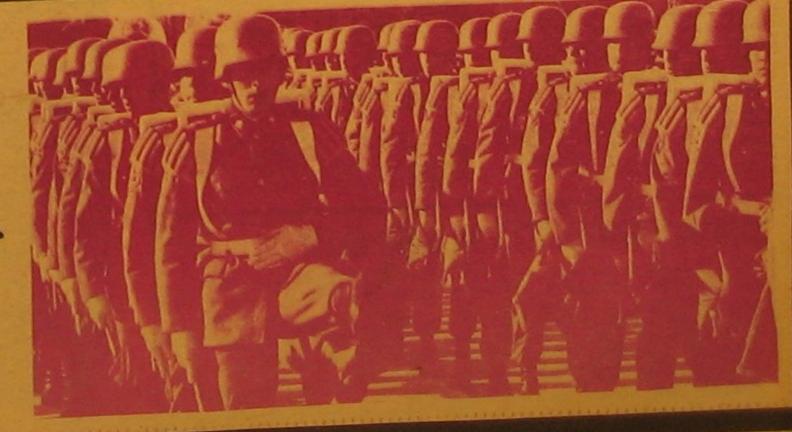
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DIRECTACTION

No. 50, October 25, 1973.

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EDITORIAL

BEHIND ISRAEL'S

The October War, the fourth Arab-Israeli was appears at this stage to be over. A temporary ceasefire, arranged in a deal between Washington and Moscow, appears to have taken effect. The tasks of evaluating the results of Israel's aggression is only starting. The duties of revolutionaries everywhere to defend the Arab people's struggle are only at their beginning.

Socialists must counteract the Zionist, anti-Arab campaign. The blame for ionists' shoulders. The real cause of the war is the installation by force, back in 1948, of a racist Zionist state, against the will of the Palestinian eople. The Palestinian refugees are a direct result of Zionist aggression against the Arab people in that year.

Overt Israeli aggression was also demonstrated in Israel's attack on Egypt in 1956 and the so-called Six-Day War in 1967 in which Syria, Jordan and Egypt were attacked. In "peace time" this aggression has been expressed by the eviction of the local Arab population.

Despite the current lull we should keep on supporting not only the struggle of the oppressed people of Palestine for self-determination but also the struggle of the other Arab people to regain their land occupied by the Israelis in 1967 and in 1973.

Unfortunately the Arab masses struggling to achieve the liberation of their erritories have to do so with a leaderhip which is incapable of leading them to victory, The shameful behavior of the Arab leadership which has shown itself willing to make deals and to grant both Israel and its imperialist packers considerable concessions has already been shown.

Nor can the Arabs rely on their 'friends" in the workers' states. Both the Soviet Union and China have shown themselves to be willing to sell-out the Palestinians. Leonid Brezhnev negotiated personally the terms of the agreement under which the Palestinians' radical people should support the ights to self-determination are going to be ignored. China which wasn't a arty to earlier UN decisions couldn't not bring itself to vote against the

resolution which is opposed by all Palestinians and the vast majority of the Arab masses.

While the military situation at the end of the war is still extremely clouded it does appear that militarily the Zionists have gained the advantage. The fruit of Israeli aggression includes territory forcibly seized from both Egypt and Syria. However, as was the case in 1967 Israel's victory is a pyhrric one. The real nature of Zionism as a death Not only has the war cost Israel thousands of lives it also increased the determination of the Arab masses to fight on. Every round of war helps perpetuate the racist ideology of Zionism and aligns Israeli Jews with the reactionary Zionist leadership instead of Arab workers.

The duties of Australian socialists in defending the Palestinian's and other Arab people's rights could become even more significant in the future.

Already Australia's "neutrality" has been questioned by reports that US tracking stations in Australia have been used to supply the Israelis with satellite pictures of Arab positions. There have also been reports that Australian troops could be used as part of an international "peace keeping" force in the Middle East. To that proposal we must state our unequivocal opposition. We will fight against Australian troops being sent to protect Zionist aggression.

Neither their current leadership nor the bureaucracies in the workers' states can provide the solution to the problem facing the Arab people. Only under socialism can the Palestinian problem be resolved. Similarly, only under socialism can Israeli Jews survive,

Only under socialism can their cultural and social rights be preserved.

The struggle for socialism in the Middle Middle East is going to be a prolonged struggle. Socialists and all other demands of the Palestinians for their self-determination and those of the Arab people for the complete liberation of their occupied territories.

CONTACT SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

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

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Motion on Homosexuals Passed

BY DOROTHY TUMNEY

On October 18 the House of Representatives passed the motion moved by John Gorton and seconded by Dr Moss Cass that in the opinion of the House homosexual acts in private between consenting adults should not be subject to criminal law.

The motion was passed 64-40 in a vote held along non-party lines. Broken down the voting was divided: Opposition(Liberal/Country Party) in favor, 24; against, 23. ALP including ministers - in favor 40;

in favor, 11; against, 7.

Cabinet ministers (taken separately) -

The immediate result of the motion means that all references to penalties



Moss Cass, seconder of the motion

against private homosexual acts will be removed from Federal territories ordinances as of next week. Criminal law in the territories is based on NSW legislation, said "reforms such as this are not enough but in the territories it is in the form of regulation and not legislation, Territories law can therefore be changed without Parliament passing new legislation, Changes can be disavowed by Parliament within 15 sitting days, but supporters of the change are confident that the Senate will not disallow the alterations.

The almost total impossibility of bringing charges against people engaging in private homosexual activity means that legal sanctions can only be used in a highly discriminating manner and of course provide easy targets for blackmailers. These were two of Gorton's main arguments in moving the motion, In seconding the motion Cass said "hopefully; the removal of legal insult will result in the abandonment of social stigma."

The relation between legal and social discrimination is best illustrated by the legal position of lesbians. No laws against female homosexuality per se have

attached to lesbians is just as vicious as that to male homosexuals. Lesbians as with male homosexuals are discriminated against in housing, employment, etc.

Members of Parliament who supported the motion were very careful to stress that this measure demanding rights for homosexuals was in no way an endonement of homosexuality, Indeed great care was taken to reassure the public that homosexual activity was not likely to increase or become more openly practised. The motion in no way sought to legalise homosexuality "in the sense of issuing a licence or charter for homosexual activity."

In reality this motion although a victory in the fight for gay liberation, has done very little to substantially alter the existing prejudices against homosexuality. A great majority of homosexuals charged under present laws are arrested for solicitation, offensive behavior and similar activities. Under these laws lesbians are theoretically as wide opento prosecution as men, though less cases are actually tried. Only sodomy laws are automatically excluded from application to lesbians.

Throughout the debate homosexuality was generally referred to by both sides in various degrading terminology, which ranged from "moral pollution" to an "affliction" with an overwhelming amount of "sympathy" or "pity" being expressed for poor homosexuals who "cannot help themselves", Gorton during the course of his speech pointed out that no matter whatever personal revulsion exists to the thought of committing a homosexual act it should not be allowed to influence judgement on the existence of such laws. Criminal sanctions should not be applied purely on the grounds that some activity abhorrent to those controlling the legislature.

Is it any wonder that radical homosexuals vehement in denouncing "tolerant" and "liberal" ideas, "Tolerance" is rapidly becoming one of the most hated words among gay activists. John Cramer (Liberal NSW), in opposing the motion, for homosexuals - they are demanding total acceptance of homosexuality as a normal way of life." He is entirely correct.

Public opinion polls are showing increased support for repeal of laws restricting private homosexual activity. In his speech Moss Cass quoted figures indicating that a majority of public opinion in recent years tended to make no judgements on homosexuality. This motion served to bring Parliament more into line with prevailing ideas,

To get this legislation introduced in all States will be a start to gaining total acceptance of homosexuality, but it is only a beginning. All the major legal restrictions on the free and open practice of homosexuality and the deep rooted prejudices promoted by the present society are still very much a fact, and it will be the role of independent gay liberation organisations and socialists to continue the fight for acceptance of homosexuality.



Gay Pride march in Sydn

Israeli Regime Escalates

BY JON ROTHSCHILD

On October 11, the fifth day of the October War, Israeli war minister Moshe Dayan took a tour of the just-reoccupied Golan Heights. Leaning languidly against a bunker, in the manner of a gunslinger in a US western movie, he told television reporters: "We are going to teach the Syrians that the road that leads from Damascus to Tel Aviv also leads from Tel Aviv to Damascus." In the back-ground, Dayan's tanks were forming up. On the sides of many of them was painted the slogan: "Damascus express."

Two days earlier, Major-General Aharon Yariv had held a news conference in Tel

Speaking of the Syrian front, he said : "And we are going to press and we are going to push and we are going to bomb and we are going to punish as much and as long as we can until the other side does understand the rules of the game."

Yariv did not bother to enumerate just what rules the Syrians had so abysmally failed to understand that they had to be enlightened by pressing, pushing, bombing and punishing. So it might be in order to explain them. As they were established in 1948, reaffairmed in 1956, and hardened up in 1967 and the following six years, the rules of the game are these: The Israeli army shall dominate the Arab East; the Israeli air force shall bomb at will civilian and military targets, while the Arabs shall be unable to defend themselves; the Israeli military machine shall be invincible; the Israeli regime shall per- and run under the force of the air and iodically and more or less constantly humiliate the Arab world; the Zionist regime shall determine its own borders, which in principle extend from the edge of the Sinai to the banks of the Euphrates, and in reality extend from the western-most position of the Israeli tank corps to the easternmost one. These are the ground rules for implementation of the underlying Zionist programme, which is to main tain and expand a state for all the world's Jews at the expense of the Arabs of Palestine and the entire Arab world. The operation of the rules is effected through the policy of establishing "accomplished facts" by whatever means necessary and defending those facts in the name of Western civilisation and Jewish survival.

The Syrian army - and the Egyptian army too - had violated those rules. The Arabs had defended themselves, and with a degree of initial success that surprised the Israeli ruling class and most of the world as well.

"THE ARAB IS A MAN AGAIN"

"Arabs have had an inferiority complex toward Israel for years, and that was a definite plus for Israel, " said the political officer of a Western European embassy in Tel Aviv as quoted by the October 12 Wall Street Journal, "Now the Arabs have seen that they can score advances against Israel. Even if the Arabs don't hold the ground that they gained, a whole new situation has been created here in the Middle East. The Arab, in his own eyes, is a man again.

The essence of that observation - minus, of course, its chauvinist tone - was echoed throughout the Arab world during the first week of the October War.

There is no doubt that the initial Arab advances, and the ability to hold the line in Sinai and give the Israeli army a major battle in Syria, represent important psychological (and therefore political) victories for the Arab world. The effects of that victory will be felt for a long time to come, both in the Arab countries and in Israel. That victory will stand up regardless of the ultimate outcome of the war. It has, however, been a victory won at great cost; and its cost is likely to increase dramatically as the war goes on.

THE SYRLAN FRONT RESISTS

Although exact information has been difficult to come by because of censorship imposed in the warring countries, most reports indicate that Syrian tanks moved into the occupied Golan Heights in the afternoon of October 6. The size of the force is not clear. Most Western military analysts estimate it at about 850 tanks, out of a total Syrian tank force of 1170. Israeli military spokesmen, obviously interested in inflating the size of the Syrian force involved, have claimed that Syria's real tank reserves are close to 2000 and that well over 1000 tanks were committed to the battle for Golan,

Initial statements by Israeli military officials indicated that the Zionist leaders expected the Syrian army to break ground attacks. The Zionist command apparently made the mistake of allowing their ingrained racist ideology to outweigh an appreciation of reality. Their initial counter-attack was launched with insuf-

ficient power, and the Syrian defenders were able, if not to repulse it, at least to hold their ground. The Israeli response was to intensify the air attacks in an attempt to maul the Syrian ground forces and terrorise them into a disorderly retreat that could be turned into a rout.

But despite the Israeli air and ground assault, which may have been the most intensive tank attack in military history, the Syrian soldiers continued to resist, inflicting heavy casualties on the Israeli

"An Israeli officer, pointing out that the Syrian forces had come close to reaching the cliffs overlooking the Sea of Galili, Charles Mohr wrote in the October 12 New York Times, "praised the tenacity of the Syrian troops. 'They moved and fought at night, which surprised us,' he said, adding: 'They fought in small units they were badly hurt and isolated. Even men in immobilised vehicles were heard on the radio continuing to fire on us. They were much better than in the past, I think we Israelis are going to be more humble.

Then the Israeli officer smiled and added, 'for about a week,"

On October 10 the Zionist forces pushed past the 1967 ceasefire line at two points, regrouping for a march on Damascus, On October 11 they struck out along the road to Damascus, which lies some thirtyeight miles from the ceasefire line. By that point, the Israeli intelligence expert Chaim Herzog was claiming that the Syrians had lost about 800 tanks. He upped the original estimate of the Syrian force involved in the Golan battle to 1400 tanks, which, according to the estimate of the London-based Internat-

ional Institute for Strategic Studies, is 230 more tanks than the Syrian army possesses.

The Israeli march on Damascus was accompanied by intensive terror bombing of Syrian cities. The ports of Latakia and Tartus were hit by Israeli planes. The town of Banias, an important juncture on an oil pipeline running from Iraq to the Mediterranean Sea, was bombed. The industrial city of Homs was bombarded by Israeli planes on October 10 and 11. The city of Damascus had already been hit by Israeli planes on October 9 in a raid that was clearly designed to cause large civilian casualties. The Soviet cultural center in Damascus was bombed, as were residential areas around it. The civilian death toll in Damascus was estimated at about 100. Syrian officials reported that the twoday bombing of Homs cost about 400

Dayan with other Israeli army leaders

It appeared by October 15 that Iraqi troops that had entered the fighting on the Syrian front had engaged the Israelis in a furious tank battle while the Syrians withdrew to defend Damascus itself. Late on October 14 the Israeli command announced that its long-range artillery, dug in around Sassa, was shelling the suburbs of Damascus. As of October 15 it appeared that the Israelis had decided against moving all the way to the city nd would content themselves with bringing the centre of Damascus within artillery range and delivering the "lesson" to the Syrians from afar.

The Syrian army, while unable to prevent the Israeli advance toward Damascus, had managed to acquit itself well enough to force the Israeli command at least temporarily - to reject sacking the city as too costly. Thus, Israel had achieved military victory in the sense that additional Syrian territory was in Israeli hands, but the basic Zionist goals - annihilation of the Syrian army and mass terrorisation of the Syrian population - had still not been achieved.

AND THE SINAI FRONT HOLDS

If the determined resistance of Syrian forces in Golan was a setback for the Zionist state, the advance of the Egyptian forces in Sinai was something approaching a trauma for the Israeli command, The Egyptians had established eleven pontoon bridges across the Suez Canal on the afternoon of October 6. By the afternoon of October 7, the Israeli command was already reporting that all but two of the bridges had been knocked out by the Israel Israeli air attacks, that the Egyptian soldiers on the east bank of the canal were trapped, and that hundreds of Egyptian tanks and thousands of soldiers would be soon destroyed by Israeli counterattacks.

Egyptian communiques denied the Israeli claims, asserting that the Arab forces had repaired damage to the bridges and that troops and tanks were continuing to pour across the canal. By October 9 the Egyptian command was reporting that its troops had advanced nine miles into Sinai along

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

The US Government has militarily, economically, and politically backed Israel since the beginning, Without the backing of US imperialism, the Zionist ettler-state could not exist.

The cornerstone of US policy in the Middle East is to maintain Israel as the ominant military power in the region, and to use Israel as a foothold for mperialism against the Arab people.

Nixon would prefer to avoid US military ntervention, but should Israel suffer najor reversals in the struggle, the US s fully prepared to intervene directly - just as it did in Vietnam. To demon- with the deadly Soviet Sam-6 low level strate this determination, the US Sixth anti-aircraft missile; hundreds of tele-Fleet was moved to the Eastern Mediter- vision guided Walleye missiles (the type

The US shares the aims of the Israelis n keeping the Arab peoples demoralised Shrike missiles. The US Government nd blocking the Arab national liberation is now planning to give a further \$2200 iggle. US control over most of the million in aid to Israe

Arab world's oil depends on the results of Israel's aggressive policy.

The US gave \$300 million in arms aid in 1967 alone and in one of several arms deals in 1970 and gave Israel \$500 million in military equipment. The Sydney Morning Herald reported on Washington has armed Israel to the teeth. October 18 details of the first wave of a flood of supplies now landing in Israel,

It comprises: 200 M60 battle tanks (America's best); 2000 tons of tank ammunition, howitzers and anti-tank guns; 48 new F4 Phantom jets, with an estimated 50 to follow (which more tha covers losses); 2000 air-to-air missiles; 3000 tons of bombs; several tons of electronic equipment to help Israel deal used against North Vietnam); new Rockeye anti-personnel cluster bombs (apparently napalm is not enough);

most of the 100-mile-long east bank of the canal. Cairo reported that many Israeli prisoners had been taken and that the Israelis had been forced to abandon the Bar-Lev line - the front-line dug-in Israeli position several miles east of the canal. It was also reported that Egyptian naval vessels had sunk four Israeli patrol boats in a battle in the Mediterranean.

On October 9, General Yariv admitted that Israeli troops had in fact abandoned the Bar-Lev line, Israeli military commanders began to speak of a "war of attrition" in Sinai, "V e are not dealing with an enemy in flight," Chaim Herrog told Israelis in a radic address. "The Arab armies are fighting in a very orderly manner."

The Israeli command responded to its inability to destroy the Egyptian bridgeheads by bombarding the city of Port Said at the northermost end of the canal. On October 9, 10, and 11 Israeli military activity was confined to probing Egyptian strength, moving up massive reinforcements for an eventual counter-assault, and largescale bombing, both of Egyptian troops crossing the canal and of airfields in the Nile delta in lower Egypt. Into the bargain, the Zionist command took the opportunity to inflict some civilian casualties on Egypt.

"In spite of the absence of any Egyptian strikes against Israel territory, the Israeli Air Force the last few days has been subjecting Egyptian territory to heavy bombing," Henry Tanner reported from Cairo October 13. "The raids had caused 500 casualties among Egyptian civilians up to Thursday (October 11), according to a statement by Foreign Minister Mohammed H. el-Zayyat in New York. Dr Zayyat's figures have not been announced locally, but the newspaper Al Ahram said yesterday that many Egyptian civilians had been

"Similarly, Egyptian officials said yesterday that many Egyptian military casualties in the Sinai were victims of bombing by napalm. In Cairo hospitals, many military patients reportedly are being treated for napalm burns."

Tanner was among a group of Western reporters taken to the scene of an Israeli air attack October 11 on the main highway from Cairo to Alexandria. "The correspondents saw a bridge, a bus, a cafe, several taxis, a truck, water buffaloes and No military objective was in sight.

The correspondents were taken to the hospital at Benha, the nearby town where some of the wounded had been taken, including a 5-year-old girl with heavy burns all over her face, arms and legs. She had been on the bus with her family.

"Local officials said that 30 persons had been killed in the bus, 12 in the cafe."

Despite the bombing, the mood in Cairo was reported to be calm and confident. Egyptian troops continued to cross the canal, and by October 14 the number of Egyptian troops on the east bank was estimated by Western intelligence experts to be between 75,000 and 100,000; the number of tanks was said to be several hundred.

PALESTINE FORUM

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WHY SADAT MOVED AND WHAT HE

What the Egyptian forces tried to do in Sinal was dependent not only on the unfolding military situation, but also on the political aims the Sadat regime had in opening the bridgeheads in the first place. It is above all quite certain that Cairo, which stook by in September 1970 without intervening to prevent King Huss rights of the Palestinian people.

Egyptian Government spokesmen, especially Foreign Minister el-Zayya have stressed again and again that destruction of the Zionist state is not the goal of the Sinai campaign. Military com-muniques from Cairo have been totally free of threats to the continued existence of Zionism and there has been no call issued by Sadat to the Egyptian people to prepare for a final confrontation with the Israeli state.

Sadat moved troops across the canal because he had no choice. The factors determining that decision lie essentially in the domestic situation being in turn heavily influenced by the three-yearold standoff on the Suez Canal.

As the standoff dragged on, the Zionist regime was moving increasingly toward outright annexation of the territories conquered during the 1967 aggression, "The application of General Dayan's policy of establishing so-called accomplished facts, which is referred to by his opponents as 'rampant annexation-ism,' was accelerating," Rouleau wrote. "The Golan, taken from Syria, has been practically integrated (into Israel). The economic development of certain regions of Sinai, the establishment of kibbutzim, the immense urbanisation under way at Sharm Al Sheikh (at the southern tip



Israeli flag raised in Syria of Sinai), the impending creation of a new urban centre called Yamit in the Raffah area (in northeast Sinai) all ind indicated that Mrs Meir's Government intended to appropriate broad sections of Sinai. The electoral platform of the ruling Labor Party, adopted last August, called for various other measures that would have amounted to multiplying Jewish agricultural and industrial implanespecially in Gaza, in the West Bank (of

Ever since 1970 the Egyptian regime had been looking to "great power intervention" to impose a settlement that would have returned the occupied territories but left the Palestinians in their refugee camps.

former Jordanian sector of Jerusalem,

which was formally annexed just after

the Six-Day War."

In the middle of 1972 Sadat made a shift in his diplomatic posture. He expelled Soviet military advisers from Egypt in a clear overture to US imperialism. He began granting interviews to American magazines and newspapers, seeking to drum up popular support in the United States for a policy shift in Washington.

While extending the olive branch to US imperialism diplomatically, and while opening Egypt to US investment, Sadat also tried to develop additional means of pressuring Washington. That was done by effecting the "reconciliation" with the Hashemite regime in Jordan and with Zionist assertion. A military victory for the arch-reactionary, anti-Nasserite Faisal the Arab states - even a significant regime in Saudi Arabia. The aim was to partial one - would be a major step create a solid front of pressure on Washington, utilising the threat of withholding oil deliveries to the West as the major weapon.

But despite all this - and despite various noises about peace in the Arab East from Henry Kissinger - there was no pressure from Washington on Tel Aviv to offer any concessions to Sadat that would have allowed him to sign a settlement with sufficient face-saving concessions to win

popular acceptance in Egypt. At the same time, Sadat's internal situation was deteriorating rapidly. Since (although that is surely not lacking), coming to power in 1970, he had undone Hussein's slaughter of Palestinian fedayeen the middle of 1973, popular support for the Sadat Government had declined to the allow the Egyptians to remain in the noint that Sadat had become little more Sinai.

BY SOL SALBY

The Soviet Union values its relations with Western European countries very highly. When the Soviet Prime Minister other side of the canal gave them breaks a pre-arranged engagement, cancelling a meeting with the Danish Prime Minister, something important must be at stake.

It was. Premier Kosygin went on a special mission to Egypt to see President A great deal has already been special Sadat. The purpose of his visit was to about a possible "peace plan". Qu arrange a so-called ceasefire between Israel and Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

The ceasefire finally came into effect on October 24. The terms obtained following negotiations between Henry Kissinger and Leonid Brezhnev called

ment which suited the Zionists Despite their inability to dislode Egyptians from most of the Suer their occupation army in Africa distinct advantage in strategic hol as well as area.

The terms of the ceasefire are pub The terms of any arrangements mad by Moscow and Washington are not a lot of that speculation has been contradictory. The only things cent are the victims. The Palestinian and other Arab masses are going to be sacrificed by the Soviet bureaucracy b its attempts to reach a new high in the detente with the US.

than a target for derisive humor among the the masses of people. The people demanded real action to recover the occupied territories; they demanded the elimination of the bourgeoisie's special privileges; even within the ranks of the army, discontent was high - an especially dangerous development in a country in which the army plays a major role in the administering of the state.

It was in that general context that Sadat gave the order to cross the canal, "The risks," Roland Delcour wrote in the October 9 Le Monde, "were no less enormous if the Egyptian forces should suffer a new setback. But the dangers of prolonging the immobility and decay of the internal situation were doubtlessly greater still. President Sadat preferred to plunge ahead."

ZIONIST OBJECTIVE: EXTEND THE AGGRESSION, PUNISH THE ARABS

What the Zionist regime would like to do in the October War is certainly no secret. From the moment the first shots were fired, Israeli military leaders have stressed it: The Arabs must be pushed back to the 1967 lines and beyond; the Syrian army must be destroyed; the Egyptian army must be at least crippled ! demolished.

The reasons for the Zionist objectives stem directly from the character of the Zionist movement and its state. The tations throughout the occupied territories, Zionist state is a foreign implantation in the Arab world. It was founded on the Jordan , and in the area around the former basis of expelling the native population from Palestine and depends for its existence as a Zionist state on perpetuating that expulsion.

The Zionist state stands in conflict not only with the Palestinian Arabs, but with the entire Arab world. Because of that, it must keep the Arab world divided, backward, and weak. How else could it maintain itself against the much larger

The essence of Zionist policy in the Arab East therefore consists of carrying out permanent aggression.

It is commonly asserted among Zionist leaders that while the Arabs can afford to lose many wars, Israel cannot to lose many wars, Israel cannot afford to lose even one. Usually, the underlying thought is that for Israel to lose a war means for the Israeli population to be exterminated, which is arrant nonsense. But in a sense there is some truth to the forward for the Arab masses, would be seen by them as such, and would therefore have the effect of strengthening the revolutionary movement in the Arab world. Moreover, it could not but have deep effects among the Israeli-Jews themselves, impelling them to seek alternatives to Zionism.

The desire of the Zionist ruling class to spare no effort to drive the Egyptian and Syrian armies beck, and to inflict disastrous casualties on Arab armies and civilians, stems not from some personal baseness among the Zionist leaders but from the exigencies of the maintenance of the Zionist state itself. There is no way that the Israeli ruling class can

POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS OF THE OCTOBER WAR

But even when the Israeli army reestablishes its control over Sinai - 1 is the overwhelming likelihood - the political complexion of the Arab Est will be qualitatively altered. The elof this war will be to weaken both the Zionist regime and the Arab regimes, the advantage of the Arab revolution For even assuming the worst occur, if the Israeli regime achieves yet another crushing military victory, it will be faced with rising anti-Zionist sentimen from its own population.

A similar development took place after the 1967 war. The same process will undoubtedly be repeated this time - co on a much larger scale. The immediate aftermath of the war may see a strengtening of the overtly annexationist wing of the Israeli ruling class at the expense of the "doves", who are willing to return a tiny percentage of conquered land to the Arabs in exchange for a settlemen. But such shifts are of no great import, They represent only minor squabbles within the Zionist camp.

For increasing numbers of Israeli youth, however, some deeper questions will be place until there is peace? How many Israeli-Jews must die for the preservation of Jewish exclusivity? The pondering of such questions will surely lead a larger number of youth to the realisation that there will be no peace in the Arab East as long as the Zionist state exists. and to the realisation that Zionism represents the interests not of the Israel Jewish masses but of the Israeli-Jewish ruling classes.

On the Arab side also, the October Wal will have salutory effects on the growth of revolutionary forces, Initially, Sad may regroup some of the support he has lost since 1970, but the moral victorie that have been won by the Arabs will only increase the determination of the Arab workers and peasants to have don not only with Zionism, but with imper ist control of the Arab world, and with the local ruling classes' domination as



Arab Militant Reports Back

Interview With Peter Indari

(Peter Indari is the president of Friends of Palestine and a long time supporter of the Palestinian people's struggle for self- INDARI: The Palestinian resistance did determination. He returned on October 20 from three-months' tour of the Middle East. He was interviewed by a DIRECT ACTION staff reporter on his arrival.)

DIRECT ACTION: Just how extensively did you travel on your visit?

INDARI: I spent most of my time in Lebanon. I also visited Irak during the week of celebration for the July 17 revolution. I visited Syria just a week or so before the outbreak of fighting.

DIRECT ACTION: We notice you didn't INDARI: When the war started the

kind of affect did the war have on them?

not say much. They just joined in the war on the first day. All members of the resistance moved to the front to south Lebanon and also to Jabel Al-Sheikh. This part of the Golan Heights was liberated by the Syrians and the Palestinian resistance. The Palestinians automatically joined the struggle and played an important role, particularly in the western side of the Gollan Heights.

DIRECT ACTION: The support for the war was undoubtedly wider than that of the Palestinians. Did popular support for the war have any impact on the Lebanese Government?

military or economic targets they just bombed the civilian places. And I imagine you heard about the bombing of Damascus where the Soviet mission was

DIRECT ACTION: From the vantage point of Beirut, the commercial capital of the Arab world, what did the terms for a ceasefire appear to be?

INDARI: The indications for ceasefire terms came in President Sadat's speech. The terms he stated included an Israeli withdrawal to the boundaries existing on June 4, 1967. The speculation was that once again the Israelis would refuse to accept this.

Everybody expects a move from the United States and the Soviet Union to

* Resolution 242 is the resolution

Council in November 1967 with the

endorsed by the United Nations Security

support of the US and USSR. It called

for Israeli withdrawal from territories

stop the war. From the Arab point of view there are two different currents: One, that of the Arab regimes accept the United Nations resolution 242*; the other current, that of the Palestinian people, rejects it completely. The Palestinians argue that the 1967 occupation is a continuation of the 1948 occupation and therefore do not accept the United Nations resolution.

When I was there the differences were, of course, overshadowed by the unanimous will to continue the war. Nobody at all was arguing about ceasefire terms,

DIRECT ACTION: Do you think the United States and the Soviet Union could impose a ceasefire and a so-called peace settlement along the lines of the 1967 United Nations resolution?

INDARI: Most of the Arab regimes have already accepted the 1967 UN resolution. But, the Soviet Union can pressure the Arab states into a peace settlement only if the Israelis go back to the June 4

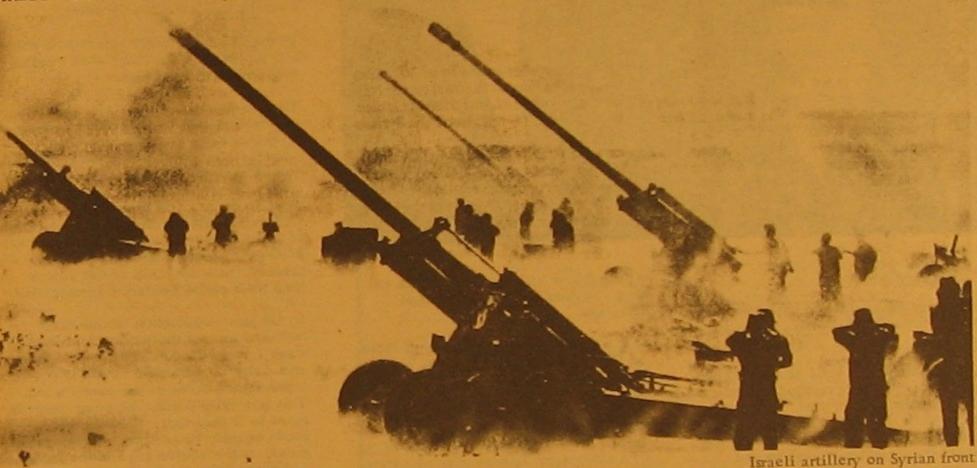
DIRECT ACTION: Will President Sadat be able to accept far less favorable conditions than ever before now that his prestige has been enhanced and Arab morale raised? Can he resist now the pressures which prevented him from doing so in the past?

INDARI: Sadat appears to be willing to accept a settlement recognising Israel provided the Israelis withdrew to their June 4, 1967 frontiers.

The Syrian position is more complicated, After the reconciliation with Jordan there was a lot of speculation that Syria, which hitherto had refused to accept the United Nations resolution, might bow to Egypt and accept it.

President Sadat's speech was also criticised by the Irakis who objected to the implicit recognition of Israel in his

Most of the Arab masses appear to me to be opposed to resolution 242 which recognises Israel, the Zionist state, but there is a big gap between the masses and their current leadership.



go to Jordan. Was there any particular reason for this?

INDARI: Yes there was, I would have liked to have visited Jordan. But, because of the circumstances before the recent rapprochement with Egypt and Syria things were very hard in Jordan.

It is a police state, and they have a long "black list" of people with radical or progressive views.

DIRECT ACTION: The war came to most people as a complete surprise. From the vantage point of being in the centre of things in Beirut did you get any indication of what was coming?

INDARI: The war came as a surprise not only to the outside world but even to some of the Arab states. Both the Iraki and Saudi Arabian governments were taken by surprise at the commencement of fighting on October 6. The only indication was given when the conciliation between Egypt, Jordan and Syria took place. Some people thought that was an indication that Syria and Egypt were trying to ensure that Jordan would at least stay neutral in the event of a war. But that was the only indication.

DIRECT ACTION: What was the impact of the war on the Arab people as a whole?

INDARI: As I said earlier the war came as a complete surprise but the Arab masses and everyone in the Arab world supported this war of liberation. Of course I only have first hand experience of Lebanon, I did not visit any other Arab countries after the war broke out. In Lebanon I saw people giving blood, donating money and giving general support for the war effort. As you know the Arabs were badly demoralised after the June war of 1967. They don't want revenge but they do want to liberate at least some of their land. As the myth of Israeli invincibility has been shattered their morale will no doubt improve.

DIRECT ACTION: There are quite a few Palestinians living in Lebanon. What

Israelis were surprised by the effectiveness of the Sam-6 missiles which hit their air force very hard. They lost dozens of planes. So they decided to by-pass the air defences and go over Lebanon. Under pressure from the Lebanese people and in response to the violation of its air space the Government used its radar station to supply the Syrians with information. The Al Baruk radar station played a big role in informing the Syrians of Israeli air movements. The Israelis then bombed the Al Baruk radar station.

I have personally seen the Israelis using Lebanese air space. On Monday, October 8, I was driving from Tripoli to Beirut, half way when I passed Batrun I saw 28 Israeli Phantom jets coming over the Mediterranean going over to Syria to bomb Syrian positions, From that day on the Israelis were using Lebanese air space to try and avoid the heavy air defences around Damascus and the Golan Heights.

DIRECT ACTION: From your own conversations with journalists who have been to Syria, to places like Damascus, Homs and Latakia, could you give us an indication of the Israeli bombing of these

INDARI: I spoke to about ten journalists who came back from Syria, They are all personal friends of mine. They work for some of the most reliable newspapers in Lebanon like Najeeb Escadron who works for Al Nahar, the leading Arab newspaper in Beirut. They spent two days in Homs, Latakia, Banias and Tartus and saw the heavy bombing of civilian areas. In Homs they saw the refinery partially damaged and also bombed houses in which a lot of women and children had died,

Also in Latakia where the Israelis claimed they wanted to damage the port, they hit one Soviet vessel. In the heart of the city they hit a school and a few

In Banias they tried to bomb the refinery, missed their target and bombed civilian areas. In Tartus where there are no

occupied in 1967 and for Arab recognition of Israel. It also called for the restoration of the Palestinians' rights but no elaboration of these rights has ever been provided - DA. **Arab Community** Mobilises Support

BY DAVID NIZOZ

Reactions to the Middle East war in Australia have been covered with a typical bias by the media. More coverage was given to activities of Zionists in the Jewish community than the Arab community. A considerable amount of coverage which was given was tinted in such a way as to make all Arabs sound like bloodthirsty scoundrels. They were usually reported on in the most unfavorable

On the credit side, one should not blame the bourgeois press. After all there is much more news value in the three million dollars raised by the Zionists than the meagre amount collected by the Arab community. However, the Arab community has been mobilising.

On October 19 more than 150 people attended a demonstration called by the Palestine-Australia Solidarity Committee in Melbourne, Despite the torrential rain the demonstrators listened to the speakers and then attended a public meeting afterwards.

In Sydney the Friends of Palestine have already placed advertisements in The Australian newspaper putting forward the Palestinian cause.

Tony Maron editor of Palestine Forum told DIRECT ACTION about some of the other developments in the Arab community. He said that the role of the Arab community was to educate and counteract the Zionist propaganda machine. At this stage there are no plans to send any money to the war effort. Any sum collected will be negligible compared with the costs of the war. Money can be put to better use in advancing the Palestinian cause in Australia. Another activity which Maron told DIRECT ACTION about has been the distribution of leaflets on campus, an activity which resulted with many debates with pro-Zionist elements.

A further development has been the setting up of a coalition body involving the Friends of Palestine, Lebanese Moslem Association, Syrian Commun ity Committee, Iraki Community Committee, Egyptian Community Committee and many other local community organisations.

The new coalition is planning to conduct a series of public solidarity meetings. The first meeting is on Sunday October 28 at 2,00 pm at the Sydney Trades Hall.

The Unions and the Refendum

BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

On Tuesday October 16, the ACTU interstate executive met and unanimously decided to adopt the position already taken by its six State branches to campaign for a Yes vote on the "prices" section of the referendum and a No vote on "incomes". The decision effectively places the ACTU and its 127 affiliated unions in direct opposition to the Labor Government on the "incomes" question - the more overt mechanism for the introduction of a wage freeze - and reflects the contradictions between the Labor's policies and its industrial base, the trade unions.

A week after the ACTU executive action a surprising Gallup Poll, taken during the first 2 weeks of October, indicated that 70 per cent of the population would vote to give the government control over prices, while there was an even division over incomes. These figures tend to contradict the opinion that both questions would be defeated due to the opposition of one of the major parties, in this case the Liberals who are seeking much tougher measures. (In the past no referendum has been passed if either major party was opposed.)

The opposition expressed by the ACTU leadership comes together with a mounting opposition to one or both of the questions from within the labor movement. Prior to this decision Australia's largest union, the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, pledged itself to a campaign against the "incomes" question, The Australian Workers Union and even the right-wing Federated Ironworkers Association, among others, have taken a similar position.

So far, two SL regional groups, the Batman-Melbourne Ports and Casey groups have voted for motions opposing both prices and incomes referendums. Moreover, the general committee of the Socialist Left at a recent meeting voted 10-3 to oppose both referendum proposals. The attitude of the SL as a whole will now be determined at a general meeting to be held on October 24.

How the ACTU campaign proceeds still remains to be seen. The mechanics of it were left vague, with the State Trades and Labor councils in collaboration with the unions having the final say. Present indications are that the campaign will not be particularly vigorous. ACTU president, Bob Hawke, expressed his ambivalence in the following terms:

"I don't know how actively I am going to campaign or how actively the Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, will campaign. It could be a clash of non-competing spirits."

The apparent agreement between the union leadership and the Government to soften their criticisms tends to bear this out. The day after the ACTU executive decision Whitlam stated that he did not have much sympathy for the ACTU position, but indicated that he respected the right of unionists to campaign against the Government on this issue if they wished. Only a week previously, however, he had referred to comments by trade unionists as "irresponsible and extravagent" and the attitude of union bodies which opposed the "incomes" question as "sheer sabotage".

The modified criticism and the decision to allow Labor Party trade unionists to express opposition to official policy is obviously based on the desire to avoid any measure provoking a more aggressive response and conflict over "incomes" control, Such a clash would inevitably lead to greater open controversy over the real motives behind both parts of the referendum - namely the question of a wage freeze.

It is the implication that Labor is going to introduce a wage freeze which Whitlam has assiduously tried to avoid during the lead up to the present events by identifying a wage freeze with the type which was operative in Australia during the early fifties. The objective of the Government must appear in a more subtle way. Thus, when commenting on the wage freeze effected through the Arbitration Commission by the Liberals some 20 years ago, he said:

"This is a move which will never be adopted by a Labor Government, We believe the Commonwealth's conciliation and arbitration powers are well exercised



Whitlam and Hawke

by the tribunals.

"We have no intention whatsoever to have a freeze in that sense." (emphasis added).

And that may very well be true. The Labor Government's methods are of a more sophisticated nature. They aim to use their position in the labor movement and relations with the unions to retard the struggles of workers and suppress their wage demands, in preference to the more direct methods employed by the Liberals. But, the implication of Whitlam's statement is clear. He is seeking a wage freeze, but "not in that sense".

His objective goes under the guise of a policy brought about with the assistance of the trade union officialdom.

In this context it is imperative to look closely at the "prices" angle of the referendum, both because it is supported by the ACTU, who will undoubtedly campaign actively for a Yes vote, and because the Gallup Poll figures indicate that it could be the only part of the referendum to be passed on

Illusions about the "prices" question run very deep. Ninety per cent of ALP voters interviewed in the poll stated that they would vote "Yes", honestly believing that Labor's intention is to

freeze prices with the new powers and thus alleviate the worst effects of inflation.

It is also the area where many of those on the left have fallen into the trap, including importantly, the Communist Party of Australia and the Socialist Party of Australia who between them have a considerable influence in the unions. The October 16-22 issue of the CPA newspaper Tribune carried a statement by the party's national executive which said in part:

"Price control is the only effective measure immediately available which could be used to halt inflation," and further "Price control is the best available method of controlling incomes other than wages."

To best clarify Labor's real intentions in regard to "price control" it is worthwhile looking at some passages quoted in the October 18 issue of The Australian Financial Review from an article written for the South Australian Public Service Association's journal Public Service Review, by the Minister for Labour, Clyde Cameron. In the article Cameron, who supports the position put forward by the ACTU, admits the limits to which' the Government could actually control prices. "Nor, in the long run", he adds "can prices be frozen."

The article goes on to comment on the



Mass rally against penal powers after gaoling of Clarrie O'Shea

'prices" policy in the following very

"It is quite wrong to regard this as a discriminatory policy, because it is price increases after all which contin inflation and, by discouraging price increases, we automatically discourage employers from granting increases in wages and salaries, since they cannot easily pass them on as prices.

"Also, by persuading employees that price rises will not accelerate wage and salary increases. In other words, any action that restrains price increases. restrains wage and salary increases prices policy is an incomes policy." (emphasis added).

Quite openly stated by Cameron, the "prices" section of the referendum is the forerunner of an "incomes" policy that is a wage freeze. All that is required to make an "incomes"policy work is the willing consent of the trade unions." And here we can look back to the statements of Hawke about the "reducing" of wage claims if the referendum on prices is carried, to glean the dangerous import of the "prices" question for working people and those on social services and low fixed incomes.

This is doubly so since prices will not and cannot be controlled - as implied in Cameron's statement.

The question then arises why the union officialdom headed by Hawke would be a party to the above form of wage restraint and not that implied in the "incomes" referendum. The answer is clear - it is too blatant, it strikes too close to home, and it implies stricter and more overt controls on the activities of the union movement. The union leaders are more responsive to the pressure from the ranks of the unions than their parliamentary counterparts.

So far union opposition to this has revolved around the power to invoke a wage freeze being used by some "future anti-Labor Government" once it becomes a permanent facet of the constitution. This is a valid point. However there is more to it than that. These powers could equally be used by a Labor government, at the Wilson experience in Britain and that of the newly elected Kirk Government closer to home in New Zealand

Regardless of its present tactical preferences Labor could well find itself in a position where it is necessary to go further than its expressed wish to use the "incomes" power in regard only to non-wage forms of income. With some form of freeze unmistakeably in the air this power is too ominous a threat to the

It is over the "prices" question, however, that the contradictory position of the union movement and the ACTU becomes apparent. Firstly, Whitlam, going on legal opinion compiled by Justice Sweeny QC, a deputy president of the Arbitration Commission, and a former member of the ALP industrial committee, is putting forward the view that the High Court would rule that power over prices automatically implies power over wages as the "price of labor". Thus giving it legal power to freeze wages through this

Secondly, even if wage controls were voluntarily applied by the union bureaucracy, there would be no guarantee that this would stop workers demanding higher pay as their wages lag behind the continuing rise in the cost of living. In fact, it could be expected that where the workers feel that some alleviation of the effects of inflation will result from the passing of the "prices" referendum, they will kick back when they find that it won't.

It flows from this that any form of freeze, whether the 90-day wage freeze of Snedden or a more slick Whitlam concoction, will result in attempts to hold back workers' struggles to better their standard of living, and hence an attempt to shackle the unions,

This is the logic of the so-called "prices and incomes policy". It means not only an attack on wages, but also on the instruments with which those wages are fought for - the union and right to strike. The ACTU has tailed in behind the Labor Government's moves in this

Socialists

BY JOHN PERCY

The campaign initiated by the Socialist Workers League for a No vote on both questions in the referendum on December 8 is gathering pace. At the same time as the opposition grows from more sections of the working class to wage control and to the price control fraud (see the article on the attitude of the Victorian ALP Socialist Left in this issue) committees to organise the opposition are being set up in several cities.

A leastet putting forward the case against the referendum, and presenting a real programme to fight inflation, has been produced for national distribution, The text of the leaflet is reproduced on the right. Thousands of these have been printed, and they will be distributed as widely as possible from now till December 8. If you are able to help distribute them, write and let us know.

A poster is also being produced, along the lines of the poster on the back of this issue of DIRECT ACTION. These will also be available for wide distribu-

Forums have already been held on the issue on many university campuses, and other meetings are going to be organised,

The Socialist Workers League in Sydney defended the case for a No-No vote in a debate with the Communist Party of Australia which advocates a Yes-No vote.

Public meetings have now been organised in Adelaide as well as in Sydney and Melbourne. See below for details.

Finance is urgently needed for the campaign. Donations to help pay for the cost of leaflets, posters, postage, hire of halls, advertisements etc would be most welcome. Send your contribution to Socialist Campaign for a NO Vote, PO Box 151, Glebe, NSW, 2037.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

VOTE NO! TO WHITLAM'S **PRICES &** REFERENDUM

MELBOURNE

Lower Town Hall, Wed, Nov. 14, 8pm

Trades Hall Auditorium, Fri. Nov. 16, 7,30pm

ADELAIDE

287 Rundle St, Thurs, Nov. 29, 8pm

NO WAGE FREEZE!

VOTE 1 NO TO PRICE CONTROL FRAUD! VOTE 2 NO TO WAGE CONTROL!

Australian workers must vote NO to both questions in the referendum on December 8, rejecting a wage freeze and the fraud of price control.

Whitlam says he's trying to fight inflation, but in his terms, and in the terms of the employers, this means attacking the standard of living of working people by freezing wages. For people like Whitlam and the employers, rising prices and rising profits mean prosperity, but any attempts to keep up with rising prices by fighting for wage increases, well, to them that's inflation!

Wage Freeze

A "prices and incomes policy" or a "wage-price freeze" means only one thing - a wage freeze, and Whitlam knows this. We have seen this policy implemented overseas by Nixon in America, by the former British Labour Government under Wilson and later under Heath, and now in New Zealand by the Kirk Labour Government. In all cases prices have continued to sky-rocket while only wages have been frozen,

It's not accidental that a wage freeze has been imposed in several other countries recently and is now being planned for Australia. In the present international economic situation, with stepped up competition for markets following the end of the extended post-war boom, capitalists in each country are trying to make their industries more efficient and boost up their sagging rates of profit. One way to do this is by attacking the standard of living of the working class through the combined effects of inflation and a wage freeze.

It's also not accidental that it falls to a Labor government to implement such a wage freeze in several countries. Through the support it has in the working class and the illusions that still persist about such fake "labor" leaders as Whitlam, some sections of the employers think that the Labor Government is able to get away with attacks on the working class that would have aroused massive opposition had they come from the Liberals.

The Liberals are also calling for a NO vote on both questions in this referendum, but from an opposite position to us. They really want a more aggressive attack on the workers. They don't think Whitlam is being strong enough. We, however, oppose the concept of a wage freeze completely. The Whitlam Govenment's proposals, although opposed by the Liberals, have received the backing of the most influential sections of Australian employers.

Challenge to Workers

Whitlam's intentions are clear. The prospect of a wage freeze poses a tremendous challenge to the Australian working class. If it is not stopped, (and rejection in the referendum on December 8 will only be the first round of the fight) workers face not only massive cutbacks in our living standards through a wage freeze and continuing price rises, but also a resultant shackling of our trade unions. By removing their powers to independently negotiate and fight for improvements in wages and conditions, they will be further incorporated into the capitalist system.

The enormity of this attack, and the danger that is faced, marks a new phase, a qualitatively new way for capitalism to exploit and oppress the working class. Any attempt to downplay the significance of this, or worse, go along with Whitlam's deceit about price control, provides a cover and apology for Whitlam's attack. The only principled stand for workers to take is to fight agaist the whole manouevre.

Price Control Fraud

Price control is a fraud. No capitalist government has been able to control prices. On the wage side, the employers will invoke the governmental orders in resisting the legitimate pay demands of the workers. They clearly have a vested interest in seeing this side of the freeze enforced. On the side of prices, the same businessmen have a vested interest in evading any "controls". There are a thousand ways in which this can be done. For the small and mediumsize retailer and wholesaler there is no effective check whatsoever on illicit markups. For the big corporations there are such standard devices as repackaging, marketing "new" products, model changes, substituting inferior materials, "improved" products and so on. On top of this, the major part of Australia's inflation is imported, and will continue to force prices up, with wages effectively frozen!

Australian workers are deeply sceptical about the so-called "independence" and "neutrality" of the Arbitration Commission in determining their wages. They correctly see it as a fraud which arbitrates in the interests of the employers. The same fraudulent role would be played by an "independent" or "neutral" board set up to "regulate" prices. So far, over 500 companies have already been exempted from any supervision by Whitlam's Prices Justification Tribunal, and just recently BHP is granted big price increases,

Addressing the Queensland Chamber of Manufacturers Whitlam said: "So I give you this assurance; nothing we do, either in our fight agaist inflation or in our general economic policies, will do anything to damage the underlying strength and prosperity of Australian industry,"

Whitlam knows that the "strength and prosperity" of Australian industry, as these employers see it, means higher profits. Not higher wages, not higher social service benefits, not full employment, not lower rents, nor lower food prices, but higher profits for a handful of millionaires!

But the most important fact is that the price control fraud is a cover-up for Whitlam's real intentions, to curb wages. Even if the referendum on wages is defeated, there is no legal guarantee to stop the Government controlling wages by using its powers over prices. Whitlam and Attorney-General Murphy have already stated that power over prices will give them power over wages, with wages being defined as the price of labor. A wage freeze is their intention, and that is what will be inflicted on us even if the referendum only gives them power over prices.

A wage freeze will hit women, blacks, migrant workers and youth especially hard. The present inequalities in the system would be intensified. The mounting campaign by women for equal pay, for example, would be cut short,

The Socialist Alternative

To effectively combat rising prices the labor movement should organise around:

* Cost-of-living escalator clauses to be inserted in all awards and contracts and social service payments (pensions, unemployment benefits etc.). Each month as prices rise, wages would automatically rise on the basis of the increase in the cost-of-living index as determined by the ACTU. This would prevent employers from cutting back the real wages of workers through price rises, and extra wage rises can be fought for to actually improve conditions, not just

* If the employers want to raise their prices the labor movement demands that they open their books. Let us decide if they "can't afford" not to raise their prices! Demand an end to business secrets, which are only a means to cover up the employers huge profits.

* Key monopolies like BHP, whose product's prices determine the prices of so many other goods, raise their prices as they please. They hold society to ransom. BHP and the other giant companies should be nationalised under workers' control.

* Repeal the penal clauses of the Arbitration Act. The trade unions must be free to fight for a better living standard for the working people. We must oppose any form of state control of the unions which would be the inevitable result of the implementation of a wage freeze.

* Form committees of workers, housewives, pensioners, unemployed and students in each area to carry out a continuous supervision of prices in their area and organise and participate in actions such as boycotts against firms which raise prices.

IN BRIEF:

SEARCH WARRANT FARCE

The monthly newspaper, The Digger d by a Justice of the Peace, but with to details of the search for which they vere valid. After raiding a house in Melbourne, police left the bundle of warrants behind by mistake.

Under the law, police are supposed to be issued with search warrants only if they can prove to a JP that there is reasonable grounds to believe that a search of a particular premises would reveal evidence of a crime.



of you gentlemen is the butcher?"

COME BACK NEXT WEEK"

In one of the most blatant displays of racist harassment to be seen in Australia, NSW riot squad police raided the Empress Hotel in Redfern on Saturday October 21 and arrested 60 blacks at random. This marks a new high in the attacks upon blacks in the area.

The arrests are part of a conscious plan by the police and the Askin Government. Apparently confident of approval from higher places, police were heard to say "You can come back next week. The same thing will

A support demonstration will be held outside Central Court on October 29 at 10.00 am, after which a rally will take December, the Minister for Defence place from 1.00 to 2.00 pm.

ROMANTIC INTEREST

The CIA is reported to have gone into he computer-dating business in Venezula. Customers of "Operation Amigo",

naires in order to be matched with compatible dates. The information recently revealed that it had been shown including such items as "leisure-time bundle of search warrants already sign- activities" and political affiliation is then added to CIA files.

NO TRAGEDY

Mother Superior Sister Giovanni of the St John of God Hospital in Ballarat (Victoria) recently put forward her views on the Government's health scheme. She equates the scheme with a government takeover of private hospitals. She said: "This is a Catholic hospital - if the Government takes over we would be expected to do things against our conscience such as abortion and sterilisation . . . We could not carry on. We would not."

Federal Social Security Minister Hayden said that the Government had no intention of closing or forcing private hospitals to close. Why not? Why shouldn't the Government take over private hossitals and put a stop to parasitic religous and profit making organisations making money out of making people pay for their health?

THE GREAT SOCIETY

United States doctor Frank Ayd told a recent gathering of psychiatrists in Sydney that someone in the US commits suicide every 25 minutes.

WESTGATE REMEMBERED

At 11.30 am on Monday October 15, 300 workers on the Westgate Bridge site in Melbourne stopped work to attend a ceremony in memory of the 35 workers who were killed when the bridge collapsed exactly three years previously.

KEEPING THEIR HANDS IN

A secret spy force of 150 censors of postal and telecommunications material has just been disbanded by the Federal Government. The group, consisting of 1950, keeping alive the skills involved in censorship of mails etc in war-time. After Labor was elected to power last Lance Barnard did not find out about the group until May of this year.

HOUSING COMMISSION

Michael Flemming, a lawyer with the which operates out of a Caracas luxury Fitzroy Legal Service in Melbourne re-

cently commented on the tenants' agreements which all tenants of the Victorian Housing Commission are forced to sign. He said: "The agreement is oppressive and onerous. Its main feature is that it deprives tenants of minimal legal rights they would have in any day to day commercial lease,

"Every Housing Commission tenant has to sign the agreement. The commission has the right at any time to end the tenancy if there has been the slightest breach of the terms. These may include driving a nail into a wall to hang a picture, keeping a bird or a cat, erecting a TV antenna or repairing a car in the car park." Flemming also said that Housing Commission officers have the right at any time to enter an commission house or flat to inspect "cleanliness".

CHRISTIAN IDEALS

Last April President Nixon attended a church service at Key Biscayne, Florida, in the United States. The minister delivered a sermon calling on the congregation to cut themselves off from friends who had proven untrue to Christian ideals. Many people thought that the sermon could have been interpreted as being aimed at getting Nixon to fire some high ranking members of his Watergate gang. Nixon has not been to church again since that time although he was previously a regular church goer. And the minister is being shifted in his job. He denies that Nixon might be involved in his transfer.

MIXED BLESSING

The president of the American Bar Association says that Watergate has badly hurt the image of all lawyers in the United States, said a report in the Canadian Press.

Yes, but on the other hand, it's provided a lot of them with clients.

ONLY PERHAPS?

Tunisian newspapers have just printed the text of a speech by President Habib Bourguiba to a group of writers. The speech included the following modest issessment of his own abilities:

"The vicissitudes of my life are a rare example in the history of the world. I must reveal to you as well as to the people another aspect of the personality of Bourguiba. Not only is he a man of political genious who has triumphed over French colonialism, but he is also 'Why go into that? . . . Impeachment of perhaps a great poet. When I have been both the president and the vice-president called to God, these oratorical meetings of the same time would never hoppen! will take an elegiac tone to weep for the great man I have been."



WHAT NEXT?

Gordon Barton, national convenor of the Australia Party and well-known businessman has made the prediction that after the next elections the new leaders of the Australia Party will be none other than ... Gough Whitlam and Don Chipp.

A rather curious prediction on Barton's part! However it does reveal how certain sections of the Australian capitalists view the role played by Whitlam with his type of politics,



.... BY STEVE PAINTER

50 Issues of Direct Action

BY JOHN PERCY

Three years ago when we started publishing DIRECT ACTION, very few people in the left-wing movement thought that we would have any chance at all of lasting for 50 issues. In fact estimates ranged from one issue to eight as our likely limit. This pessimistic viewpoint was perhaps understandable, considering the disorganised state of the left movement at that time, and also the fact that quite a few left publishing ventures had already folded after only a few issues.

But we had confidence in our ideas, and confidence in our ability to get them across to people. Although we have developed politically and learnt a good deal about putting out a newspaper over the last three years, we were clear about and analysing the issues confronting our our aims from the start. In the editorial movement, we hope that the large in the very first issue of DIRECT ACTION numbers of young people who are we stated: "Only when a paper has an organisation to build, and that organisation has a programme to guide it, does little left-wing venture such as ours take on any meaning."

For three years DA has helped in the building of the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance, and consistently publicised and developed our ment has been very significant, and political programme. We have taken the first important steps along the road of building an organisation equal to the task of leading a successful socialist revolution in Australia.

In fact, our actual achievements have even surpassed our initial optimistic projections. DA has grown from a twelve- The question of the Australian Labor page monthly to a twenty-four-page fortnightly. Our political analysis has deepened, our reporting has become sharper, and our style has improved. The scope of our coverage has broadened, We have been able to present more topics in a clearer and more interesting way. Our lay-out and presentation has got better and better - in fact in one technical college we hear that DA is used as a model in the graphic design class!

What we are proudest of, however, is the consistent political line we have presented for 50 issues. We have stood solidly on the side of the working class, the oppressed, the exploited. We have given support through the pages of and through our active involvement to the movements of the oppressed, to workers' struggles, to the women's liberation movement, to the movements of oppressed minorities, to oppressed nationalities struggling around the world, to the gay liberation movement and many more. No movement deserving support by revolutionary socialists has been neglected by us. That is a record

Legislation to give 18 to 21 year olds

equal pay will be intorduced into South

Details of the legislation, to be intro-

duced during the present session, were

The announcement came one day after

South Australian-based Chrysler offered

to pay all unapprenticed workers 18 and

over the adult rate. This resulted from

a need to raise production because of a

growing market for cars at the moment.

Chrysler employs about 5000 people, and

is trying to get another 700 in a few days

The response to the Chrysler decision by

other sections of employers was predict-

South Australian Employers Federation,

T. Gregg, said the move was "incredible

Nevertheless, it is not really surprising.

Chrysler has three South Australian plants,

all with exceptionally high rates of turn-

over of labor. This largely results from

the dehumanising speed of the production

line. A massive publicity campaign

attract workers, but has failed.

through all forms of the media has been

A large section of those employed by

Chrysler are migrant workers, and the

company is considering bringing in

conducted by Chrysler in recent weeks to

able. The industrial director of the

released on October 19 by Labor and

Australian Parliament in the near future.

BY GREG ADAMSON

Industry Minister McKee.

through this offer.

and astounding".

In the first issue of DA, we reprinted the drawing below, from an American IWW paper of 50 years ago. For 50 issues now we have attempted to expose the lies and distortions of the capitalist mass media, to counterpose to those lies the true facts, to report on the oppression and degradation of the capitalist system and put forward a programme to struggle against it and to end it.

DIRECT ACTION has been in the forefront of the struggle against the Vietnam war, defending the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination. This issue has been central to the development of the radicalisation in Australia, just as it has been overseas. In the editorial in DA No 1, we stated as part of our aims: "By reporting the ongoing struggles radicalising under the impact of events like the war in Vietnam will turn in our

Since that first issue, practically every issue of DIRECT ACTION has had at least one major article on the war in Indo-China. The contribution we have been able to make to the anti-war movefurthermore, the projections of that first editorial have proved correct. Many of the people now writing for, helping produce and helping distribute DIRECT ACTION were first drawn into political activity through the impact of the Viet-

Party has also had to be faced by social-

of the revolutionary movements overseas that is not available from any other the working class and seen by the vast Australian publication. majority of workers as their party, the ALP has a reformist programme that We have been consistent defenders of stays within the confines of the capitalist the Palestinian revolution, often its only system and a leadership that supports defenders. Our second issue had the that system, is opposed to socialism, and cover and a double page spread devoted will betray the working class at every to Palestine, and since then DIRECT opportunity. Many groups on the left have been confused by this contradictory

ACTION has been strongly supported by the Arab community. Our analysis of phenomenon. Some have succumbed to events in Latin America has been opportunist adaptation to this reformist extensive, and both Argentina and Chile leadership. Others have succumbed to have been covered very thoroughly in sectarianism and have abstained on the recent issues. whole issue. Others still have wavered between both mistakes, or combined We hope to continue our international Only DIRECT ACTION and the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth

coverage, and improve the paper in other ways as well. We now have three regular columns, In Brief, Women in Revolt, and On the Picket Line, We want to start up others in the future as well as carrying further series of articles such as the ones we've already had on the History of the Fourth International and on the History of the ALP.

DIRECT ACTION hasn't survived for 50 issues and grown and improved just by chance. We've certainly come quite a way from the days when DA was produced in a tumble-down garage with limited equipment. We now have quite comfortable offices, with better equipment, and have become more skilled and efficient on the production side. But it's taken quite a lot of effort by quite a few people - firstly all those involved in writing, producing and selling DA, who have devoted so much of their time and energy. It has been hard work, but extremely rewarding.

Secondly, we must thank all our supporters who have contributed generously to our fund drives, from the supporter who donated \$2500 to the hundreds who have given dollars. Without your assistance we could not continue to publish DA. Lastly, we must thank our many sympathisers and regular readers who have supported us so consistently.

To all these people we extend our thanks and our congratulations - to our salespeople, our contributors, our financial supporters and our readers. Three years of a socialist paper the quality of DIRECT ACTION is something to be proud of.

The last three years have been crucial for the development of a revolutionary socialist organisation in Australia. The next three will also be vital. There is no reason why we won't be able to make improvements to DIRECT ACTION and advances for our organisation in the next three years similar to the advances and development we have experienced over the last three.

DIRECT ACTION was the name of the newspaper put out by the IWW in Australia early this century.

Prices Continue to Soar

BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

The release of the Consumer Price Index figures for the September quarter, showing a 3, 6 per cent increase in the cost of living since July and an annual inflation rate of about of 14,4 per cent, demonstrates that prices are continuing to sp spiral and eat away at the living conditions of Australian workers and those like pensioners who are on low fixed incomes. The figures, being the highest for 20 years, also reflect the incapacity of the Labor Government, through its Prices Justification Tribunal, revaluations and tariff cuts, to do anything about A touch of irony was introduced by the

While prices in all areas rose it was the jump in the cost of food which constituted the major component of the 3.6 per cent. Meat and vegetables were subject to the highest rise, with meat being responsible for almost a quarter of the total in all areas and potatoes and onions leaping by about 50 per cent in retail price. The prices of bread and milk also rose markedly.

The most striking aspect of the present inflationary spiral is revealed by the comparison of the food prices in September of last year and those today. Within this time food prices have risen by 20 per cent, which means that if you spent \$20 a week on food last year you will now spend \$24 if you can afford to buy the same volume and quality. And it is obvious who this hits the hardest those on low incomes whose main spending is on the items necessary to survival

It is also important to note that these figures, taken by official government agencies, are notoriously underrated and fail to take into consideration the inevitable inflationary effects of the Government's August Budget. In addition there are other rises such as BHP's recent 5.5 per cent rise in steel which after beginning on November 1 will flow on into all sectors, that were not accounted



Frank Crean

comments of the big retailing company Woolworths. The company's controller of food buying, B. Levitt, stated that food prices at present were "unrealistically low" and that "the low prices were accepted by the consumer as the norm." However, he presented a warning of further rises in the price of food, when he added:

"Consumers must expect any increase in costs from the supplier to be reflected in the retail price".

Despite the already enormous rate of inflation more is expected. The Federal Treasurer, Frank Crean, glibly summed up the position when commenting on

"Therefore we have to acknowledge that there is unlikely to be any substantial fall in prices. What we've got to try to do is abate the rate at which inflation increases - and that certainly doesn't look likely to happen very quickly."

Crean's statement clearly shows how effective Labor's "anti-inflationary" measures have been and how effective they are expected to be. Particularly this refers to the much vaunted Prices Justification Tribunal, which only a week before the release of the figures "justified" the increase to Australia's biggest company BHP. It is a body like this, albeit with legal powers, with which Labor aims to put its "price controls" into practice after December 8. Going on these indications of Labor's intentions in regard to inflation. There

is no room for belief that "price control" would be effective after an affirmative vote on the first part of the referendum.

Furthermore, any powers the Government could obtain to "control prices" would be worthless in dealing with the imported inflation which is at the root of Australia's inflationary situation, notably in regard to food prices and raw materials,

The way this works is that because of high prices and demand for such items as beef in the United States, Australian meat will flow out of the country to where it gets a higher price. In turn this creates a shortage, and thus an increased demand, in Australia. Playing on this the big processing companies jack up their prices and hit out at the consumer.

It was through the 25 per cent tariff cuts that Labor was trying to reduce this component of inflation by inducing foreign commodities into the Australian market and hopefully the resultant competition would reduce prices. Of course, it didn't work. And nor could it, for the international factors producing inflation throughout the world are far too well4 implanted in the capitalist system.

standards of workers in this country.

In this environment we can directly see the very dangerous implications of the wage freeze being planned by the Labor Government. With wages already being chewed up by inflation any attempt to halt the increase in wage rises means a very major cut-back in the living

SA Youth to Gain Equal Pay people from overseas. This, however, is a long-term consideration. The only other quick solution would have been general improvement of conditions and raising wages for unskilled workers from the present adult starting rate of \$80.

> For this reason Chrysler's bid for young workers is undoubtedly calculated as a method of saving money. However, that this is not very longsighted is clear after the Labor Government decision.

Passage of the bill through the Liberal-Country League controlled Legislative Council may not be as difficult as some expect. Opposition Leader in the Legislative Council DeGaris noted:

"(The Government) could pay full adult wages to 18 year olds in the Public Service and there would still be a natural flow-on to private industry.

"The Public Service moreover would not need the approval of Parliament,"

In its action the Labor Government is recognising the radicalisation which has occurred over the last few years among young workers and high school students, the two groups most effected by the

Equal pay for 18 year olds does not help the employers at all. It does not give the temporary advantage to one group of employers, that Chrysler tried to gain. While a general wage rise can be eaten away by inflation, this is a long-term

gain for the working class.

Alliance have put forward a clear

perspective on this issue. Calling for

and working for a Labor victory in the

elections, we simultaneously fought for

a socialist programme both from inside

understanding of the nature of the ALP,

manoeuvres of the Whitlam leadership.

The campaign we are waging against

Whitlam's intended wage freeze is an

example. Six months ago we were able

to predict almost to the last detail the

likely scenario, and our analysis has

DIRECT ACTION has consistently

reported and analysed international.

had articles covering revolutionary

developments in over 50 countries.

events. In the first 50 issues, we have

Especially since we have expanded to

24 pages, we have provided coverage

been borne out.

WHICH PAPER DO YOU SUPPORT? Judical Worker, Judy 23, 1910

the ALP and outside it. Through an

we have been able to anticipate the

The Chamber of Manufacturers industrial division manager, Alan Beaton, lamented: "Any decision by the Government to extend payment of adult rates to 18 year olds will have a serious affect on the apprenticeship system by removing the incentives for young people to enter apprenticeship obligations, where they can get the same rates of pay without experience or education, "

BIRME ON STRIKERS

What he is in fact saying is: what is the use of apprenticeships if workers cannot continue to be super-exploited as youth after they turn 18?

The case being put forward by employers against equal pay has been very poor. Although Gregg accused Chrysler's action of being "a blatant attempt to try to buy young labor", the principle of equal pay at 18 has not been openly challenged. On the day of the Government decision The News editorial summed up the "problem";

"Of course, there is a case for paying 18 year olds adult wages, now that they ire being treated as adults in so many other areas.

"But the time for such a change must be chosen carefully, in full consideration of the widespread imact....With inflation in full flight, now is not the

In a lead article, The News correctly

notes "One of the hardest hit areas is expected to be the retail trade, which absorbs thousands of school leavers each year."

Shop assistants are largely young and female. In such "fill-in" jobs between school and marriage these people have been trebly exploited, as youth, women, and workers. It is not surprising that equal pay, first for women and now for 18 year olds, should draw a sharp reaction from employers.

Yet with wide support expected, Labor and Industry Minister McKee takes a defensive approach.

"I would point out, however, that any 18 year olds receiving adult wages will be expected to do adult work, as lis directed by their employers.

This opens the way for employers to create special jobs for young workers, who would therefore receive a "different" (i.e. lower) wage for this different job.

It is the responsibility of the trade union movement to fight for and enforce this anticipated gain for young workers, against attempts to whittle it away.

Furthermore, this gain should be extended to cover all school leavers, whether or not eighteen. The question of whether 18 year olds are "responsible adults" is false. We must fight for the breakdown of all wage barriers, whether along age or sex lines, between workers.



Cameron's Ideas on Industrial Democracy

BY JIM McILROY

The Minister for Labour in the Federal Labor Government, Clyde Cameron, was remarkably candid recently in expressing his views on the lack of support for "worker's participation in management" in the trade-union movement in this country.

He was quoted in The Age of October 15, from an interview on the ABC television programme Four Corners, as saying : "Trade-union thinking on industrial democracy is that it is a capitalist gimmick to try to brainwash more articulate members of the work-force into becoming management stooges."

"Management, however, will very quickly accept the ideas because it can see the advantages," he said.

Clyde Cameron said there was virtually no support for the concept within either the right-wing or the left-wing factions of the industrial movement. He said that he himself was one of the few people in Labor circles advocating "industrial democracy".

"I have succeeded in getting it written into the Federal platform - but having it in the platform and having it implemented are two different things," he said. He could "not ram the concept down the unions' throats, " but the party's legislative machinery could easily be swung into action if they eventually agreed,

Cameron said he would like to see compulsory worker participation in Australia operating along the lines West-Germany established 21 years ago.

Industries would be run by supervisory boards of 11 members - five worker representatives, five management representatives and an independent chairman.

He said the West-German example proved that industrial democracy increased both job satisfaction and job motivation.

"But there would be difficulties in Australia with compulsory schemes - there is some doubt about the constitutional position," he said,

Cameron was of the opinion that at present Australian workers were not qualified to run industry. He said he was trying to get the Federal Government to agree to set up training schemes to give workers expert knowledge in commercial law, finance, international law and all aspects of management.

"In Germany, enormous sums of money have been spent on such schemes. As a result they have highly trained very competent people in the area," he said.

This statement by Clyde Cameron gives a very clear picture of the Labor leadership's thinking in the "industrial relations" area. One would have to be

left or the right of the union movement for workers' participation moves. But Cameron's statement is a clear indication that attempts to make workers manage their own exploitation have been strongly questioned.

Certainly, if Australian workers are to learn the real lessons of German, and other overseas experience, they will reject these schemes most strongly. A better example to learn from would be that of the recent Lip watch-factory takeover by workers in France. The Lip workers explicitly rejected French Government moves for participation, even cooperative "management" of their bankrupted plant. Instead they defended their own class independence and sought help in developing a political strategy to challenge the system as a whole.

It is quite clear why management, in Cameron's opinion, should react so favorably to these ideas. They provide one possible solution to the current militancy and discontent shown by broad sections of workers in Australia (viz. the Ford Broadmeadows and other recent strikes).

participation -, in management is seen as an important possibility by Labor leaders.

there is virtually no support in either the Another prong of this co-option strategy is the development of ACTU business enterprises, (so recently backed by the ACTU

> The very real discontent of workers with repetitive jobs, with the tyranny of supervisors and with the grind of the whole industrial process has been expressed in demands for workers' control. This is expressed in new forms of struggle (e.g. the 'work-in'), and demands (e.g. control of safety on the job, control of hiring and firing, refusal to carry out environmentally destructive jobs, the demand to open companies! books to workers! scrutiny, and so on).

Workers' participation schemes seek to harness these discontents and channel them harmlessly through token representation in decision making. Cameron's proposal for boards consisting of five workers, five management representatives, plus one "independent" chairperson is a real fraud. Workers have learnt through the experience of arbitration that there are no "independent" chairpeople in capitalist industry.

As for workers"not being qualified" to run But the strategy of co-option - or workers' industry, the experience of Lip and other factory occupations in Italy, Britain and elsewhere give the lie to this, Given

access to information, workers have shown they can manage factories mon efficiently.

But the heart of the problem lies elsewh It is not merely self-management of ind idual plants that is necessary, but dem cratic workers' government of the total productive machinery and society as a whole. This can only be achieved by socialisation of the means of production under workers' control. Expropriation of the employing class as a whole is an esential pre-requisite to a real workers' government.

Clyde Cameron has given notice of anoth er plank of the Labor Government's industrial strategy with his latest advocacy of "workers' participation". He has given notice of the importance of this question by stating that Labor would very quickly bring in legislation to enforce compulsory workers' participation in Australia, as soon as trade-union support could be found.

Labor's platform certainly isn't the same as its performance in many respects. And this is one case where the working people must clearly reject a measure which cannot provide any answers to the very real problem of a class society.

Labor Reinforces Arbitration

BY DAVID GRAHAM

One policy brought into effect by Prime Minister Whitlam after Labor's success on December 2 has been the inclusion of trade unionists and pro-Labor academics on previously untouchable boards and commissions.

Queensland Trades and Labor Council's Jack Egerton found himself on the board of Qantas, and Actors Equity's Hal Lashwood found himself a commissioner of the Australian Broadcasting Commis-

But up until last week, the Common-Commission had remained untouched by Labor sorties into these holy places. Optimists within the Labor movement may have fooled themselves into thinking that Whitlam had ignored the commission as a precurser to a general attack on arbitration, on the commission's anti-working-class role, and in particular on the penal provisions of the current Arbitration Act.

However, on October 16, the Labor Cabinet ratified a decision to appoint an academic and two trade unionists as judges on the commission, openly testifying to its intention not to attack a system which has continually acted

the labor movement, but rather to try to make the system work a little better.

Appointed as deputy presidents to the commission were Professor J. E. Isaac, the professor of economics at Monash University, and R.D. Williams, the Federal secretary of the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations. Neither would be described as holding left-wing views. Professor Isaac's politics are similar to the radical capitalist economics of the Australia Party, and little seems to be known of R.D. Williams except that he is a long-standing friend of ALP president Hawke. As a union leader, let the eminently forgettable actions of the testify to his worth.

But the third appointment, to the position of commissioner, does warrant some discussion - for the new commissioner is Jack Heffernan, NSW State junior vice-president of the ALP, joint Federal secretary of the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, and national secretary of the Metal Trades Federation of Unions. As well as holding positions in those august bodies, commissionerelect Heffernan is also one of the leaders of the Socialist Objective Committee - which together with the

to angle himself for a position on the commission is well worth considering, Theoretically, as a left winger, Heffernan has been no real supporter of

arbitration. In accepting the position of commissioner Heffernan will have to resign all his positions in the labor movement. He will be resigning from'a position of power in the unions to accept a position in a commission hostile to the unions - a position of supposed objectivity and impartiality in dealing with

industrial disputes. He is moving out of

a position of union leadership where he should have fought uncompromisingly for the benefits of the metal workers against their employers, and against an Arbitration Commission pledged to promote industrial tranquility. Heffernan knows there can be no industrial harmony while both sides are irreconcilably antagonistic. A victory for one side is always a defeat for the other. Harmony can only result from collaboration between the two sides. Heffernan is now openly joining the collaborators, Metal workers and others who have opposed his leadership in the past will not be surprised that now he has accepted the mediator's label.

It is ironic that a leader of the "Socialist" Objective Committee, Jack Heffernan, has resigned from the union movement for a seat on the anti-union Arbitration

Steering Committee makes up the official "left" in the NSW ALP. rather optimistic to accept his view that and ruled in a repressive manner against Why a professed left winger would want Commission. DIRECT ACTION'S NEW DRIVE FOR 500 SUBS

DIRECT ACTION is now over three years old. When we started out as a welve page monthly newspaper in September 1970, our political opponents were very ready with their predictions of how long we would last. Their estimates ranged from one issue to eight issues.

Now that we are firmly established as a twenty-four-page fortnightly with a wide readership and influence, their gloomy predictions sound very much out of touch with reality. Reaching this position has not been an easy task, A ot of hard work and sacrifices of time and money by DIRECT ACTION supporters has helped us publish DIRECT ACTION for over three years now. We have also been helped by our large number of regular subscribers. The larger the number of our regular subscribers, the more stable and efficient is the whole process of producing a socialist newspaper like ours.

That is only one of the many reasons why you should take advantage of this special subscription offer. This offer s open until the end of this year, and uring that time we hope to get 500 new

subscribers. By helping us in this drive, either by subscribing yourself, taking out subscriptions for your friends, or persuading them to subscribe themselves, you will greatly assist in ensuring that DIRECT ACTION continues for the next three years, and continues to improve.

The existence of a socialist paper putting forward a clear analysis of and a clear alternative to the capitalist system was never more important than



at the present time, with the continued aggressive stance by imperialism internationally and the attacks on our standards of living by inflation and the possibility of a wage freeze here in Australia.

Apart from this, there are many obvious reasons why you should subscribe. The continuity of analysis that a subscription to DIRECT ACTION provides is invaluable for an understanding of political events nationally and internationally. Our regular coverage of revolutionary developments around the world can't be obtained through any other source. Our analysis of events in the Australian labor movement can't be matched either.

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United Women's **Convention Held** RY KAY GOODGER

"I am woman, hear me roar, in numbers too big to ignore." The words of Helen Reddy's song were very appropriate when hundreds of women linked arms to sing at the end of the United Women's Convention. Held in the YMCA Stadium in Auckland on September 15-16, the huge gathering of 1500 women from all around the country and from a very broad crosssection of the female population was an



Elizabeth Reid

inspiring example of the extent to which feminist ideas are taking hold,

The women came from mother's leagues, farmers' wives' groups, from feminist organisations, from cities and towns and remote country areas. With so many women coming from such widely diverging backgrounds and ages, many feminists must have wondered whether radical women's liberation ideas would meet with with disapproval. But while some conservative thinking was apparent from time to time, the overwhelming impression gained at the convention was that women do want big changes in their lives and that they are fed up with accepting the kind of inferior treatment they get in this society.

The most significant and inspiring event at the convention came when an overwhelming majority of women voted for a motion "to change the abortion laws so that termination of pregnancy becomes the personal decision of the woman involved," The pessimistic view that the demand for women's right to abortion is "too advanced" for all but the most committed feminists was soundly proven wrong when 80-90 per cent of the women applauded the mover of the motion and raised their hands high for women's right to choose.

This vote was a smack in the face for the anti-abortion faction which had come to the convention with the sole intention of trying to stack the abortion workshops to prevent any pro-abortion motion from coming before the full session for a vote, They were unsuccessful in this attempt. The final decision was an especially big defeat for Connie Purdue, Auckland president of the National Organisation for Women (NOW), who has for some time been trying to hold back the feminist movement on the abortion issue. Her influence as an organiser of the convention was a major reason why abortion did not feature as a topic for one of the key speeches on the first day, an omission which was noted by many. The walk-out staged by about 20 anti-abortionists following the vote on abortion indicated just how few supporters Purdue really has and how mistaken the other convention organisers were in bending to her

Apart from the absence of adequate coverage of the abortion issue, the major speeches covered a wide range of topics of concern to women. The historical roots of the movement, areas of discrimination against women, the situation of Maori women, and the dozens of daily problems women face reached receptive ears in the huge hall.

Special guest speaker Elizabeth Reid, Women's Adviser to the Australian Prime

Minister, was well received. But her feminist-sounding phrases disguised a political strategy which would spell doom to the women's movement if it were as widespread as she and her boss, Gough Whitlam, would like. Reid's very position is designed to act as a buffer between the Labor Government and the women who are demanding change. She uses it well to try and defuse any moves by women which would threaten the Government's fence-sitting attitude to key women's issues. She gave an example of her kind of manoeuvring when she told the convention "to give up the power games of men."

"The issue of abortion is dividing woman from woman over whether to repeal the law, reform it or retain it. I'm suggesting you have fallen foul of their game," Reid said, and went on to propose that instead women should turn to setting up referral clinics for abortions presently considered legal. What could be more convenient for Whitlam or Kirk! While women wanting abortions which are not yet "considered legal" are to go on suffering the government avoids granting women a most important and fundamental right.

There were dozens of motions passed by the convention, many of which were little understood by the voters since there was no discussion permitted on the floor. Free, easily available contraception and voluntary sterilisation, the right of every woman to sexual self-determination, condemnation of the new anti-woman superannuation scheme, the universal use of "Ms" instead of "Miss" or "Mrs", repeal of the law banning contraceptives to under-16-year-olds, the teaching of Maori language from pre-schools onwards condemnation of unfair treatment of women by the press, and subsidised child care were some of the many demands made.

There were some things about the convention which showed the limited development of feminist consciousness on some issues. They ranged from the recipes which delegates received in the ology, to under-the-carpet treatment of gay women.

Whatever the shortcomings of the coavention, however, many hundreds of women have now had a taste of what feminism is all about, and the public has been made aware of the potential strength of the new women's movement in New Zealand.



Women in Revolt

Women in Medicine

wo post-graduate students at Melbourn niversity have carried out a research rvey of first year medical students at ne university.

he researchers have warned universiies throughout the country to consider mposing severe quotas on women seekng to become doctors.

The report revealed that large numbers f recently graduated women doctors bandon their professions for marriage ind children. Twenty six percent of emale medical students said they rould be willing to put their children day care centers and continue pracising their profession.

The intake of females into the medical aculty is increasing with women makng up thirty per cent of first year medcal students: Last year nearly twenty per cent of all medical graduates were female.

It would be interesting to know the statistics on the drop out rate of male medical students but strangely enough there is no mention of the subject in the report.

New Zealand **Abortion Marches**

national Women's Suffrage Day narch for women's right to abortion, neld in New Zealand on September 19, was a resounding success. Marches hroughout the country were charactersed by enthusiasm and confidence.

Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), took place in nore centres than any previous abortion rights activity. Palmerston North women decided to join in at the last minute and forty women paraded around the city square under a banner reading 1893 - Votes for Women, 1973 - Repeal the Abortion Laws. A similar message headed the Christchurch march where about the same number participated. This theme was also prominent in Auckland, Wellingon and Dunedin.

In the first action of its kind in Hamilon twenty women formed a picket in he city which captured front page ttention in the local paper. Three vomen in Hastings carried placards which drew attention to the suffrage anniversary and the demands of women today. They distributed leaflets calling for the repeal of abortion laws, free easily available contraception and voluntary sterilisation.

The Auckland action was the largest with 350 participants. During the march women sang Helen Reddy's ong I Am Woman and afterwards Myrna Lamb's play But What Have You Done For Me Lately, which depicts a man with an unwanted oregnancy, was staged.

About 150 marched through Wellington streets, attracting a lot of interest from thousands of onlookers with chants of "Woman's right to choose" and "Repeal the abortion laws" and occasional bursts into I Am Woman. Gay Liberationists also participated in the march. An additional 50 people came in from the street to watch the brief rally in he Parliament grounds.

Dunedin was the only place where antibortionists made their presence obvious. A grouping consisting in part of boys from a local Catholic school, ho were excused from lessons to go o the march, followed the women.

Junedin women had a contingent of 100, the third largest in the country. cking on the theme of their action

a large banner read Use Your Vote but Remember - It didn't Get You Free Contraception and Abortion - Parliament Still Decides for Your Womb!

The wide publicity attracted by the Sufferage Day march has further established the women's right to abortion as a vigorous one with real prospects for success in New Zealand,

The Work of Satan

A Morman leader Eldon Tanner, first counsellor to President Harold Lee of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, denounced women's liberation as the work of the devil saying satan is using scientific arguments and propaganda to lure women away from their primary responsibilities as wives, mothers and homemakers.

Speaking at a church conference held at the Salt Lake Tabernacle, Utah Tanner addressed a crowd of several thousand "We hear so much about emancipation, independence, sexual liberation, birth control, all of which is Satan's way of destroying women, the home and family -- the basic unit of society.

. . . As we enumerate the many important responsibilities a woman has in connection with her duties as a wife, a mother, a homemaker, a sister, a sweetheart, or a good neighbour, it should be evident that these challeng-ing responsibilities (sic) can satisfy her talents, her interests, her needs to express her creativity, dedication, energy and skill which too many seek to satisfy outside the home."

After clearly outlining a way of life subordinate sex, Tanner went on to give this amazingly hypocritical advice to Mormon men that women are their equals. "It is unchristianlike, unfair and displeasing to god, for any husband or father to assume the role of dictatorship and adopt the attitude that he is superior in any way to his wife,"

Of course reactionary forces like the church find it most disturbing that women are realising that their oppression stems from the present nuclear famly and are starting to revolt against their role within it but surely they could find a more convincing explanation for this than the work of 'satan'.

University Discrimination

A Committee of women has been set up at Macquarie University to look into discrimination against women on campus. This followed a meeting held at the University on October 16 at which Dr Jacqueline Goodnow, a senior lecturer in education raised an interesting point of a female staff member who was refused a bank loan because of her sex, even though she earned more than her husband. Dr Goodnow went on to say that unless married women could prove that their husbands were incapacitated or unable to bear the cost of travelling to and from the university she was not eligible for the same travel allowance as married men and unmarried women. A heated debate also took place on the drop-out rate of women graduates into marriage and child

Dr Peter Carroll, president of the Staff Association and Lecturer in Statistics, said that if proposals by the Federal Association of University Staff Associations of Australia are adopted by the Federal Government on January 1 next year all forms of sexual discrimination will be removed. But if the proposals are adopted sexual discrimination will not magically disappear. Only through the continued efforts of women to fight sexual discrimination will this legal equality become reality.

. BY TINA HARSANYI

Isaac Deutscher had a flair for going to the dialectical point. That discernment was superbly displayed in his analysis of the non-lewish lew - a contradiction in terms. His study of that fascinating social type heads the articles posthumously published under that title by his wife, Tamara. the chosen people in reference to the She has also supplied a sketch of her husband's childhood which illuminates his preoccupation with this subject.

Deutscher defined the non-Jewish Jew as the heretic who went beyond the boundaries of Jewry and yet remained part of the Jewish tradition. It might even be said paradoxically that Jewry's most valnable contribution to world culture since the 17th century has come from those iconoclasts who shook off its trammels. "They all found Jewry too narrow, too archaic, and too constricting. They all looked for ideals and fulfilment beyond it, and they represent the sum and substance of much that is greatest in modern thought."

These men and women "dwelt on the boundaries of various civilisations, religions, and national cultures. They were born and brought up on the borderlines of various epochs. Their minds matured where the most diverse cultural influences crossed and fertilised each other ... It was this that enabled them to rise in thought above their societies, above their nations, above their times and generations, and to strike out mentally into wide new horizons and far into the future." All were persecuted or exiled for their opposition to prevailing ideas and instit-

In East Europe these non-Jewish Jews were part of and spoke for the Jewish workers in the ghettos. The Jews of East Europe were largely workers and impoverished middle-class elements. In the ghettos they were forced into, they were often the victims of bloody racist pogroms

These Jewish ghetto dwellers sought to wage a revolutionary struggle against their anti-Semitic capitalist society and had a high degree of socialist consciousness. They rejected the utopian notion of Zionism, taking the stand that they would win their liberation by overthrowing capitalism and thereby tearing down the walls of the ghetto. They saw the October Revolution as the first great step toward their liberation as Jews and as workers.

The East European Jewish intellectuals They were regarded by the workers as their spokesmen and they in turn regarded themselves as part of the workers' movement.

Deutscher's representative roster of non-Jewish Jews includes such titans of revolutionary thought and action as Spinoza, Heine, Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky and Freud. These Jews were united, not only by their transcendence of Judaism, but by their shared beliefs in the lawfulness of the universe and history, in the unceasing changefulness of all things, in the relativity of good and evil, in the idea that true and effective knowledge is inseparable from practice, and in the ultimate solidarity of humanity.

The traits of these uncompromising rationalists were likewise characteristic of Deutscher, who saw his own view, values and destiny mirrored in their lives. These essays are, among other things, an effort at understanding not only the historical phenomenon and its finest exemplars, but his own self. They are by-products of a lifelong search for the secret of his own identity. For he belonged to that category of the non-Jewish Jew, and was one of its most eminent representatives in our generation.

Isaac had reason to ponder the question: Who and what am I? His own career spanned incredible extremes. He started out in life as a Hassidic child prodigy in a Polish stetl who became a rabbi at 13; he ended it sixty years later as an atheist, a revolutionary Marxist, a writer of world renown. From immersion in the archaic atmosphere of the East European ghetto, he mounted to a mastery of the most advanced and cosmopolitan knowledge of

He, too, "lived on the borderlines of various national cultures and was in society - Polish, Jewish, German, English and yet not of it. In this he was in the Jewish tradition, and he never denied it."

Their central theme is the irreconcilable contest between nationalism and interna-

ions of scientific socialism on the Jewish question, which he ably expounds and defends in these pages.

Marxism takes issue with the mystique of Jews or any other nationality. It gives a historical and materialist explanation for the exceptional endurance and peculiar characteristics of the Jews since their dispersion. The Jews have maintained existence and individuality as a nationality primarily because of the special role they played as a people-class in pre-capitalist society, where they were agents of which many members of his family had the money economy among peoples living already perished. Unfortunately, he in a natural economy. Judaism and anti-Semitism had common roots in the distinctive functions which marked off the com- and fairly toward the unintended victim mercial Jew from the rest of the nations.

The coming of capitalism eliminated the necessity and changed the possibilities. and prospects for perpetuating Jewry as a people apart, since its special function became the general condition of the social economy. During the 19th century both liberals and Marxists held the view that the Jews would shed their distinctive traits and separate identity through gradual absorption into an enlightened bourgeois or a future socialist society. Progressive capitalism did institute a certain degree of assimilation in Western Europe and North America, although it failed to complete it there. The process of social and cultural homogenisation was barely begun in Eastern Europe because of its backwardness.

The development of world capitalism in this century upset this perspective. Imp-One of its most malignant manifestations was the resort to anti-Semitism, a readymade means for diverting the wrath of despairing and deluded people away from the real authors of their misery by making the Jews a scapegoat for the crimes of a decaying capitalism. The relapse into barbarism was consummated in Germany, the most highly developed capitalist country of Europe, through the frenzied chauvinism of the Nazis capped by Hitler's extermination of six million Jews.

The degeneration of capitalism coupled to replace it in time gave the Jewish question an acuteness and urgency unanticipated by the first generations of Marxists. Hitlerism served to spur and among the Jews which, for different reasons, had been fading in both East and West Europe. The harried Jews had to defend and define themselves anew in reaction to the menace to their very physical existence.

For the sake of self-preservation and national perpetuation, the survivors of East European Jewry who, especially among the workers, had been widely won over to the Marxist ideals of socialism, turned toward Zionism as the last hope of salvation. The project of seeking and securing refuge in a new Jewish state located in Palestine pushed aside the internationalist programme and perspective.

There were dreadful pitfalls in this forced decision. "The world has driven the Jew to seek safety in a nation-state in the middle of this century when the nationstate is falling into decay," Deutscher pointed out. The Jewish people, which was denied the benefits of bourgeois nationalism in its best days, was compelled to embrace a bourgeois nationalism of its own and constitute a separate Jewish state at a time when the progressive potential in the capitalist framework had been reduced to a minimum.

To heap up their ill fortune, the Zionists chose to build their state in a tiny, poor and unfavorable terrain already occupied by another people, slowly awakening to its own national consciousness, which they then displaced by economic and military pressures.

Deutscher agreed that the Jews have the same right to self-determination as any other people on this planet. Indeed, because of their massacre during the second world war, European Jews had a special claim upon the generosity of the civilised world. He had been shaken to the marrow by the holocaust which he considered The tension of the sharp contrast between ing explanation. (Here his feelings got his Jewish childhood and his secular Marx- the better of his reason, since Marxism ist maturity vibrates like harp strings, im- cannot place the tragedy of the Jews in a category different from the long list of other genocidal acts committed under capitalist barbarism.) In his youth he had experienced pogrom terror in his nattionalism which counterposes Marxism to her and other members of his family in ive Poland. He had lost his beloved fat-

Deutscher staunchly adhered to the posit- He was fully aware of the predicament of the Jews - in which he was so intimately implicated - and he was sensitive to the aspirations behind the Zionist dream. Yet he rose above his individual sympathies and antipathies to take a broad view of the complex and excruciating problem from the vantage point of historical materialism, as a Marxist was obliged to do.

> He was sure that Zionism held out no real hope of resolving the Jewish problem in the long run. He compared the Israelis to a man who managed to save his life by jumping from a burning building in landed upon a neighbor and broke his limbs. Instead of behaving rationally of the unavoidable fall, the Zionists have treated the Palestinian Arabs abominably and made them into a bitter foe.

Zionist chauvinism has had a deadly logic. By expelling the Arabs from their own land and conducting warfare against them for 20 years, the Zionist Jews have transformed themselves from a persecuted minority in other lands into an oppressor nation in their present habitat.

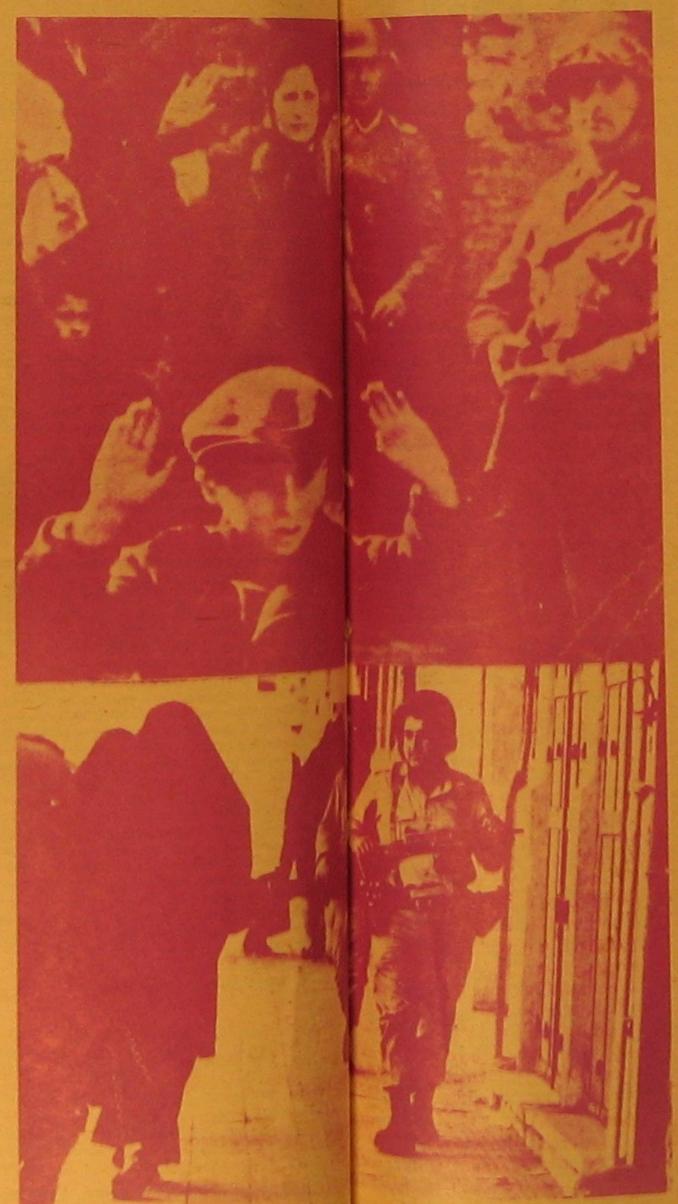
The tragic irony does not end there, The original Zionist experiment was inspired by agrarian socialist ideals embodied in the Kibbutz - small communal settlements which seek to make "the desert blossom like the rose." After several decades, these Utopian colonies are hemmed in by capitalist relations which overshadow their admirable features. The kibbutzim have been converted into armed strong points in the national ialistic, crisis-torn capitalism swung over defence system and, because of the expto an exacerbated nationalism of its own, ansionist and militarist course of the Zionist Government, take on an agressive character.

The deformation of the most equalitarian sector of Israeli society is magnified a thousandfold in the country as a whole, Israel does not have an independent, strong and viable economic base; it must live from hand to mouth, depending on the largesse of wealthy Jews abroad above all, the generosity and business investments of American millionaires. In the pinch, its economic well-being, territorial integrity and national security with the failure of the socialist movement all hang on what military and financial aid is forthcoming from Washington, Thus, Israel must willynilly serve as an outpost of imperialist strategy in the Middle East, and so it is regarded throughout the Arab World.

> Deutscher gave his final appraisal of the plight and the policies of Zionist Israel in an interview after the Six-Day War of June 1967. He condemned the pre-emptive strike that brought quick victory to Israeli arms, "Paradoxically and grotesquely, the Israelis appear now in the role of the Prussians of the Middle East. They have now won three wars against their Arab neighbors. Just so did the Prussians a century ago defeat all their neighbors within a few years, the Danes, the Austrians, and the French. The succession of victories bred in them an absolute confidence in their own efficiency, a blind reliance on the force of their arms. chauvinistic arrogance, and contempt for other peoples. I fear that a similar degeneration - for degeneration it is may be taking place in the political character of Israel."

The lightning victory was worse than a defeat, he argued, because it paves the way for an eventual disastrous confrontation with the Arab states and the Arab masses. "They (the Jews) now appear in the Middle East once again in the invidof that form of political organisation with. ious role of agents not so much of their own, relatively feeble, capitalism, but of powerful western vested interests and as proteges of neocolonialism. This is how the Arab world sees them, not without reason. Once again they arouse bitter emotions and hatreds in their neighbors, in all those who have ever been or still are victims of imperialism. What a fate it is for the Jewish people to be made to appear in this role! As agents of early capitalism they were still pioneers of progress in feudal society; as agents of the late, over-ripe, imperialist capitalism of our days, their role is altogether lamentable; and they are placed once again in the position of potential scapegoats, Is Jewish history to come full circle in such a way? This may well be the outcome of Israel's 'victories'; and of this Israel's real friends must warn it."

> What is the way out? If the Israelis are not to be caught in a bloody trap of Zionist devising, they will have to abandon the exclusive and aggressive Jewish state and opt for a Middle East federation of the Arab and Jewish peoples. It is true that the Jewish bourgeois-chauvinists and their Anglo-American patrons, as well as demagogues and reactionaries among the Arabs, are equally opposed



op: Gaza Strip Bottom: Warsaw Ghetto

to such a solution. That is why this desirable political goal cannot be realised except through the joint struggle against imperialism and capitalism in that area under revolutionary socialist leadership.

By a circuitous route, lined by six million dead, which has led from Eastern Europe to Palestine, the Jewish masses today face the same alternative as their fathers and grandfathers: either alliance with the forces of socialist revolution or a bloody catastrophe. There is no third

Deutscher addressed a sober warning about the fate awaiting them if they clung to capitalism and chauvinism, not only to the Israelis, but to those Jews in the imperialist metropolises who complacently live under the mistaken impression that anti-Semitism is a spent force there. They are blind to the fact that such prejudice festers in many crevices of the Western countries and, in the event of acute insecurity, can burst forth with sudden ferocity, as it did in crisis-ridden Germany between the wars.

"Let this society suffer any severe shock, such as it is bound to suffer; let there be again millions of unemployed, and we will see the same lower-middle-class alliance with the Lumpenproletariat. from whom Hitler recruited his following, running amok with anti-Semitism," he wrote. "As long as the nation-state imposes its supremacy and as long as we have not an international society in existence, as long as the wealth of every nation is in the hands of one national capitalist oligarchy, we shall have chauvinism, racialism, and, as its culmination, anti-Semitism."

Such a prediction may seem far-fetched and unduly alarmist to those privileged and short-sighted Anglo-American Jews who have been sunning in the prolonged prosperity and social stability of the post-war decades. Yet is based upon a keen insight into the ultimate direction of the main motive forces of capitalist development in our time. The warning has direct relevance for American Jews, young and old, who regard the Jewish problem as something remote from them and confined to Israeli-Arab relations or to the recurrence of anti-Semitism in East Europe and the Soviet Union.

They forget that the Jewish question is Israel. More than twice as many Jews live in this country as in Israel. (According to the 1967 estimates of the Jewish Statistical Bureau, 5, 721,000 live in the United States to 2, 669, 000 in Israel Like many other crucial questions of our era, the fate of the main body of Jewry will ultimately be settled by what happens on American soil.

At the present time there is a deadly symmetry between the attitude of the Israelis toward the Arabs and that of the American Jews toward the Afro-Americans and their liberation struggle, Many liberal and radical Jews have the same difficulty in comprehending why Afro-Americans are hostile to them as they do in grasping why the Palestinian Arabs are enemies of Israel. Are we not also an oppressed people, they anxiously ask; have we not also suffered from discrimination, even faced extermination?

They overlook the actual state of affairs, The amount of discrimin tion and prejudice encountered by Jews in the United States today is inconsiderable compared to the endemic racism which victimises the blacks in so many ways. Furthermore, the upper and middle ranges of American Jewry, comfortably ensconced in bourgeois America, some of them bankers, landlords, big and little businessmen, participate in the system of oppressing and exploiting the black masses, just as the Zionists have become oppressors of the Palestinian Arabs. Jewish teachers in New York, reluctant to give up their small privileges, resist the Afro-American demand for control of the schools in their own communities.

Protestations of good-will do not change the decisive factors in the situation. Because of the social positions they occupy and the economic functions some of them perform, the Jews appear in the eyes of the black masses as an integral constituent of the white capitalist power structure which has held them down for centuries.

"But", Jewish liberals expostulate, "are not the militant blacks also nationalistic, even practising 'racism in reverse'?" They fail to distinguish between the progressive nationalism of an oppressed minority and the reactionary chauvinism

of an oppressive power. Black nationalism is justified because it aims at the self-determination and social liberation of 22 million people. It is revolutionary in its implications because the movement is not only fighting against racism, discrimination and inequality but is objectively directed against the foundations of U.S. monopolism and militar-

If the aggrieved national feelings of Afro-Americans are sometimes expressed in embittered prejudice toward the Jewish people as such, this misguided attitude must be understood as an excessive defense reaction to the injustices constantly inflicted upon blacks by the present structure of society. But such utterances should not be allowed to stand in the way of supporting the black struggle for emancipation.

While they misjudge the real nature of their relations with the Afro-American community and its nationalism, patriotic Jews cherish the Illusion that American big business is constitutionally different from the German industrial and financial establishment that pressed Hitlerism into its service. The grounds for such confidence are very flimsy. The past record of the American ruling class in protecting the Jews from harm is shame-

During the 1930s Roosevelt's liberal

Democratic Administration did not heed the cries of the victims of Nazism and refused to open the doors guarded by the Statue of Liberty to more than a handful of Jewish refugees who were lucky enough to find sponsors here. In the last manifesto he drafted for the Fourth International in 1940, Leon Trotsky wrote: 'The world of decaying capitalism is overcrowded. The question of admitting a hundred extra refugees becomes a major problem for such a world power as the United States . . . In the epoch of its rise, capitalism took the Jewish people out of the ghetto and utilised them as an instrument in its commercial expansion. Today decaying capitalist society is striving to squeeze the Jewish people from all its pores; seventeen million individuals out of the two billion populating the globe, that is, less than one percent, can no longer find a place on our planet !"

During World War II the democratic imperialist governments did not lift a hand to deter Hitler from consigning the lews to the gas ovens.

White racism, not anti-Semitism, is by far the most pervasive and powerful current of discrimination and source of persecution in the United States today. But if, with Deutscher, we look beyond the present conjuncture, there is danger for the Jews lurking over the horizon. Should there be a grave social crisis and a strengthening of ultra-reaction, anti-Semitism could experience a frightening growth here.

The American ruling class, whose agents dropped the first atom bombs on the Japanese, conduct genocidal warfare in Vietnam, stood ready to use the H-bomb in the Caribbean confrontation of 1962 and maltreat their minorities at home, has shown itself capable of monstrous crimes. In case the survival of its power and profits hangs in the balance, why should it consider the six million American Jews to be less expendable than the six million European Jews it let Hitler exterminate? Inconceivable? So assimilated German Jews of the 1920s thought, too.

Conservative and liberal Jewry in the West has been given a handy excuse for continued adherence to Zionism and democratic capitalism by the recrudescence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet bloc which feeds their prejudices against socialism. Deutscher deals with this phenomenon in a discussion of "The Russian Revolution and the Jewish Problem." Unlike the conscienceless apologists for Stalinism, he acknowledged that the Soviet Union had not succeeded in solving the Jewish question after 50 years.

In explaining the reasons for this default, he recalls that in the Lenin era the Bolsheviks tried to make good, as best they could under hard circumstances, the pledge contained in their programme of equal treatment of national minorities. Under their auspices, Yiddish culture and the Yiddish theatre flourished. Zionist ideas were not suppressed and the Left Paole Zion, the Socialist Zionist Party, legally existed up to 1925-1926.

Those years witnessed the beginnings of a tremendous retrogression of the Russian Revolution. In an article on "Thermidor and Anti-Semitism," written in 1937, Trotsky explained how the revival

of anti-Semitism was one of the vicious aspects of the Great Russian chauvinism that attended the rise and triumph of bureaucratic despotism.

"The omnipotent bureaucracy stifles the development of national culture just as it does the whole of culture. Worse still, the country of the great proletarian revolution is passing through a period of profound reaction," he wrote. "If the revolutionary wave revived the finest sentiments of human solidarity, the Thermidorean reaction has stirred up all that is low, dark and backward in the agglomeration of 170 million people. To reinforce its demoniation, the bureaucracy does not even hesitate to resort in a scarcely camouflaged manner to chauvinistic tendencies, above all to anti-Semitic ones. The latest Moscow trial, for example, was staged with the hardly concealed design of presenting internationalists as faithless and lawless Jews who are capable of selling themselves to the German Gestapo."

Since then the virulence of anti-Semitism has waxed or waned according to its covert encouragement or public restraint by the Soviet authorities. Rearoused by the factional conflict with the anti-Stalinist opposition, it reached a crescendo in the Great Purge of 1936-38. Anti-Semitic sentiments were reinforced by the Nazi penetration of the Ukraine and West Russia. They were propelled to the verge of tragedy by the "Doctors' Plot* in January 1953, the last of Stalin's sinister frameups which was nullified by his death.

On the other side, Deutscher notes the following facts. Under Stalin two and a half million Jews were saved from the Nazis by being transported into the interfor from the invaded territories of Russia, In 1948, for its own diplomatic reasons at the time, Moscow helped bring the State of Israel into being.

The protests from outspoken Soviet intellectuals testify that official and unofficial anti-Semitism is still rife and surreptitiously shielded in the Soviet Union. Like many of the major problems of the USSR, the struggle against anti-Jewish prejudice must be an integral part of the slowly maturing movement of the Soviet masses to throw off bureaucratic domination and undertake a thorough housecleaning of Soviet society.

What does this survey of the vicissitudes of the Jewish problem come down to? the essential validity of the Marxist programme even though developments have taken a more complicated course than its original adherents foresaw.

The salvation of the Jewish people cannot come from reliance upon Zionist chauvinism, American imperialism or Stalinist bureaucratism. Every expedient short of the struggle for socialism, any substitute for that, will end in calamity for the Jews. They cannot achieve security for themselves or anyone else so long as the root causes of discrimination, racism and reactionary nationalism continue to exist. Indeed, the Zionists have dealt fatal blows to themselves by succumbing to these practises. These curses can be removed only by abolishing capitalism, as the East European Jewish workers formerly believed and the non-Jewish Jews of the Marxist school taught,

The Jews have to link themselves with those forces in their own country and on a world scale that are fighting to overthrow imperialism and striving to build the new society. The solution of the Jewish question is indissolubly bound up with the complete emancipation of humanity that can be brought about only along the road of international socialism.

This article is available in the form of a pamphlet How Can the Jews Survive by George Novack (\$0, 25) from Pathfinder Press, PO Box 151, Glebe, 2037. Other books and pamphlets available from Pathfinder Press on the Middle East and the Arab Revolution include:

Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis y Peter Buch (\$0,40) ocuments of the Palestinian Resistnce Movement, Anthology (\$0.40) srael: A Colonial-Settler State? by Maxime Rodinson (128pp, \$1.75) eon Trotsky on the Jewish Question.

\$0.50) dideast Oil and US Imperialism by Dick Roberts (\$0.35) The Truth About Israel and Zionism y Nathan Weinstock, Jon Rothschild

The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interetation by Abram Leon (\$2.95)



Hugo Blanco

About a week after the bloody coup in Chile, the Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco, who had been in exile in Santiago, was able to escape to Mexico. His exit was arranged by the Swedish Government, which has offered him asylum. Blanco was accompanied by the Argentine Trotskyist Eduardo Creus and by a Brafilian comrade, Juliao Bordao. On September 28, they gave the following interview in Mexico City to a correspondent of Intercontinental Press.

* * *

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: How extensive has the repression been in Chile?

BLANCO: The military began their repression in advance of the coup, aiming to disarm and demobilise the people. They began raiding plants. For example, they raided an electronics plant in Arica in the North. In Santiago there were several raids, including one on a cemetery. All these searches were carried out under the cover of 'ne so-called arms control law, which was passed by the right-wing bloc in Parliament at the culmination of the last offensive against the Government in October 1972. The UP (Unidad Popular - Popular Unity, the class-collaborationist ruling coalition) did not actively oppose it, however. The UP deputies abstained and Allende did not veto it.

In the South, they raided the Lanera Austral factory, where they killed some workers. In the same area, the military launched a repression against peasants who demonstrated their opposition to the June 29 attempted coup. Some were dragged across the ground by helicopters or tortured in front of their families. Sailors who showed opposition to the coupwere also tortured and imprisoned. All of this was part of the softening-up process that preceded the takeover. As a final test, in Santiago they raided the Cobre Cerillos factory in the Cordon Cerillos and the Sumar factory in the Cordon Vicuna Mackenna. Three days after these raids, they made their strike.

These escalating raids enabled the right to test the strength of the workers movement, its capacity to resist. They also started the process of selective repression aimed at decapitating the workers movement and the left parties. The strongholds of the left in the factory belts, shantytowns, and schools like the Universidad Tecnica were hit, and vanguard militants were seized and imprisoned. Throughout this first phase of the repression, the military and the police had the acquiescence of Allende and the UP leadership.

When they launched their massive terror on September 11, the military were also aided by the faltering defensive line of the UP Government. The UP Government had called on the workers to maintain a constant guard on the factories. They did not call for seizing the factories but only for guarding them. They meant that the workers should continue working for the bosses and even imperialists and that afterdoing back-breaking labor all day, carrying out the UP's order to produce more and win "the battle of production", they should stay on at night doing guard duty. Obviously this meant that those who did stay were mainly the vanguard. Most of the workers tired of this. So that it was essentially the vanguard that was trapped in the factories when the military launched its attack,

On the day of the coup, the military launched a massive strike against the factories and the shantytowns, seeking to massacre the yanguard. At the same time, they tried to round up all the leaders of the left parties as well as the UP ministers and deputies.

Next, the repression was directed against the intermediate cadres. The activists in the factories were fired, arrested, and murdered. The universities were closed. The University of Concepcion, a wellknown centre of the far left, was shut down and formally abolished. The diplomas of its graduates were revoked. In the Universidad Tecnica, the military carried out a massacre on the first day of the coup, slaughtering about 600 persons. There was also a massacre at the Instituto Pedagogico.

There are reports that every fifteen minutes a body is cremated in Santiago, Many persons have seen bodies lying in the street. Murders have been seen in broad daylight. For example, if someone goes out for bread or something like that, he is likely to be bullied by the Carabineros (Riot Police), and anybody who protests is simply shot down. There was one occasion when the Carabineros started beating people in a food line and when some persons objected, the whole line was slaughtered.

The football stadiums have been turned

others away to prison, where, needless to say, they continued torturing them. The troops destroyed everything they could not carry away. They were given free rein to take all valuables. This is the way the putchists egged on the soldiers to carry out the repression. They offered them booty.

The brunt of the repression was directed against the cordones (industrial belts) and the shantytowns. Massacres took place in the squatters' settlements of Lo Hermida, La Legua, and Nueva Havana, Many of the nationalised factories where organisation of the workers had reached its highest level were razed. This happened to the Sumar and Cristaleria plants in the Vicuna Mackenna Cordon and to the Cobre Cerillos plant in the Cerillos Cordon, as well as many other factories.

The armed forces were turned into a murder machine. Many persons were killed immediately on being taken prisoner, or the next day, as it occurred to the military. The objective of the repression was to clear the left out of all the factories and centres, by killing then them, driving them out, and arresting them. In this way the workers' movement was decapitated.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: What is the situation now of the political exiles who found refuge in Chile under the UP

torturing this vanguard, only junta. But this was really al repressive operation by t bourgeoisies, headed by the For example, the Uruguayan and ian governments backed up the this campaign by claiming that persons from their countries wh Chile had the objective of de terrorist operations. Thus, u the junta carte blanche to n Uruguayan and Brazilian com

There was an enormous pogrom to the Nazi persecution of the I Leaflets were dropped from ai and helicopters. The radio called on the people to turn in foreigners who had come to Ch Chileans. That gave rightists like foreigners a chance to run nearest police station and sic the and police on every one they about. There was a good proba that those arrested, especially i by the army or the air force, w killed on the spot.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS you able to get out of the country

BLANCO: As soon as the curlen lifted, I had to get out of my h took refuge in the Swedish Emb later in the home of the Mexica sador, which I was finally allowe leave to come here to Mexico. & in the hands of the imperialists

What is your opinion of that?

measures, as well as encouraging the

soldiers to resist the coup, are the only

thing that could have blocked it. But

instead of advancing this development,

the UP leader ship held all this back and

even assisted the repression. So it is not

the revolutionary left that provoked the

coup but the reformist leaderships -

fundamentally the Communist Party,

and also, of course, the SP leadership.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: What

Revolucionaria - Movement of the

leadership of the UP?

guardist actions.

about the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda

Revolutionary Left)? What kind of an

alternative did it offer to the reformist

JULIAO BORDAO: At no time did the

MIR really seek to win the masses away

key for assessing the MIR. In the period

political line could be characterised as

altra-left. They raided banks and did all

the things that are called urban guerrilla

warfare. But at no time did they try to

win the masses away from reformism.

changed its line, but they really just

Instead they threw themselves into van-

Then when Allende was elected, the MIR

turned the coin over. From a policy of

urban guerrilla warfare, they turned to

capitulating to Allende, essentially to an

opportunist line. Although they retained

the UP, they were drawn in fundamentally

their organisational independence from

behind its policy. The line of the MIR

in fact became integrated with that of

the UP. They launched attacks period-

ically on the UP, but the central aspect

That is, just as they did not seek to win

the masses away from reformists in the

first phase of their activity, so they did

Socialist Party, helping it to keep the

fact to support the left wing of the

not do so in the second. They tended in

most militant workers from going beyond

CREUS: As the comrade says, the MIR

was unable to build an alternative mass

leadership. It should be noted that the

MIR did nominally have a caucus in the

was their support for it.

the framework of the UP.

from the UP's reformism. This is the

before Allende took office, the MIR's

ough the masses were on the offenthroughout most of the UP Governent's term in office, they were held ack by their reformist leaderships, When the right went on the offensive in October, the reformists kept the masses in a strictly defensive position, the workers saw the need to arm and alked about organising defence comittees. But the Allende Government aid that there could be no armed orces but the Carabineros and the

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: Did opposition to this reformist policy develop in the Communist and Socialist parties?

REUS: In the CP I saw only individual lissidents. In the SP there were dissident currents but in the end they capituled to their reformist leaderships. The al effect of these left currents was to inforce reformism. Militant workers ned the SP in the hope that they could in it over to a revolutionary line and ey became trapped in a reformist

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: How stensive was the resistance to the coup?

REUS: There was no organised resistnce. The workers wanted to fight. But the absence of a genuinely revolutiony organisation there could be no ganised resistance. There was some sistance by snipers. There was some esistance by groups besieged in places ke the Instituto Pedagogico, but they ere slaughtered. They tried to put up fight in the Universidad Tecnica, but bey were massacred. There was resistince in the shantytown of La Legua, but there was a massacre there like the one in Lo Hermida.

NTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: To what xtent were the workers armed?

REUS: The left organisations had a lot runs. But these weapons were not in hands of the workers. They were in special arsenals by the leaderos. This was another aspect of the reaucratic organisation of the left arties. Even if the leaderships had in the embassy and in the ambassador wanted to arm the workers, there was no house were not given exit permits, and organisation suited to this task. There in some cases only some members of was the case of the governor of Talca, families were allowed to leave. For for example. He wanted to resist and example, there was the case of Alejan did put up a fight with some persons but

It was no good having guns, if they were ot in the hands of the workers. And here was no organisation to enable the orkers to resist in an organised way. , the resistance was minimal, the mount of weapons in the hands of the orkers was minimal. But with the roper organisation, the resistance could ave assumed gigantic proportions.

NTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: Did any plits show up in the armed forces?

REUS: There were two types of position to the coup. There was a ctor of the officers who were against e takeover. It was led by Prats. But was very weak, Nonetheless, this ivision could have been exploited by the roletariat if it had had a really revoluonary leadership. A reformist leaderup could not take advantage of it. When Prats told Allende that the only ay out was to fire sixteen generals, Hende said he didn't have the strength o do it. So, Prats and the other antioup officers had to resign.

he common soldiers were another latter. Among them there were revoluionary elements ready to fight alongside the working class. There was nurmuring in the armed forces against he putschist plans, rather than active pposition. In the absence of a revoluonary organisation, such opposition ould take only an isolated, atomised orm. There was a case of a Carabinero who shot a lieutenant and a captain and called on the others to join him. But he was alone and so no one else followed him and he was killed. It is probable that such incidents occurred in many

The case of the sailors in Valparaiso shows how the reformists disorganised any opposition in the army. When the sailors manifested their disapproval of the June 29 coup and the military's plans for a takeover, the officers repressed them. And he Government endorsed this repression. It approved it first by its tilence and later

some elements in the US Communist Party that accuse the revolutionary left of provoking the coup by promoting the nationalisations and a socialist policy.

of the working class. They put their emphasis on the comandos comunales, CREUS: Those who provoked the coup were not the left, because the only thing other sectors and in which the workers that could have stopped the coup was the were included but in a diluted way. No advance of the struggles of the working real comando comunal existed; there class toward more nationalisation, were only embryos that were not even on situation, it represents a great hope for workers' control, measures that would the level of the cordones. We were not have strengthened workers power, includagainst the comandos comunales, but ing the arming of the proletariat. These we thought that the fundamental thing

comandos comunales.

Along with their opportunism, it should be noted that there were spontaneist and adventurist attitudes in the MIR. At times they planned seizing factories and streets in sudden actions that were not prepared by previous mobilisation of the masses and by discussion. This obviously led to failures. At times they tried to substitute the action of groups of their own members for that of the masses. For example, when they tried to take some factories back from the rightists who had occupied them while the workers were out, they wanted to have Mirista groups do it, instead of trying to organise the workers themselves, who were beginning to see the need to do this. This happened specifically in the AG factory.

which should have been the axis of the

As the comrade said, they failed to put up their own candidates in elections when they had the strength to do so. Instead they gave uncritical support to the leader of the SP left wing, Altamirano.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: What is the role of the fascist groups in the repression?

CREUS: Everybody is calling the junta a fascist government. We don't think that what exists in Chile is fascism. I don't say this to try to prettify the junta any or to minimise its guilt. This does not mean that it is any less barbarous; it could hardly be any more barbarous, The fact is that if the military has not established a fascist regime, it is not because it doesn't want to. Fascism, as we define it, is a mass movement. It involves political gangs repressing the masses. But there are only the embryos of this type of fascist gangs in Chile.

At present, the repression is being carried out almost entirely by the armed forces. If the fascists have been involved in any of this, we have no news of it. On the other hand, the fascists are playing a role by informing on leftists and by offering the junta trucks and everything massacres, are being carried out by the armed forces.

proportions because it comes in the context of a series of defeats in Latin which combined the shantytowns and some America. The coups in Uruguay, Bolivia, and Brazil, for example, have reinforced the reactionaries. Argentina is one of the few bulwarks left. In the present a new rise in Latin America.

INTERCONTINE, 'AL PRESS: What can was to strengthen the cordones industriales, we do outside Chile to help minimise this defeat?

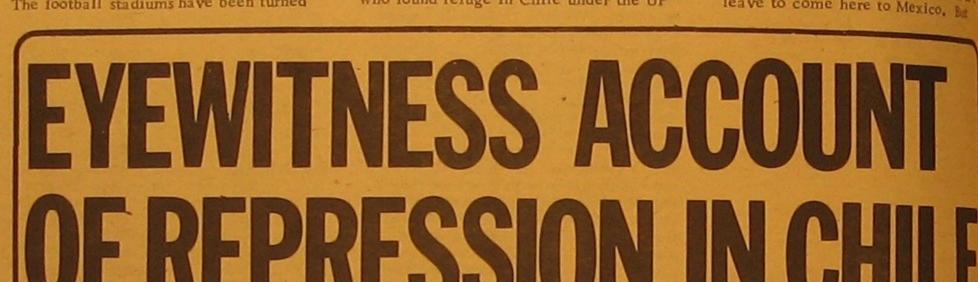
> BLANCO: We have to develop a worldwide campaign to restrain the repression in Chile. In the first place, we have to stop the executions and killings, many of which take place every day. Secondly, we have to win more humane treatment for the prisoners and force the military to abolish its special tribunals. The demonstrations that occurred throughout the world in the wake of the coup had an immediate effect. A few days after the initial massacres, it was evident that they were trying to apply some restraint. So, I think that this campaign must be continued in order to save many lives from the slaughter that is going on every day.

The situation of the foreigners in Chile is extremely grave. The world has not seen such a hysterical pogrom since the years of Nazism. This is something that should interest not just the left organisations but all organisations that claim to uphold human rights.

The demand should be raised that the Chilean Government give exit permits to all political exiles and give them safe-conduct passes out of the country. Chile has signed the Latin American treaty on asylum, and if it denies the right to leave to one single exile it is violating this treaty. So, we must demand that this treaty be respected and that the cordons around the Latin American embassies be removed.

At the same time, we have to fight to assure the exiles new places of asylum and keep them from being returned to their countries. For example, sending some Brazilians back to their country means just killing them in Brazil instead of Chile. The organisations that defend human rights must campaign to get the exiles out and to a place where they will be in no danger. There are in fact Brazilians who have been forced to take refuge in their own embassy because in the face of the kind of terror the Chilean junta has unleashed, they preferred to

It should be pointed out that many of the



into gigantic prisons in Santiago, Concepcion, and Antofagasta. The island of Quiriquina has also been converted into a prison. Innumerable military tribunals have been set up. There are ten in Valparaiso alone, for example. There are a lot of executions going on, and the junta is threatening to punish any kind of resistance with death. Any act of sabotage in word or deed is supposed to be punishable by summary execution.

An all-embracing campaign of intimidation against the population began at 3.00pm on September 11, when the junta gave the order that everyone was to remain in their homes, that no one could be on the streets. Many people could not get home. For example, I had to walk 35 blocks to get to my home. The next day there was a curfew around the clock. It was only lifted on Thursday (September 13) at noon. The people were kept imprisoned in their homes. It was certain death to be on the street.

While the military held the population pinned down and atomised this way, they carried out almost indiscriminate mass raids. They broke into the houses of everyone who had been denounced by some rightist or another, beat up whatever persons they found, tortured the inhabitants in front of their families, shot some on the spot, and dragged

Government?

BLANCO: The campaign against foreigners is a very important aspect of the repression in Chile. Being pointed out as a foreigner, especially one from another Latin American country, can mean instant death. This campaign is obviously not the work of the Chilean bourgeoisie or the putschists alone. Most of the foreigners played no role in the Government. This is obviously an action directed by the imperialists, by the CIA.

Chile has been turned into a trap. Or since the Chilean national anthem says that the country will be either the refuge of the oppressed or the grave of the free, perhaps we should say that it has been turned into a tomb.

Since Chile had opened its doors to political refugees, many revolutionists were concentrated there. Mainly these were Brazilians. There were also Argentines, Uruguayans, Bolivians, Dominicans, Venezuelans, and others from the Central American countries. So the coup was an excellent opportunity for the imperialists to trap this entire vanguard. At the same time, it could piously wash its hands of the affair. The blame was on the junta. The imperialists and the other Latin American bourgeoisies could look on innocently. They were not the ones killing, gaoling, and



Chilean soldiers rounding up prisoners

many Chileans who had taken refuge Chilen Rojas. They gave visas to his it was only a small group. wife and daughter-in-law and grands They are here in Mexico City. But it was not allowed to leave. His crimen mainly publishing books. He worked in the Mantu publishing house,

The Mexican Embassy deserves special credit for getting refugees out. The doing everything they can, But don't think that it is easy to get into the embassies. They are surrounded by police. The day before I left I saw them capture three persons who were trying to make it into the ambassado

CREUS: I would like to add one thing to what Hugo said about the repress There were wholesale expulsions of a ivists, mainly from the factories of nationalised sector that had been seis by the workers. The junta itself has said that 15 per cent of the workers is these plants have been fired.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: What the Chilean experience shown about theory of the "peaceful road" to soci socialism?

CREUS: This theory did not have n to do with reality. The class stroggle never stopped. The workers occepie factories and the peasants took land without asking the permission of the On the other hand, the rightists kept a constant attack on the Governmen They pressured the Government to police to repress the workers who was to advance the process of socialisat.
For example, on many occasions who the workers occupied the factories, was the Allende Government itself cleared them out. On other occasion it repressed the people in the shan who were pushing for direct distrib of food and other supplies. Final repression of the right escalated, they began attacks on factories and poor neighborhoods while Allende wa still in office,

In this whole process, the role of the Communist and Socialist parties act as a brake on the popular me tion. Part of their policy was the "dialogue" with the right and the paign for production. They did not the workers to organise so as to adthe process, but to work harder and harder, even in the factories that

places but in a disorganised way.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: There are



Arrests are still taking place on an unknown scale

union movement, the Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios (FTR - Front of Revolutionary Workers). But this was only an appendage of the MIR and suffered from all its defects. The MIR was essentially a bureaucratic organisation and the FTR also suffered from this bureaucratism. It was impossible by such methods to organise an independent workers' vanguard.

The social base of the MIR was first of all peasants and then the inhabitants of the shantytown belts around the cities. They had very little in the workers! movement. This led them in an opportunist way to underestimate the cordones industriales which were the vanguard

have suffered? How soon will they be able to recover? CREUS: The working class has suffered

is being crushed. The leadership in the cordones and the left parties is being annihilated - not just the top leadership, but the intermediate leadership and now even the activists in the factories. The entire student body at the University of Concepcion, for example, has fallen under the repression. It is a defeat from which it will take a long time to recover. stories of armed resistance, what has

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: How great Brazilians who were in Chile had never a defeat do you think the Chilean workers participated in the revolutionary movement but were studying, or working, or had some other non-political reason to be in the country. But the fact that they have to escape from Chile - because it a very grave defeat. The entire vanguard is a capital crime there now to be a Brazilian - means that they cannot return to Brazil, because going back under these conditions means that they would unquestionably be regarded as political criminals.

It is important to expose the junta's almost unprecedented campaign of terror against the population. Despite been going on has been essentially a BLANCO: This is a defeat of catastrophic massacre of a defenceless people.

Chilean Bloodbath Continues

The following is an abridged version of an article appearing in the October 15 issue of Intercontinental Press,

BY GERRY FOLEY

"'It pains me', a spokesman of the junta said, 'to see everybody getting concerned about corpses that don't exist " (Le Monde, October 4)

"Last week, I slipped through a side door into the Santiago city morgue, flashing my junta press pass with all the impatient authority of a high official. One hundred and fifty dead bodies were laid out on the ground floor, awaiting identification by family members. Upstairs, I passed through a swing door and in a dimly lit corridor lay at least 50 bodies, squeezed one against another, their heads propped up against the wall. They were all naked.

"Most had been shot at close range under the chin. Some had been machinegunned in the body. Their chests had been split open and sewn together in what presumably had been a pro forma autopsy. They were all young and, judging from the roughness of their hands all from the working class. A couple of them were girls, distinguished among the massed bodies only by the curves of their breasts." (John Barnes in the October 8 Newsweek).

The daughter of a morgue staff member told Barnes that in the fourteen days following the coup, this one institution had "received and processed" 2796 corpses. The Newsweek correspondent

"No one knows how many have been disposed of elsewhere; a gravedigger told me of reports that helicopters have been gathering bodies at the emergency firstaid centre in central Santiago, then carrying them out to sea to be dumped."

The organisation of the military takeover impressed some journalists: "The coup d'etat, staged with textbook precision, had been plotted for almost 11 months, " Jonathan Kandell wrote in the September 30 New York Times, President's experiment in constitutional Marxism had 'succeeded in destroying the economic power of the middle class, which is the basis of our national institutions, ' as one officer deeply involved in the planning put it last

If their military operations had been staged with textbook precision, the generals were much less precise in keeping their stories straight.

"Admiral Toribio Merino himself admitted in an interview with the Dutch



TV station Vara," the October 1 Der Spiegel reported, "that 3500 civilians were killed." Officially, the junta claimed that only 95 had died in their "textbook" operation, "The lie is so cynical," the Dagens Nyheter correspondent Bobi Sourander wrote, "that it makes you boggle."

Almost three weeks after the military coup, the full extent of the repression was still far from clear. But enough information had leaked out to send shock waves through the world press. Sourander compared Chile to a country under Nazi occupation.

"Myth after myth about the heroic resistance that is supposed to have taken place in the first days is dying out," the Swedish correspondent wrote in the September 30 issue of the prestigious stockholm daily. "There were reports of full-scale battles between military units in Santiago. Nothing like that happened. A few hundred snipers resisted for a few days in the cities, That was all

"When the military effectively cleared out the factories by shelling them with heavy weapons and sending helicopters over them, the resistance was sporadic and badly organised.

"It led to brutal retaliatory strikes that were rumored to be on the scale of extermination operations. And in this flood of rumors, it suddenly became uninteresting - after some sources had said that all the workers had been shot by the military - that hundreds of workers in one factory, Qumar Nylon, were arrested and collectively tortured.

"The myths are dying just when Chile's military junta needs them. Its soldiers and officers ran amok for five days in pogroms the like of which has seldom been seen since the heyday of the Nazis."

Whether the military intends to exterminate whole sections of the population will probably not be determined for some some time. The population has been atomised by repression and censorship. In particular, the teeming shantytowns on the outskirts of the cities - where, the most dangerous and economically expendable elements are concentrated - are isolated from each other and from the rest of the country. In these conditions, the intimidating effect of the junta's savage terror is maximised.

"At the same time all sorts of myths are still believed in Chile, where there is no reliable information about what happened and what is happening," continued Sourander's Dagen Nyheter report. "In Chile, people are still talking about tens of thousands dead. but no one can confirm or refute these rumors. And they need only be interlaced with a few horrifying facts to create a paralysing terror.

Dead bodies are being found in. working-class areas. A refuse truck carrying a corpse drives by. Fresh bodies are found in large numbers. Fear spreads and generates treachery and cowardice.

Everyone knows that the terror is coninuing, but no one knows what its dimensions are.

Already the political persecutions have gone down to the lowest levels. Leftists who cut their hair, took off their ties, and went meekly to work two weeks ago are beginning to disappear. Workers who led union actions in the factory and tended their machines with their heads down for a week after the coup are beginning to be arrested. In the slums, a van comes with soldiers. A few names are called and a few men taken away."

The military continues to cordon off sections of the city of Santiago to conduct "searches" in the sealed-off sections. The October 1 Der Spiegel described the results:

"At night when the curfew has emptied the streets, mop-up squads move in. In the morning, passersby find huge pools of blood on the sidewalks, or corpses covered with newspapers, as for example, on the business street of Huerfanos. Slum dwellers fished fortyfive bodies out of the Rio Mapocho not far from the Paduel airport, and in the centre of Santiago itself several bodies

piled up against a bridge over the Mapocho,"

Despite the demagogic promises it continues to make to the workers, the junta has obviously opted for naked terror to "restore discipline" among the work force. On September 25, the CUT (Central Unica de Trabajadores - United Federation of Workers) was outlawed.

costs of brutal, irrational, and military rule. But some voices imperialist centre that armed the local repressive machine quickly to express fears that t kill in Chile might hopelessly the political bases of bourgeois over the society.

In their determination to impose



Bookburning in Santiago

One of its leaders, former Minister of Labor Jorge Godoy, has been so badly tortured, according to Sourander's September 30 article, that "he has tried to kill himself," The junta also announced September 28 that it had captured Luis Corvalan, the general secretary of the Communist Party, and intended to try him for treason, a capital offence. At the same time, the junta continues to make public accounts of executions of left-wing figures after rapid military trials.

In the October 7 New York Times, Jonathan Kandell reported: "Under the first few weeks of the military Government, a rigid labor discipline has been suspended. Workers - motivated mostly by fear of losing their jobs have apparently cut absenteeism sharply. And working hours have been increased by resurrecting a half day of work on Saturdays.

"A tour of a dozen factories in recent days appeared to bear out management claims that employees were hard at work, although their enthusiasm may have been partly explained by the suspension of dozens of workers alleged to be leftist extremists."

In the same issue of the Times, Marvine Howe said that the junta's economic policy "has not been spelled out in detail," but that it had "made strong appeals for foreign capital, particularly American capital," and that "initial measures indicate a squeeze on the workers and encouragement to producers."

"The military regime is seeking its advisers in the most reactionary circles," the October 1 Der Spiegel reported, "above all in the Nationalist party." Expropriated landowners have been called into the Ministry of Agriculture; the chairman of the manufacturers association, Sofofa, has been called in as an economic adviser in the Foreign Ministry."

Once the Chilean bourgeoisie decided to unleash the generals, it had to accept the consequences at least for the time being, These included handing over economic management to the most retrograde elements and accepting the unforeseeable

the military risked destroying all the links between the bourgeois political system and the workers, thus making it impossible for the capitalists to regain any measure of co-operation from the working class.

The experienced imperialist leaders understand that mere terror cannot long maintain production in a country like Chile, even when there is a high unemployment rate. Furthermore, pure military rule has generally proven quite unstable in countries as developed as Chile, Given limited opportunities for looting and extortion, the ground-level command structure quickly becomes utterly corrupt. And as the top command becomes involved in directly running the economic life of the country, the contradictions in the bourgeoisie tend to become reflected in its own ranks in an acute way. Every conflict of econon interests threatens to turn into a civil war. With the military facing the bitte hatred of the decisive masses of the country, the inevitable faltering of the regime could produce a violent explosi

"No soldier or Carabinero can venture into certain poor areas on the outskirt of Santiago except in vast army operations," Le Monde reported on October 4. "Many have already been killed."

In the absence of organised resistance the masses, it was difficult for the rai of the armed forces to break free in discipline imposed by their officers. there is evidence that the unspeakable cruelty and bloodthirstiness of the chie has driven an unbridgeable gap between them and the mass of men in uniform.

"Witnesses claim that soldiers shot their officers when they ordered them to execute prisoners," the October 1 Der Spiegel reported.

"Another soldier paid with his life for refusing to carry out such an order. was shot as he threw away his helmet and rifle in protest. The reason was that one of his comrades guarding a of people standing at a bread outlet Santiago's Mapocho district shot a chi who was crying.'

PICKET LINE



ACTU Youth Week

MAURIE COOPER

october 14-20 was Trade Union Youth Week, Organised through the State branches of the ACTU and the Labor Councils, Youth Week occurs with the egularity and political significance of the tion Tribunal. They suggested that Varatah Festival. 1973 was no exception. Labor wanted to tackle inflation head ntended as something of a public elations exercise both inside and outside e labor movement, its activities this ear included visits by trade-union fficials to high schools to talk about rade unionism and performances by professional artists at factories and other work sites.

The visits to high schools - organised with the assistance of the NSW Teachers! ederation - are an activity which ould be used more effectively in the ature. Invariably the first contact a oung worker has with the union moveent is in the form of a union official anting to deduct a lump from her or is first pay. It is important that when the first on-the-job contact with the union comes about the worker should be prepared and eager to financially support the appropriate union. Moreover, such risits by unionists could go some way owards counteracting the anti-workingclass attitudes of official bourgeois conomics and history as taught in high

The official attitude towards Trade Union

Youth Week is nowhere more obvious han at the conference of young workers. feld on Wednesday, October 17 at the Trades Hall, the conference was attended by about 60 young workers. Under Labor Council regulations, unions affiliated to the ACTU are entitled to send two voting delegates and an unlimited number of observers. The significance with which the union officials view Youth Week was clear - of the 90 or so unions affiliated, only 10 or 11 sent credentialled delegates. Even with such small representation, the union officials showed very clearly the unwillingness to let anyone rock the boat by bringing up npopular issues such as the right of pprentices to vote. For example, about 15 members of the Electrical Trades Union were present. Spokespersons for the group claimed that as apprentices at the Chullora Workshops they were invited by the ETU to elect their own rank-and-file delegates. They lid this, only to arrive at the conference and find that their elected delegates were not the delegates the ETU had credentialled. So while the rank-and-file delegates sat in the hall without a vote me of their "official" delegates, an rganiser with the ETU, voted against he extension of the rights of adult vorkers - right to strike, right to attend mion meetings, adult pay at 18, etc apprentices. The "delegate" then eft the hall, never to be seen again. The other "officially" credentialled lelegate did not bother to show up at all.

The conference was unanimous in its rejection of any form of wages control. All delegates made it quite clear that they would not sit by and allow any government to control their wages. The prices referendum, however, did cause ome debate. Speakers who argued for No-No vote - the ETU rank and file and a delegate from a white-collar nion - pointed out that the European ind US experiences with price control ere ineffectual, that there was no warantee that wages, as the price of bor, could not also be controlled if the eferendum was passed and that because Whitlam had indicated his support for Nixon's "wage-price freeze", when the price central side of it was obviously failing, he would use the opportunity to

Delegates arguing for a Yes vote on

invoke a real wage freeze.

experience of the failure of price control Later in the day the authority backed in Europe and the USA and expressed an a statement by Silverton Ltd, the comunwarranted faith in the High Court by suggesting that, with its abysmal record in working class struggles, it would not dare rule that price control should control the price of labor. They also expressed an unsupportable faith in the Labor Government's previous industrial measures - their failure to tackle the doctors, refusal to abolish the penal clauses, support for percentage wage increases and a farcical Prices Justificaon and that this couldn't be done by supporting a reactionary constitution at the expense of a more centralised and powerful government.

The conference finished with a lecture from Bob Hawke on the difference between "democratic socialists" and "Marxists". Despite its obvious shallowness, Trade Union Youth Week does have

price control totally disregarded the past residents of the Rocks area that evening. pany contracting for the scab site, that construction would go ahead. A mass meeting of the union in the Rocks area on Monday morning was told Silverton had backed down from its declared position of continued use of scab labor.

Joe Owens, newly elected secretary of the possible. Added to this is the profit-NSW branch of the BLF, made the point that the whole episode had been staged by Askin and his lap dogs in the Sydney Redevelopment Authority as a test of the new leadership's mettle and as an attempt to provoke a violent reaction from the BLF. Askin is running his election campaign on the platform of getting a mandate to do something about militant unionists. The meeting resolved to hold a demonstration the next day outside Temple Court where judge Aird of the Commonwealth Industrial Commission had called a compulsory conference to discuss industrial

the site arresting over 50 of those present. Included among these were Joe Owens and Jack Mundey.

UE DETAND

Green Bans at present halt construction to the value of \$3000 million in Sydney. For this reason alone the Master Builders want to dissolve the BLF through deregistration and destroy the rank and file militancy that makes Green Bans diminishing effects of the BLF's tenacious struggle for permanency, better wages and conditions.

The Government, noting the swing against Labor, has opted for an early election. For this purpose Askin is trying to bring in a new law and order campaign with the BLF cast in the role of chief whipping boy. The hopes the Liberals and their co-thinkers are pinning on this worn electoral tactic can be guaged from The Sydney Morning Herald editorial on October 24 which, discussing the elections in the light of the BLF's Green Bans, had the following to say, "conservationists running in blinkers and local residents...have helped spawn a monster which claims for itself a place above the law. The stage has been reached where any project must have the imprimateur of a mob of industrial anarchists."

One hopes the BLF can withstand the attacks of such profit-hungry, votehungry circles, despite the lack of support from the rest of the labor movement, union and parliamentary, and despite the perfidious role played by the Federal leadership of the union.

Vic. Govt Workers' Leave Threatened

BY DOUG JORDAN

Over the last few months Victorian State Government workers have been awarded an extra week of annual leave. This was a flow-on from the increase in innual holidays awarded by the Federal Labor Government to its employees. This now means that the majority of State workers receive four weeks annual holi-Jack Mundey being arrested days while those on shift-work receive five weeks. unrest in the building industry. The mass

The Hamer Liberal Government has secretary, Norm Gallagher's statement in decided to mount an attack on this the bourgeois press the preceding Saturday increase in holidays. It has done so by threatening to take away the three days half-staff leave. Half-staff leave is the name used to describe the threethe State Opposition to solicit his support days extra holiday granted to State employees over the Christmas or New Year periods. This is a time when the work-load is low and there is not such a demand for high staff attendance. It is a system that has been in existence for a long time and represents one of the gains made by State Government workers. Traditionally, it was only awarded to white-collar workers, but last year it was awarded to blue-collar workers.

ment represent a clear-cut attack on the conditions of all State Government leadership by attacking it from above in workers. If it is forced through or the union, while the bosses and the Gov- allowed to pass unchallenged it will mean in effect that only an extra twodays annual holiday would have been gained. It will give the Liberal Governwas "no longer necessary."

In the next few weeks there is to be a meeting of the unions whose members It is vital that they set up a representatcase where a real unity can be built between the white and blue collar section of the work-force. This committee must builders' laborers again occupied the site build meetings, strikes, and any other appropriate actions that will turn back the moves of the Governmen

very great potential in organising and orientating working-class youth, but this will only come about when the bureaucratic mishandling and patronising attitudes of Bob Hawke and Co are overcome.

The NSW Builders Labourers Federation has come under concerted attack from the State Government, the Master Builders' Association, and the Federal leadership of the Builders Labourers' Federation itself,

This campaign has been in the limelight

since Thursday October 8 when judge Aird summonsed the union to appear before the Commonwealth Industrial Commission to show cause why the union should not be deregistered for its policy of imposing Green Bans and for its continual breaking of restrictive clauses in its award. On the same day, Bob Pringle, NSW branch president of the BLF and two other builders' laborers were arrested for remaining on a building site in the Rocks area "without reasonable cause." The Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority was at the time using scab labor to beat a Green Ban on the

City builders' laborers replied next day by deciding to go on strike until the scab labor was withdrawn. A successful orderly occupation by 500 stopped work on the scab site. The occupation sent a delegation to the Sydney Cove Redevelop- Resident action group activists and ment Authority. This delegation was assured work would stop on the site pending the outcome of a meeting of the

for the union in its present dispute. The delegation was unsuccessful. The Federal leadership of the union is lining up with Premier Askin in his present attack on the NSW branch of the union. In the recent election for offices in the NSW branch the ticket supporting Gallagher's line was easily defeated by the Pringle-Owens-Mundey leadership which has gained solid support for its militant and capable industrial and social The moves made by the Hamer Governpolicies. Gallagher is attempting to isolate the NSW rank and file from its

meeting also condemned union Federal

calling some Green Bans "unjustified and

stupid," The meeting then authorised

a delegation to see Pat Hills, leader of

ploy hasn't had much success as yet. Before the compulsory conference began, ment further confidence to whittle away 300 builders' laborers and resident action the conditions of State workers. The groups' activists gathered outside Temple only reason advanced by the Government Court. The only NSW unionist eligible was that since an extra week annual to attend the conference, called between leave had been granted half-staff leave the Federal management committee of the union and representatives of the NSW Master Builders' Association, was Jack Mundey, present treasurer of the NSW branch. He walked out of the conference are affected by the Government's moves, when his request for the meeting to be opened to builders' laborers and residents ive committee composed of members of who would be affected by the decision of all unions involved. This is a clear-cut the meeting was refused.

ernment attack it from without. The

being "developed" by Silverton Ltd on Wednesday October 24. Police stormed

70,000 March in Support of Lip Workers

BY JON ROTHSCHILD

Despite freezing rain, interference from the Socialist Party mayor of the town, and divisive provocations by the reformist leaders of the major trade union federations, more than 70,000 people turned out on September 29 for the national "march on Besancon" in solidarity with the workers of the Lip watch-factory, who are now in the sixth month of their struggle to preserve their

The size of the march - and its enthusiasm, political level, and degree of organisation - represented not only a victory for the workers but also a defeat for the union bureaucrats, who had done all they could to minimise the importance of the march.

June, after discovering that the giant Swiss trust Ebauches SA, which had just bought the company from its former owners, planned a massive dismantling of the plant that would have involved laying off a large part of the work force. For two months the workers continued production, sold the watches they made, and paid themselves - in open violation of capitalist law and order.

On August 14, the Government reoccupied the factory by means of a pre-dawn police attack. But the workers fought on, organising solidarity actions throughout France, and continuing production of watches in the "new factory" established in the gymnasium of the local Jean-Zay school. The workers held firm to their two central demands; no layoffs; no dismantlement.

The September 29 march was called by the Lip workers themselves. They intended it as a national mobilisation of the whole working class, as both a material aid to the Lip struggle and an occasion for the workers to discuss their experiences in struggle and draw some conclusions.

In the ninth issue of Lip-Unite, the strike bulletin published by the workers, the tone of the September 29 action was set unambiguously:

"We are proposing that the workers of all factories, public and private, that are faced with problems similar to ours set up stands in the assembly area in Besancon.

"Other stands can be set up dealing with the indirect consequences of the industrial policy against which the march on Besancon has been organised and on the struggles that are going on in those

"The many stands set up will also allow for a better understanding of the various aspects of our struggle.

"Furthermore, meetings and discussions will be organised in various places on different questions. There will be entertainment, film showings, record playing, and singing."

The Lip workers' plans for the march were opposed from two sides. Right wingers in Besancon threatened to organise a counter-demonstration, Posters began appearing around town calling on the population to beware of "invasion by leftist hordes". They were signed: "the silent majority". That source of opposition proved to be insignificant. There was no counterdemonstration and there was no sign that the people of Besancon had anything but support for the Lip workers and the

The second source of opposition, however, was more covert and threatened to have greater effect.

The leaders of the CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail - General Confèderation of Labor, the Communist Partydominated union federation) claimed that "some political groups are seeking to distort the significance (of the march) and to disturb its unfolding in the interest of partisan political aims contrary to the interests of the Lip workers." The CGT said it "denounces these diversionary manoeuvres, which can only play into the hands of the regime and the employers" and "asks all who are sincerely motivated by a spirit of solidarity with the Lip workers to be vigilant and to hold to the decisions and the slogans of the union organisations responsible for the march and to respect The Lip workers occupied the factory last the trade-union character of the September 29 gathering."

The bureaucrats of the CFDT (Confeder- the CP and SP leaders was that the ation Française Democratique du Travail - French Democratic Confederation of Labor) specifically referred to "far-left

groups and organisations", which it claimed were trying to make the march "a people's festival or an 'independent' centre of co-ordination of struggles and of action committees or even an opportunity for a political confrontation with the regime, some (groups) even envisaging 'retaking' the factory."

The bureaucrats' aim was obvious. Over a period of weeks, it was the far-left organisations, and especially the ex-Ligue question, Rouge said, of trying to reus Communiste and Revolution, that had been building the September 29 march by setting up committees all over the country. The CP leaders continually insisted that the march was a "regional" action and made little effort to mobilise workers outside the Besancon area itself. In fact, the constant theme sounded by

March in support of Lip workers at Besancon

was in danger of being turned into adventurist attempt to recapture it factory, which apart from being outright lie was not exactly design assure maximum participation.

Rouge (formerly the weekly paper Ligue Communiste) and Revolution statements against the bureaucrais attempts to scare people away from a march. Rouge declared that "by take action in all the cities of France, we only responding to the appeal of the liworkers themselves." There was no the factory; the march "has no other goal than those defined by the Lip workers' general assembly. Rouge concluded by pointing out that the min bureaucracy was spending more energy in attacking the far left than it was in mobilising workers to join the march.

The Lip workers were not impressed by the bureaucrats' scare tactics. The day before the march, Le Monde reported that a general assembly of the Lip workers had made public the officially sanctioned composition of the march.

"Behind the union leadership, Lip personnel and the delegations from strators will march by region and department. But three political formations have been authorised to form continger and will be interlaced with the departs mente delegations. They are the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifie - United Socia ist Party), Rouge, and the Organisation Communiste Revolution

This is the first time in a demonstrat supported by the CGT that revolution groups have been officially admitted, Nevertheless, the CGT at no time has met with representatives of these group the CFDT served as an intermediary.

Even though the bureaucrats had to yit inder pressure from the Lip workers, to still tried to throw their weight around bit on the eve of the march. By the night of September 28, according to 1 Monde, some ten to fifteen thousand persons had already arrived in Besance

At Chateaufarine, on the outskirts of town, the various groups and delegal were setting up their stands, holding cussions, singing, and so on. The con were maintaining a discrete absence from the area.

Le Monde's reporter noted that despite the "diligent" mediation efforts of the CFDT, it was not known on September whether the CGT would agree to man along with the "revolutionary militan on the next day.

The Rouge contingent numbered these ands; the other far-left groups also the out in force. The action was still u the control of the CGT and CFDT le But the fact that they were comp allow the participation of the far left an action that basically involved a workers' struggle was another sign of changing political climate in France

The first to benefit from that change were the Lip workers, October 1, Ja two days after the march, had been Pompidou's deadline for having the lactory operating again, under bosses control and with a reduced work ferce He didn't make it.

Whether the workers will be able to their ground against the regime an treachery of the bureaucracy may depend on their ability to continue t organise national and international solidarity on the September 29 patter

Argentina: Peronism in Crisis

an Domingo Peron was elected to his cond term as President of Argentina September 23 this year. Coming only few months after the election of Peron's Partido Justicialista (Social Justice Party) o the government in March, the resignaion of the then-President Hector Campora o make way for theageing Peron himself an indication of the severe crisis facing the capitalists and military leaders of Argentina. (For full details of the events between March and September see previous issues of DIRECT ACTION).

The killing of trade-union leader Jose Rucci by unknown assailants a few days after the elections exemplified much more sharply the precarious position in which the ruling Peronist clique finds

The election of Peron to replace former President Campora and the killing of Rucci are closely interwoven in the context of Argentine politics today. Campora's decision to retire came as a result of his inability to successfully carry out the mandate given to the Social Justice Party in March by its ackers among the Argentine capitalists and landowners. Campora had failed miserably in his job of keeping the militant anti-imperialist and antiureaucratic workers' movement in heck. The massive mobilisations of the avs of the military junta prior to the larch elections continued, as did the oposition to the strongly encrusted Peronist bureaucracies in the trade unions,

Rucci, the leader of the Confederacion General del Trabajo (CGT - General Confederation of Labor) and one of the more right-wing members of the Social lustice Party had been the subject of unrelenting attacks from all quarters in the workers' movement, especially from the extremely militant workers in the giant Fiat factories in the city of Cordoba.

He had rightly been labelled a traitor factories that are on strike, the demos- to the interests of the workers he was supposed to be representing and many workers were beginning to see the connection between the politics of Rucci and his cohorts and the politics of the Social Justice movement as a

> It was the continued atmosphere of antibureaucratic militancy among the workers that convinced the Peronist eaders of the necessity of retreating to their last line of defence - Peron himself - as a last-ditch effort to head off and divert the workers' anger. As such it is doomed a failure, Peron's popularity with the Argentine population will not last long when it becomes apparent that he is in no way a captive of rightwing forces in the Party as some left-Peronists maintain, but in reality just one more weapon in the arsenal of local and foreign capitalist interests in crisis.

One very important factor in both the March and September elections indicates that this latest tactic of reaction in Argentina will be a failure. Prior to the March elections, revolutionary socialists in the Partido Socialista de los Traba-Jadores (PST - Socialist Workers Party) realised the necessity for a genuine class alternative to the Social Justice leaders.

The PST set about organising what was known as the Workers' Front which was made up of democratically elected working-class candidates. Given the overwhelming support of the majority of the workers for Peron and his party, the Workers' Front could not hope to come anywhere near an electoral victory

Nevertheless, they were able to take their case to the workers in a way that would not otherwise have been possible, The 70,000 votes the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the front received represented a very important alternative could be built. The fact that the front did not cease to exist after the elections but continued to propaganlise for the policies on which it has ontested the elections meant that it was ble to enter the September elections a a much stronger position.

uan Carlos Coral and Francisco Jose Pacz were elected by the front as the presidential and vice-presidential



candidates respectively. Together they

received 190,000 votes, more than twice

as many as the front's candidates in

March received. In some parts of the

country they more than trebled their

March returns, polling up to 3.04 per

cent of the total votes. Such a figure

is quite considerable given the almost

total lack of resources of the front, the

workers, although disillusioned with the

Social Justice movement since March

refusal of the media to publicise the

campaign and the fact that many

were still not prepared to give their vote to a tiny organisation with no hope of winning the elections. Winning the elections, however, was

not in any way the prime concern of the militants involved in the Workers Front and the PST. Their policy in March and in September was to present the workers with a viable alternative programme to the one presented by Peron and supported by the bosses, the military and the imperialists. Having done this they

intend to follow up their electoral intervention with continued activity inside the workers' movement presenting the same consistent class alternative to bureaucrats like Rucci and Co in the

WHAT FUTURE IS THERE FOR

As was pointed out at the beginning of this article, capitalism in Argentina has gone from crisis to crisis since the elections in March. Campora showed that any attempt on his part to apply the brakes to the militancy of the workers only resulted in more determined efforts by the workers to smash the bureaucratic stranglehold of the CGT leadership over the rank and file and pushed many workers right out of the Peronist camp.

Two alternatives were then open to the Peronists to rectify the situation: either they could have back-pedalled and given in to some of the workers' demands or they could have capitulated to the pressure of the extreme right-wing "gorillas" in the armed forces and returned the country to a state of direct military rule. Neither of these alternatives was acceptable to the Peronist leaders or their backers, Instead they chose what will prove to be no alternative at all - substitution of Campora by Peron himself.

There is no reason to believe that those forces which brought about Campora's resignation will not also be at work with Peron holding the reins. Indications of the workers' unwillingness to be duped by the invocation of the "good old days" of the 1940s when Peron was able to satisfy many of the most pressing demands of the workers are the continued mobilisations, especially in Cordoba, against the trade-union bureaucracy, which indicate an unwillingness on the part of the workers to sitting back and waiting for Peron to solve all their problems.

Once the workers see that Peron will be no different from Campora, they will not hesitate to show it. The programme of the PST and the Workers' Front and their policy of consistent defence of the workers' rights and interests will then demonstrate its true importance. Rucci is dead -- Peron and everything he stands for is dying. The only way forward the Argentine workers is to cut off these gangrenous appendages before it is too

Afrique Asie, Paris, Aboral, Santo Domingo; Andishe va Honar, Teheran; Avanzada Socialista, Buenos Aires, Bandera Roja, Mexico City; Bandiera Rossa, Rome, Bohonia, Havana; La Brache, Lausanne; Brische, Zurich; Dirat Action, Sydney; Ettalaat, Teheran; La Gauche, Brussels; Hsimbua, Hong Kong; Inprokorr, Stuttgart; Izvetia, Moscow; Klassekamper, Aarhus, Denmark; Klassenkampf, Luxembourg; Labor Challenge, Toronto; La Rai, Calcutta; Liberation, Montreal; Marcha, Montevideo; The Militant, New York; Le Monde, Paris; Mullvaden, Stockholm; La Nacion, Buenos Aires; The New York Times; La Opinion, Buenos Aires; Peking Review, Pravda, Moscow; Quatrieme Internationale, Paris; Red Weekly, London, Revista de America, Buenos Aires; Rood, Ghent; Rouge, Paris; Revolucion Penana, Lima; Sakai Kukumei, Tokyo; Socialist Action, Wellington; Voz Socialista, Caracas; Vrij Naterland Amsterdam; Was Tun, Frankfurt.

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Immigrant Workers Fight Racism



BY PETER NAGAR

On September 14, Algerians, Moroccans, and Tunisians conducted a general strike in Paris - their first ever. Thousands of immigrants in various branches of industry (and some French workers too) responded to a call by the Mouvement des Travailleurs Arabes (MTA - Movement of Arab Workers) and walked off the job to protest the current wave of racism in France. The Paris strike came less than two weeks after similar actions in the Bouches-du-Rhone region in the south.

In an editorial published in August, Le Meridional, mass-circulation daily in Marseilles, the second largest city in France, said:

"We have had enough of Algerian thieves, Algerian thugs, Algerian braggarts, Algerian troublemakers, Algerian syphilitics, Algerian pimps, Algerian lunatics and Algerian killers."

Around the same time, racist slogans began appearing on the walls of the city. But the pogrom atmosphere was more than just a mood, Between August 25 and September 19 at least eleven Algerians were murdered; Arab cafes were attacked; dozens of Arabs were assaulted. At the same time, the Pompidou regime stepped up official harassment of the immigrant workers by means of identity checks, expulsions, etc.

The France-based organisation (semiofficially tied to the Boumedienne regime in Algiers) that is supposed to look after the rights of Algerian workers in France is an outfit called Amicale des Algeriens (Brotherhood of Algerians). In the face of the racist attacks hitting the immigrant workers, the Amicale has intransigently maintained Boumedienne's line of "moderation" and "dignity". So the Algerians (and the Moroccans and Tunisians) have turned to the MTA for support.

Earlier this year, on June 9, the fascist Ordre Nouveau (New Order) movement announced a campaign to "reject wildcat immigration". Given the general leftward movement of the French politics, the growth of the far left, and the weakness of the far right, the immigrant issue seemed the only one that offered real potential for intervening and trying to turn the political situation around. The projected campaign fitted in well with the usual tactics of the bourgeoisie, which still finds racism one of its most powerful weapons in opposing workers upsurges.

Ordre Nouveau's campaign bore fruit on June 12. On that day, in Grasse, about fifty immigrant workers demonstrating for better living conditions were arrested after being attacked by cops and a racist mob.

The next major step in Ordre Nouveau's campaign was to have been a mass meeting in the Mutualite in Paris on June 21. But the meeting was confronted by a large anti-fascist demonstration organised by nine far-left organisations, principally by the Ligue Communiste, then the French section of the Fourth International. The anti-fascist demonstrators were attacked by police defending the Ordre Nouveau meeting. Violent clashes followed, and the Pompidou Government used the occasion to ban the Ligue, adding in an attempt to appear impartial that Ordre Nouveau would be

Ligue against government repression helped to mobilise public opinion against the anti-immigration campaign and managed temporarily to thwart Ordre Nouveau's plans.

The Pompidou regime, which supplemented the racist campaign through its legal proceedings against immigrants, wrongly assumed that the moderation of the Amicale would once again serve to prevent the immigrants from acting in their own defence. On September 3, North Africans throughout the Bouchesdu-Rhone area went on strike in response to a call by the MTA. The Amicale would not sign the strike appeal.

Estimates of the number of striking workers varied between 20,000 and 30,000. The Paris daily Le Monde reported on September 4 that the strike was 100 per cent effective in Fos and in

The breadth of the strike surprised the Amicale, in that it was scarcely organised at all. But the MTA began to realise the need for organisation, being itself somewhat taken by surprise by the massive response of the immigrants to its strike call. Meetings were held to discuss further action.

They decided to call for a strike in the Paris area on September 14. Strike committees were set up to organise the action and to "make contact with French

Immigrant workers rally September 14 in Paris during strike against racist workers organisations."

The Paris strike, while not quite as solid as the ones in the south, was big enough to affect production in the Citroen and Renault auto plants and to stop most construction sites in Montparnasse, And the MTA is continuing its organising drive. A main focus of its activity at

this point is trying to prevent the Co ment from expelling immigrant from the country. Already two sions have been prevented by det action. But more MTA leaders as facing expulsion and some employe have taken reprisals against those w took part in the strike. Some were shifted onto harder jobs and some wessacked.



Algerian workers live in slums like there

Thai Regime Toppled

In a militant mass upsurge, extending over a week of demonstrations and street battles, the workers and students of Bangkok have toppled the military Government of Thanom Kittikachorn, Estimates of the number killed in the fighting range as high as 400. There now seems little that the Thai military can do to prevent the constitutional rule, suspended by Thanom after a coup in 1971, from being restored.

The uprising was sparked by student demands that 13 of their arrested leaders be released from gaol. The 13 had been arrested during the past few weeks for taking part in the massive student and worker demonstrations against the military dictatorship.

The first great mobilisation occurred in June of this year when students initiated

a campaign to rid the country of American domination and restore democratic rights to the population. A demonstration of 25,000 students, with general support from the workers, forced the Government to reinstate nine students expelled from the universities. From then on, continuous pressure was exerted for ending the presence in Thailand of 38,000 US military personnel and of air bases which dominate all of Indo-China.

The demonstrating students quickly took up the popular demand for an end to the rampant inflation and flagrant government corruption. Persistent shortages of food, particularly rice, gave a major impetus to the anti-Government campaign.

Unlike previous demonstrations in Bangkok and elsewhere in the country, the workers and students were not deterred by the army's use of tanks and machine

Meeting of students in Bangkok

guns. The demonstrators' morale wa undoubtedly boosted considerably w several navy units refused to shoot a them and some even came over to b other side.

When the street battles finally ended number of progressive changes had b ment of Sanya Thammasak had proconstitutional rule within 12 months Extreme pressure was also being put the US to withdraw its forces.

At present the aims of the students a workers are limited to re-establishing a democratic regime. Many of the students carried portraits of reformminded King Bhumibel. The deman for breaking all ties with US imperaism, however, is bound to run up ag-

No merely liberal-minded regime i colonial world is capable of taking

One factor of the situation is encou

The Fall of Spiro Agnew

The resignation of Vice President Spiro This endeavor will only be successful in Agnew and Nixon's sacking of his Waterthe short run. Because of his admission ate prosecutor Archibald Cox came at of guilt, Agnew is now immune from time when the bourgeois media was further prosecution on the charges of amplacently predicting the denouement extortion and kick-backs. The only information which has become widely hich have rocked the Nixon Administraavailable concerns Agnew's tax evasion, ion demonstrate again that the Water-But this suppression will only be temate scandal cannot be wished away. porary. Agnew could be subpoensed as a witness in the trials of others involved in the case.

the scandal. These latest crises

it a court hearing on October 10

onvened to decide if Agnew should be

ment to the effect that he would not

and placed on three years probation,

The other charges against him were

ontest the charge of tax evasion, and

hat he was resigning as Vice President,

Ignew was fined \$US 10,000 (\$A 6500)

Agnew stated that his action was motiv-

ated by "a firm belief that the national

interest required swift disposition of the

Others were not quite so tactful. US

attorney Thompson, serving on the

ing many people's minds when he

investigation into Agnew's activities

bluntly stated that "The man (Agnew) is

a crook, no question about it." Thom-

pson probably repeated a thought cross-

declared that, "If the case had gone to

trial, a conviction would have resulted.

Both interpretations have merit, But

summed up the affair most succinctly in

his statement that a trial of Agnew would

These considerations pervade the thinking

from Nixon's dismissal of Cox only added

lays after he had declared, "I will not

resign if indicted." Rumors of a deal

made between Agnew and the Justice

were quickly substantiated by Agnew's

Department, conducting the investigation,

The crux of the deal between Agnew and

the Justice Department was that Agnew

was to plead guilty to the charge of tax

legally equivalent to pleading guilty) in

General Richardson personally intervened

evasion (Agnew's plea of no contest is

return for escaping prison. Attorney-

Indications are that Agnew did not

the morning of his resignation on

support this deal wholeheartedly. His

not reveal any of this evidence, the

to "plead guilty and keep silent."

point was nevertheless made, if Agnew

needed any more convincing of the need

WITH A LITTLE HELP FROM A FRIEND

Nor did pressure on Agnew to resign come

solely from the press. It was no secret

interest in Agnew's departure from the

political scene. It transpired that Nixon

was informed of Agnew's resignation the

press that Nixon had been "fully briefed"

Nixon wrote a letter to his former sub-

sense of personal regret" Nixon went on:

However, I respect your decision and I

also respect the concern for the national

interest that led you to conclude that a

extended legal battle in the courts and

Nixon clearly supported, if not engineered, Agnew's resignation. The

dea was to avoid the "protracted period

Congress, was advisable in order to avoid

resolution of the matter in this way

(resigning) rather than through an

a protracted period of division and

ordinate. After alleging "a great

night before. White House aides told the

on Agnew's resignation, and was already

that the White House had a vested

considering a successor.

uncertainty.

intransigence was evident right up until

former Attorney-General Richardson

have been "likely to inflict upon the

nation serious and permanent scars."

of all sectors of the ruling class as it

spite of this, it still remains deeply

divided. The furore which resulted

to this as we shall see later.

lawyer, Jay Topkiss.

to ensure this,

seeks a way out of Watergate. But in

led on charges of tax evasion, bribery

and extortion, Agnew made a brief state-

AREWELL SPIRO

dropped.

problems facing me."

At this point it would be worthwhile to consider the speculation that Nixon himself was behind the Agnew scandal in an attempt to divert attention from Watergate. While the evidence does much to substantiate this view, it must be realised that this was a major blunder on Nixon's part. The disclosures only weakened the position of the Nixon Administration, all the more so as Agnew had hitherto been considered as the "Mr Clean" of Nixon's Administration. With that image so effectively destroyed as a result of the disclosure the credibility of the whole apparatus of American capitalism suffered.

GETTING THE BUGS OUT OF WATERGATE

With the Agnew affair temporarily supressed, Nixon then moved against another major thorn in his side-the controversy over the Watergate tapes. He offered a compromise to Federal Judge John Sirica.

Under this compromise, the Senate Watergate committee agreed to forego its attempts to get access to Nixon's tapes. Nixon in turn agreed to supply Sirica with an edited version of the tapes but not the verbatim originals.

As the House of Representatives formally launched the first moves towards his impeachment Nixon moved again. Realising the enormity of the opposition to his Administration and the likelihood of his being put in contempt of court, he vielded. On October 23 he announced hat he was handing over the tapes to judge Sirica. Nixon's reversal of his earlier stand represented the complete failure of his "compromise".

Nixon ordered Watergate prosecutor Cox to stop his attempts to get the tapes. (Cox had subpoenaed them as soon as their existence had been revealed.) When Cox refused, Nixon sacked him on October 20.

Nixon ordered Attorney-General Richardson to implement this dismissal. Richardson refused, and resigned. Deputy Attorney-General William Ruckleshaus was dismissed when he also refused to sack Cox.

Immediately following Cox's dismissal Nixon blockaded his offices with FBI agents to prevent any files being taken out of the building.

DEMANDS FOR IMPEACHMENT

Nixon thus brought on the very confrontation he had been trying to avoid. A nationwide furore was touched off by the sackings, bourgeois politicians of all stripes were obliged to start calling for impeachment proceedings against Nixon.

Democratic Senator Muskie stated that "Only one forum is left that in my judgement is adequate - and that is the impeachment process."

"The time has come . . . to furthrightly declare our rejection and contempt for those who practice subversion, lawlessness and violence." April 24, 1970 The President of the AFL-CIO, George

A snap poll taken in the House of Representatives revealed that at least 24 congressmen were prepared to move or support impeachment proceedings against Nixon. (Under the American constitution, the House of Representatives decides by majority vote to impeach the President. If the vote is carried, the case is taken to the Senate which is converted into a court to try the President. A two-thirds majority is required to secure a conviction.)

Whether the supporters of impeachment, Muskie, Kennedy and Cowill carry out their threat to impeach Nixon is quite another matter. These gentlemen have been vociferous in their condemnation of Nixon, but conspicuous in their failure to take any action to discover the whole truth of Watergate. Like Nixon they are capitalist politicians seeking to uphold the status quo.

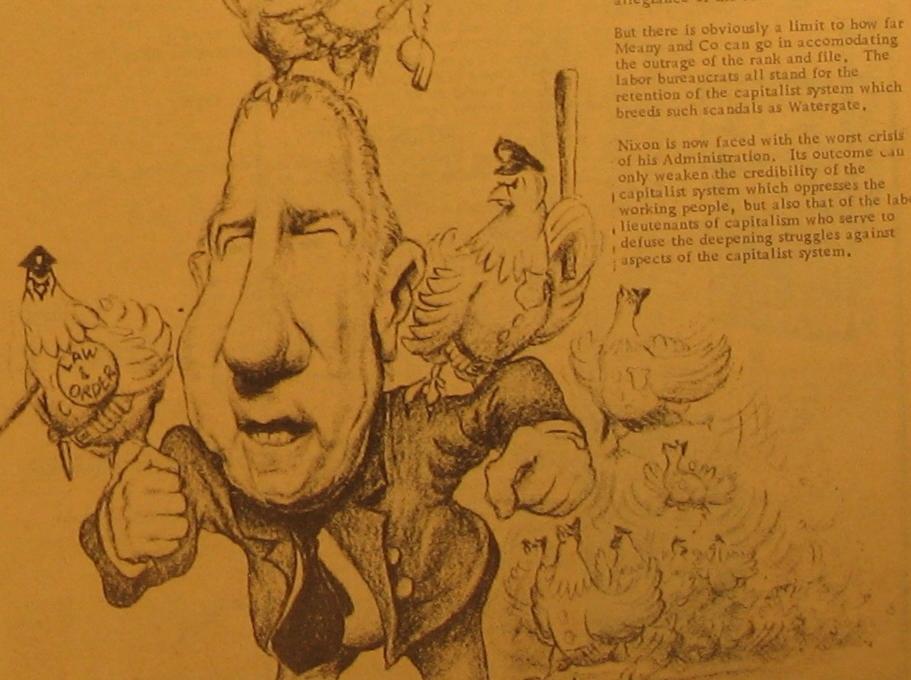
We must reiterate that an impeachment trial would do irreparable damage to the credibility of the capitalist class, Democrats and Republicans alike have a vested interest in avoiding it. Most calls for impeachment have been accompanied by suggestions that Nixon resign, which from the point of view of the ruling class would be preferable to impeachment.

The ruling class is deeply divided as a result of Watergate. The key to this disunity has been the massive upsurge of opposition to the Watergate disclosures which occupies the centre of American politics. Faced with this tremendous mass pressure, sections of the ruling class have been forced to adapt to it, in the hope of co-opting the struggles of the working people into "legal" channels.

Other organisations not previously noted for their opposition to the Nixon Administration have also been forced to take stand. The bureaucratic leadership fo of the American Federation of Labor -Congress of Industrial Organisation (AFL (AFL-CIO - the American equivalent to the ACTU), at a special session on October 22 unanimously passed a resolution demanding that Nixon resign

Meany, has in general supported Nixon, acting as a willing accomplice in his offensive against the working class through his "incomes policies". But the radicalisation of rank-and-file members of the American union movement as a result of Watergate, the effect of the mass anti-war, women's liberation and black movements on the unions and the deepening economic crisis in the United States have forced the labor leaders to change their position or lose the allegiance of the rank and file.

Nixon is now faced with the worst crisis of his Administration. Its outcome can only weaken the credibility of the capitalist system which oppresses the working people, but also that of the labor lieutenants of capitalism who serve to defuse the deepening struggles against



October 10. That morning, The New York Times ran a story which cited a secured. The 13 imprisoned studen Justice Department document which were released and the fragile Govern contained "incontrovertible evidence" against Agnew. While the Times did

difficulties on that score,

decisive steps necessary to break c pletely with US imperialism - this been proven time and time again, recently in Chile. The fact that T land is so strategically vital for US interests in Indo-China makes such solution all the more unlikely. For reason the student and workers' milia has the potential of developing into something far more radical.

beyond all others: even though the testers do not seem to have carried of agitational work within the army in . organised and conscious way, the military heads have been unwilling to risk using the army in an all-out ass on the workers. The most dangerou opponent of any revolutionary insu tion at this stage appears to be weal and divided.

of division and uncertainty" which would

The massive campaign to defend the

Labor Loses Another By-Election

BY ANDREW JAMIESON

Hopes within the ruling circles of the Liberal Party rose considerably for the promise of a "victory" at the Federal polls after the substantial defeat of the Labor Party at the Greensborough byelection in Victoria on October 13. Many leading figures, such as the former Minister for Labour and National Service, Phillip Lynch, have followed the footsteps of John Gorton in indicating their support for a snap poll within the next month. Lynch, speaking soon after the by-election, claimed the Liberals were in in a good enough shape to force elections, obviously expressing the opinions of a large section of the Liberal Party.

The election was held as a result of a ruling from the Court of Disputed Returns after discrepancies were found in 5 votes which could have allowed the former Member for Greensborough, Bob Fell the ALP candidate, to win his seat back from the Liberal's candidate, Monty

the Victorian State elections on May 19 this year.

The loss of the seat to the ruling Liberal Government in Victoria was the second major defeat for the Federal ALP leadership, within a month. The first, the Parramatta by-election, indicated very clearly the back-tracking role of Whitlam and his parliamentary cohorts. The swing of between 4-5 per cent to the Liberals reflected dissatisfaction with Labor's handling of inflationary attacks on living standards. It wasn't that the Liberals offered a better solution, far from it, the swing was away from the ALP leadership - not to the reactionary policies of the Liberals.

The debacle in Greensborough was a more thorough-going affair for Clyde Holding and his "Opposition" team. If the electorate in Parramatta thought Whitlam had given up the ghost of winning, then the Greensborough voters

mobilised by the ALP. Minimum effort only was put into public meetings and Holding didn't dare to even project himself as a "public statesman", the image that Whitlam managed to acquire. The Liberals had a field day, utilising for their own openly backward position the hostility shown by the working people against the pro-capitalist stance of Whitlam, particularly on the coming referendum on prices and incomes

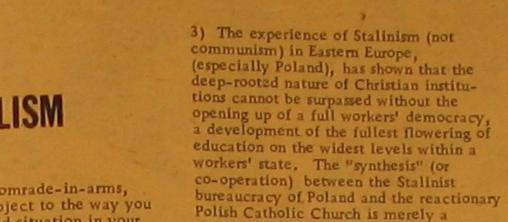
Reasons for Labor's defeat have yet to emerge from the Victorian ALP. The usual opportunist position of claiming that governments "never win byelections" will not be taken seriously, as the Liberals did have a convincing win. Some will claim, and not without reason, that the Victorian ALP is seriously in debt with relation to party funds; others will suggest Holding hasn't got the trendy, public image of Premier Dick Hamer. However, the real reason for the defeat and the 9 per cent

swing against Labor lies with cation of the ALP leadersh regard to the main problems by the working people of Australi

Inflation, the number-one p affecting the majority of Australian has shown in a sharp manner whereal interests of the ALP hierarchical interests. Instead of mobilising peop attacks on their living sta ALP brass have sought to in controls, shifting the blame onto the backs of the wage ; earner. As was shown in the elections ten months ago, the re looked to the ALP for solutions problems of rising unemployed inflation. However the radi of Whitlam and his group have to materialise, in fact he inter implement attacks on the work people in the form of wage con whether directly or indirectly the the fraud of controlling prices,

While election figures cannot be taken as expressing the direct feet of voters, discernable trends cnoted from the Greensborough election. Firstly, the influence Democratic Labor Party has again their declining position at the State for the first time in the area dropped below the Australia Party, There was a swing of 2.56 per cent against laby while the Liberals increased their work by 4.8 per cent. Interest in the elemremained very high with the number of informal votes dropped by almost 50 m cent. Clearly the election results coupled with the back-sliding stance of the ALP leadership indicate the deman for an alternative position to the inequities of capital. Openly react ary forces, such as the DLP, have declined in influence,

In order to properly evaluate the reason for defeat of Labor in Greensborough, is in order to see that the pro-capitalis reformist ideas of the ALP brass can never solve working peoples' problems.



Polish peasants cling to Catholicism as part of their resistance to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Christianity's social roots will be eliminated when that bureaucracy is overthrown,

reflection of the bankruptcy of Stalinism.

4) The State school system has become a major crisis point for capitalist society. It is true that the development of the educational bureaucracy in this country is appalling, but the real crisis of our State schools is the failure of established education to be able to deal with the new demands of youth. The "state bordering on collapse" is a result of the fact that schools, in a unique way, have become centres of the class struggle. Students hate their education system, and so do many of the teachers who are forced to

5) You cannot merely lump together "right" and "left" in the "educational establishment". Teachers are basically workers. Many of them are becoming radicalised and beginning to struggle against an education system which exploits them as well as oppressing students. Marxist, i.e. revolutionary socialist, ideas are achieving more and more influence among militant teachers in Australia, as overseas. The teacher unions have become centres of militant struggle. There is virtually no unionisation among teachers in Catholic schools, so they are cut off from taking part in these developments. Unionisation of teachers in Catholic schools would be a very important development, which woul would transform the situation in the Catholic system

6) The "solidarity and fellow-feeling" of Christian schools is a false one, based on an outmoded semi-feudal insularity. The "near collapse" of the State school system, (perhaps a little exaggerated), is a reflection of the real state of society and its ideological crisis. Certainly, we must make contact with "progressive elements" among Catholic teachers and parents but they must realise that religious indoctrination is incompatible with human freedom, When they themselves begin to fight against the archaic system of Catholic education as it is now constituted there will be real grounds for co-operation, While Catholic schools exist, socialists should support any movements which develop, particularly among the students themselves. For example, demands for the right of students to choose whether to receive religious instruction or not would be extremely progressive. The power of the Catholic Church over the lives of Catholic youth must be opposed in every possible way. This is just as important now as 50 or 100 years ago.

WHAT ABOUT **WOMEN WORKERS?**

I just have to criticise your front page "worker victims" are shown as two

Women make up over 30% of the work force, but as usual are invisible to male eyes, it seems. Yet their un-equal pay will be frozen also.

Now that a woman is to be the new editor (right on, Sister) perhaps we can have this sort of thing rectified. (There is an old saying "out of sight, out of

Yours hopefully,

Connie Frazer.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

EDUCATION AND SOCIALISM

Dear Jim McIlroy,

I write to you as a comrade-in-arms, but really have to object to the way you analysed the state aid situation in your article in the September 13 DIRECT ACTION. Santamaria's worries about dark Labor plots aren't ill-founded, from his point of view, and while ever socialists continue to simply brand Catholic concern to defend their education system as "religious bigotry," Santamaria will continue to dominate Catholic opinion,

How can I explain my standpoint? I have had experience teaching in Catholic markedly dropped to 6,6 per cent schools and in non-Catholic schools, and 12.2 per cent in 1970 carrying ca to I know very well the kind of people who exercise power in the state education elections this year. The DLP work bureaucracies. These cynical opportunists are much more destructive to schoolchildren's minds than the most backward nun or teaching brother. You can see the effects in a visit to any state school or teacher training institution. Most are in a state bordering on collapse, with apathy, brainless agitation and activism impant. Christian religion has managed o protect the Catholic education system om the worst excesses of this kind of thing - a solidarity and fellow-feeling exists in a way which has no equivalent at all in the state system, even among the so-called "left", which, unlike its US and European counterpart is not genuinely Marxist and merely reflects he positivist-liberal ideology of the establishment even when it imagines itself as "militant". Because of the racked-brainedness of both the "right" and "left" wings of the state education stablishment Catholics have a siege intality. They don't want to see their ven many who are totally hostile to the solitical ideas of Santamaria and Co still upport the Catholic school system against the State,

> The correct socialist strategy in my book is to make contact with progressive elements among Catholics and try to split the Catholic faction from within rather than bundling them together as religious igots and thus keeping them united. Communist experience in Eastern Europe has shown that it isn't possible to elevate Marxism into a competitor with Christianty and that a synthesis has to be worked ut between the two philosophies for Christians to be won away from capitalism. The anti-clerical prejudices that thow through in your article are fifty years out of date, and they definitely revent many sound elements on the eft making contact with people who otherwise would be willing to co-operate.

> > Sincerely, Wayne Hall

in be briefly mentioned here.

1) The Catholic school system is main-

ained by the Church authorities for the

pecific purpose of indoctrinating the

eligious mythology and conservative leas on politics, social life (the family,

bortion) and so on. It was the "religious

The history of the Christian Church is

totally anti-working-class one. Marx-

hed Christianity, philosophically and litically. While Christianity offers a

ife after death", Marxism shows that social transformation of society is

ssible in the real world right now.

ere can be no "synthesis" of these

n is utterly incompatible with estab-

igotry" of the Church itself which was

tate Aid in DA No 47. State aid is a rect subsidy to the Catholic Church

hildren of Catholic families with

eing referred to in the article on

and cannot be justified.

ayne Hall's letter raises a number of portant issues. Only a few of them

Dear DIRECT ACTION,

cartoon (DA No 48) portraying Whitlam's proposed wage freeze, in which the



Hamer and Holding

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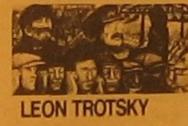
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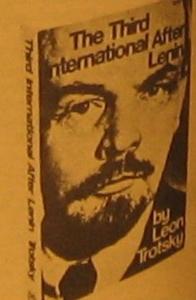
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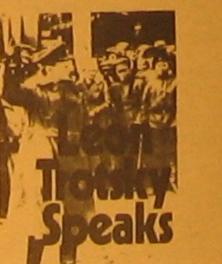
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Sydney FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 8,00 pm "ART AND REVOLUTION" Gordon Adler, frequent contributor to DIRECT ACTION discusses at 139 ST JOHNS the relationship between politics and art. ROAD, GLEBE. FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 8,00 pm "BEHIND THE ISRAELI AGGRESSION" Managing

DIRECT ACTION FORUMS

editor of DIRECT ACTION, Sol Salby; and a member of the Arab community look at the latest Middle East events.

at 140 QUEENSBERRY STREET, CARLTON.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 8.00 pm
"ISSUES FACING THE UNION MOVEMENT" Doug Jordan will discuss some of the central issues onfronting the union movement at this time, such as those of inflation, the 35-hour week and the threat of a wage freeze.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 8,00 pm
"BEHIND THE ISRAELI AGGRESSION" Jim McIlroy, Melbourne organiser of the Socialist Workers League, analyses the latest developments in the Middle East.

at 287 RUNDLE STREET,

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 8,00 pm
"WAGE FREEZE - THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE" Doug Lorimer discusses the experience of Nixon's wage-price freeze and the lessons for the Australian labor movement.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 8,00 pm
"THE GAY LIBERATION MOVEMENT"

Graeme Tubbenhauer, an Adelaide Gay Liberation activist, will discuss the development and prospect of gay liberation in Australia.

If you oppose the Government's

proposed wage freeze, if you want a



socialist Australia, if you support the struggle for women's liberation, the struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China China, the struggle for national liberation throughout the world - join the SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE. I would like to join SYA I would like more information.

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VOTE 1 NO TO PRICE CONTROL FRAUD! VOTE 2 NO TO WAGE CONTROL!

The Socialist Alternative

To effectively combat rising prices the labor movement should organise around:

- * Cost-of-living escalator clauses to be inserted in all awards and contracts and social service payments (pensions, unemployment benefits etc.). Each month as prices rise, wages would automatically rise on the basis of the increase in the cost-of-living index as determined by the ACTU. This would prevent employers from cutting back the real wages of workers through price rises, and extra wage rises can be fought for to actually improve conditions, not just try to catch up.
- * If the employers want to raise their prices the labor movement demands that they open their books. Let us decide if they "can't afford" not to raise their prices! Demand an end to business secrets, which are only a means to cover up the employers huge profits.
- * Key monopolies like BHP, whose product's prices determine the prices of so many other goods, raise their prices as they please. They hold society to ransom. BHP and the other giant companies should be nationalised under workers' control.
- * Repeal the penal clauses of the Arbitration Act. The trade unions must be free to fight for a better living standard for the working people. We must oppose any form of state control of the unions which would be the inevitable result of the implementation of a wage freeze.
- * Form committees of workers, housewives, pensioners, unemployed and students in each area to carry out a continuous supervision of prices in their area and organise and participate in actions such as boycotts against firms which

PUBLIC MEETING VOTE NO! TO WHITLAM'S PRICES & INCOMES REFERENDUM MELBOURNE Lower Town Hall

Trades Hall Auditorium Fri. Nov. 16, 7.30 pm

287 Rundle St, Adelaide Thurs. Nov. 29, 8pm

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