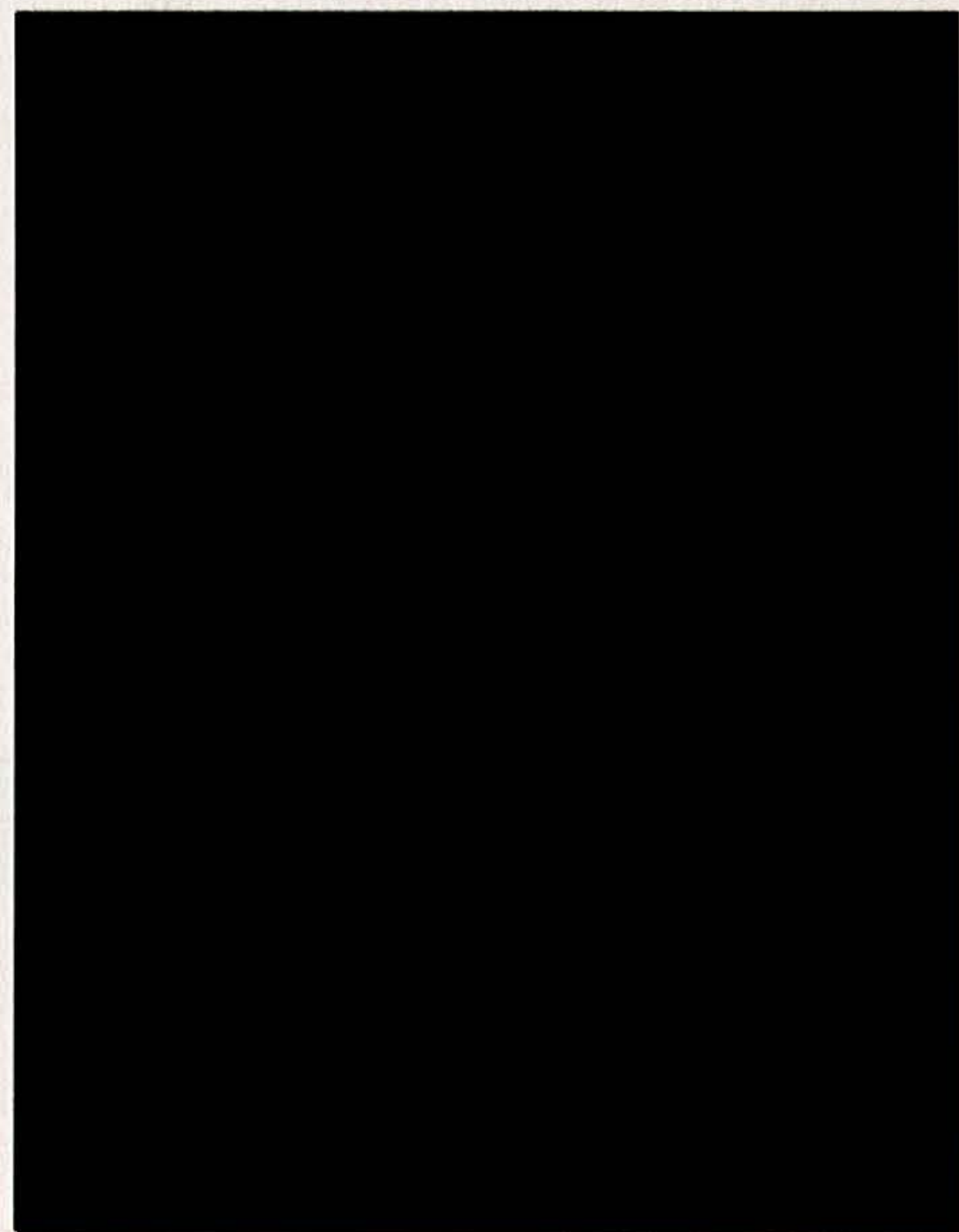
It is sometimes tempting to feel that these problems, (and many, many others) are completely beyond our control—and in fact, everyone has probably watched legislation go through or a government voted in, that we strongly opposed. But at other times, public protest

does at least succeed in watering down a government proposal; all students might have been paying full upfront fees by now, if there had been no student reaction at all.

It is always worth lobbying local members, going along to marches, and making sure that your voice is heard loud and clear! Collective action and unity is also very important; one person can't easily make a difference, but a group can. On campus, the Womens' Action Collective of the SRC is involved in fighting for the rights and needs of women at La Trobe and with addressing education issues for women. WAC meets on Wednesdays at 1pm in the Womens' Room in the Union Building. Come along and help determine the future of your education and that of other women.

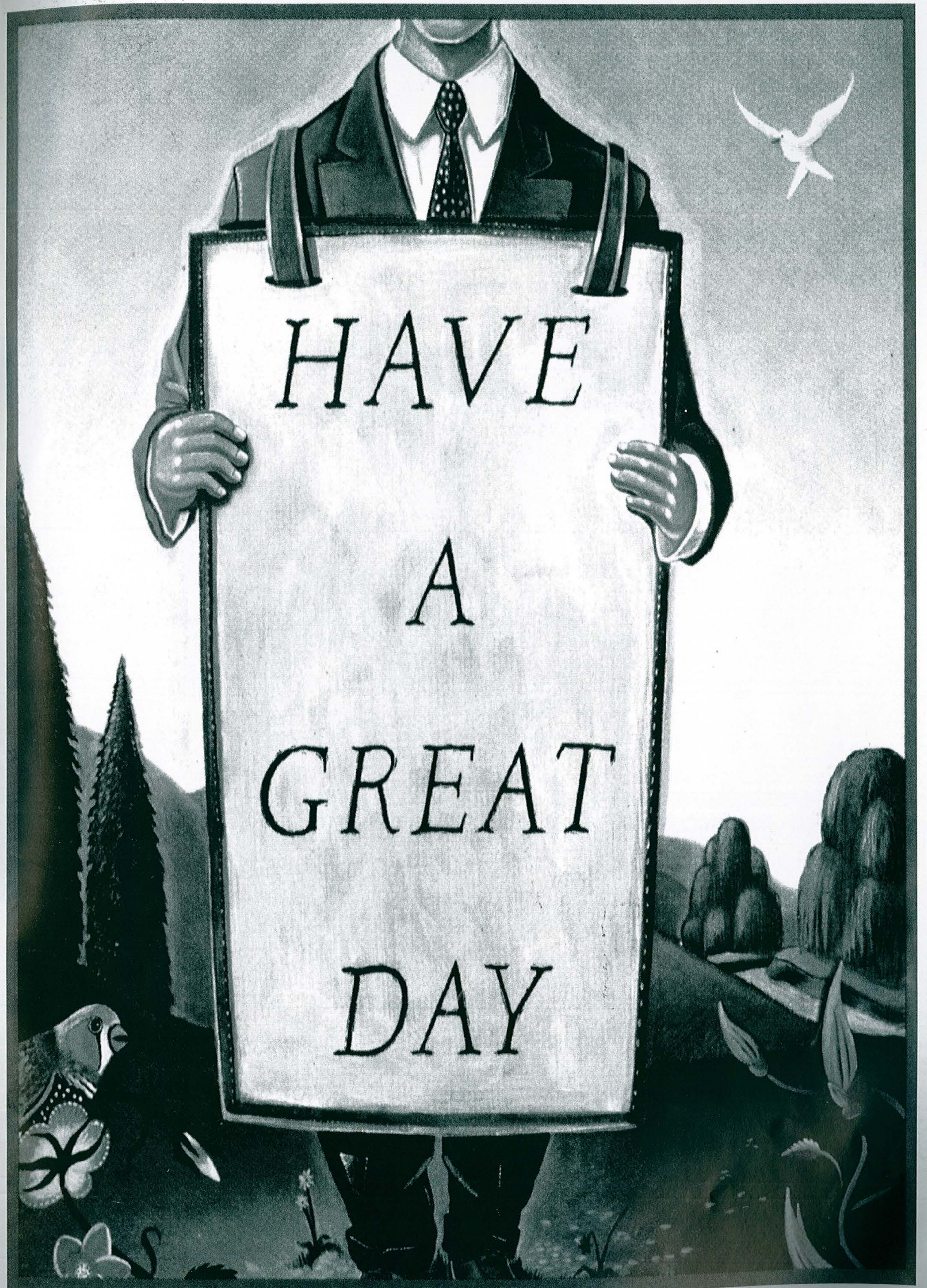
Margaret Kent

SRC Women's Researcher

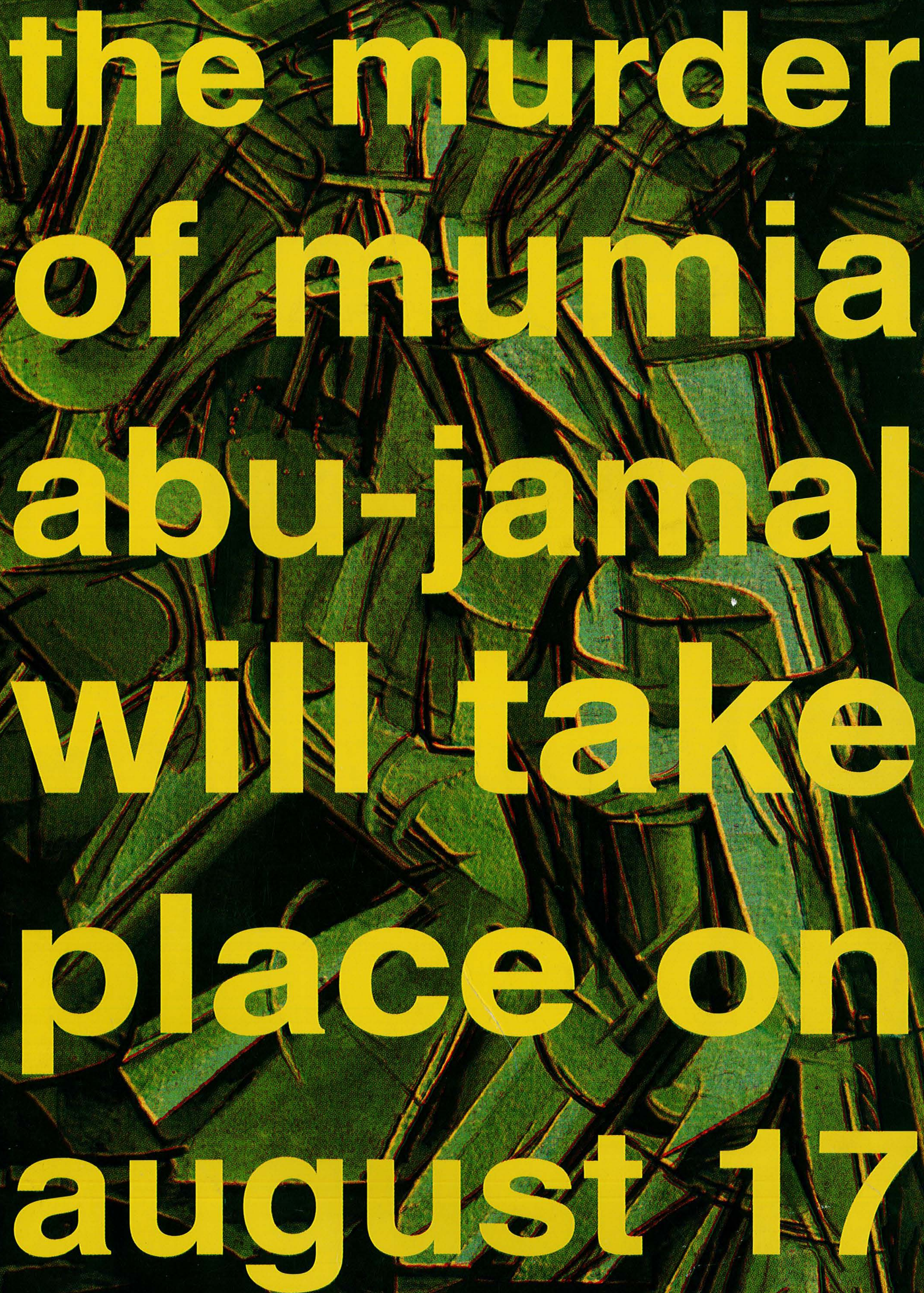


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**the murder  
of mumia  
abu-jamal  
will take  
place on  
august 17**