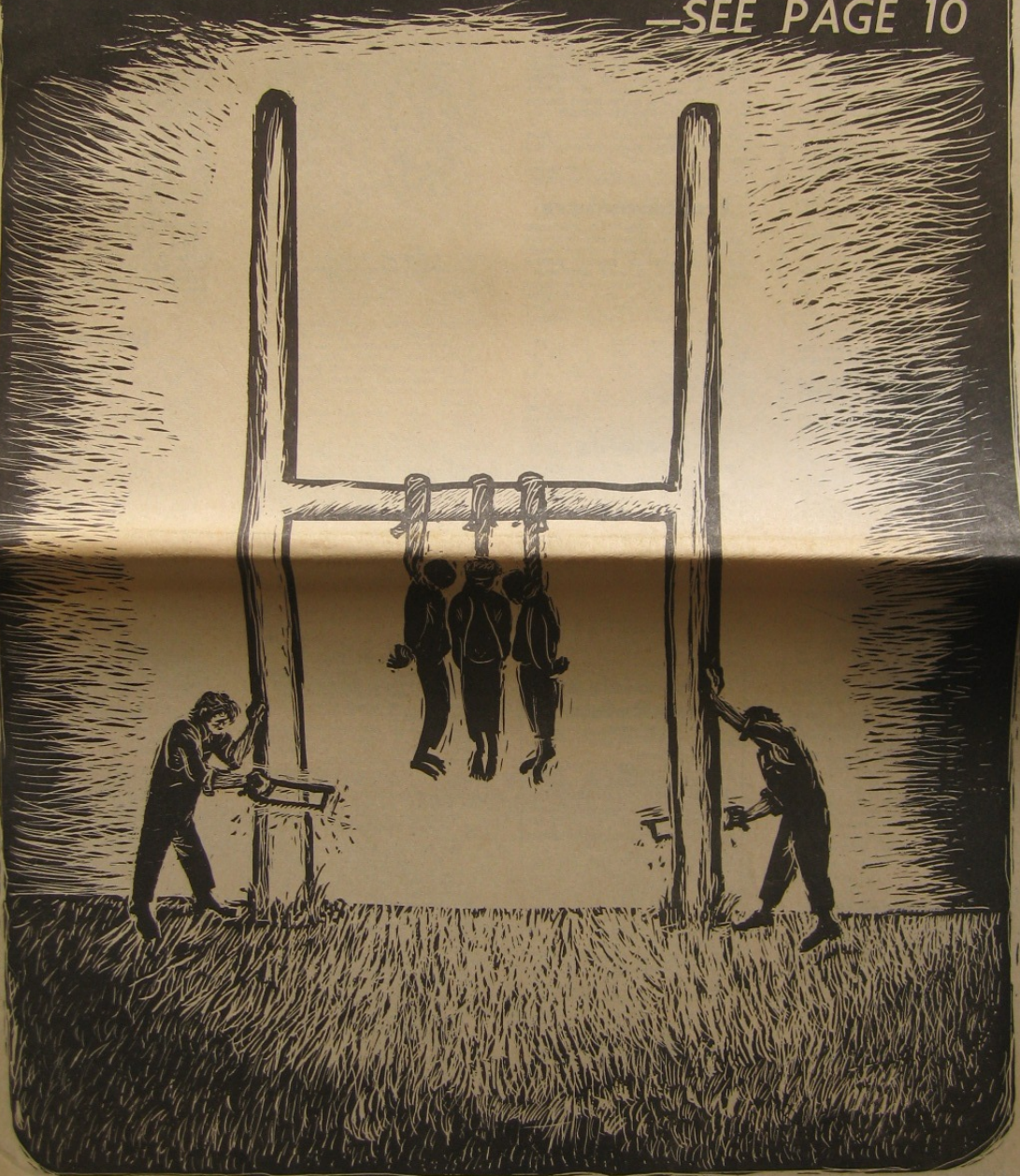


# Tribune

## Racist sports tours doomed

—SEE PAGE 10



### CHINA AND THE A.L.P.—Page 3

# Letters to the editor

## Czechoslovakia

In Tribune (June 30) Molly Inge wrote: "An all-round study of Right, Left and middle opinions (including those of Comrade Bresline and other CPSU leaders) about the situation in Czechoslovakia prior to and during 1968, led me to the conclusion that the Warsaw Pact countries had to interfere with imperialist plans to destroy Czechoslovakia's socialist sovereignty."

I was in Bratislava, May Day 1968; I was with an old mate of mine who had been a well-known communist on Sydney and Melbourne waterfronts, before returning home some 11 years previously.

I saw about 80,000 demonstrators for socialism, but not for repression and corruption.

A few weeks later on Army Day, I saw on parade the very efficient Czechoslovak armed forces and the People's Militia, mostly composed of workers from the factories and former Partisans.

The armed workers had been easily able to remove barriers to socialism in 1948 and would not have had the slightest difficulty in 1968 in dealing with any threat to socialism.

My friend had been a member of the Militia, and after the parade we went to the celebrations and met many people. All that I met believed in socialism and were pro-Soviet.

They were not satisfied with the Novotny Government. Many innocent people had been framed.

Improvement in living conditions had more or less ceased and the advance in production had slowed down.

The Novotny Government bureaucracy and bungling was angering the people when I was there.

There was no excuse for the stagnation in the economy and those responsible had to go, at the demand of the workers.

From my conversations with Czech workers I am sure they would have been most enthusiastic about the introduction of the reforms for which they had been asking through their trade unions. Letters I had from there prior to the invasion supported that view.

Czechoslovakia cried out for a genuine socialist reform and after a struggle with the workers' movement, the bosses all took part, got the long-awaited reform.

They won the rights to freer discussion, to face up to the problems of the economy, to criticise, to travel.

The charge that this reform opened the way for all kinds of things - from CIA coups to West German invasion and "restoration of capitalism" is made, like the tale that Czechoslovak leaders invited the five armies to invade - without production of proof.

Had the five countries been concerned about the Czechoslovak borders it would not have been necessary to put one soldier in. Today, with guided missiles and rockets, a few hundred miles is nothing. Tanks can be hit from several miles away, day or night.

Last year, some Polish workers went on strike against low wages and rising prices.

Polish seamen visiting the port of Sydney recently told us what happened in the towns they came from. The towns were surrounded with machine guns and tanks, and workers were gunned down. Is that the way to fight imperialism?

G. Bilas,  
Sydney.

## Meatworkers

Just two days after the chiefs of Vestey's Lakes Creek (Rochampton, in Central Queensland) meatworks had proudly celebrated the centenary of a first bullock at the meatworks, about 40 women and 20 men were suspended, the

reason being was that it was a small kill (about half the normal tally).

On Saturday, June 12, the local paper, the Rockhampton Morning Bulletin, devoted a special page to the arrival of the new container ship Columbus New Zealand, at Port Alma. The ship, built in Hamburg (Germany) and flying the West German flag, was to open a new era as far as Lakes Creek meatworks was concerned, and according to many meatworkers, it has; that is, the era of added suspense and uncertainty, characteristic of the capitalist system.

By contrast, Jack Timbs (organiser of AMEU in Victoria), who is a delegate to the Soviet Union and visited the meatworks at Leningrad, has written that he found that in the Soviet Union's meat industry, economic security was assured to all employees.

Only a socialist Australia, I have told meatworkers, will guarantee this here.

Jocka Burns,  
Rockhampton (Qld.).

## Troublemakers

That's what your left-adventurist anarchist confrontation gets you, isn't it? You support striking builders' laborers destroying private property, pushing over scab-built brick walls, don't you? Well, the thing you know, you misled unionists into sowing down goal posts, haven't you? Get them charged with malicious damage to public property, don't you?

Get the police offside even, haven't you? Not satisfied with upsetting Sir Frank, Mr. J. P. Ducker, Mr. T. McDonald and other real militant union leaders, are you?

Yours in disgust,  
A. Garnett,  
Marrickville.

## Brutality

The last time I witnessed brutality of the degree exhibited by the Victorian police in the anti-apartheid demonstration was in Nazi-occupied Europe. I think, however, that another eye-witness account will add very little to the excellent coverage by the media. The point I wish to make is that the police take completely in their duty to keep the peace because they behaved as a political police in spite of their assurances that they would remain neutral on this issue.

It is true that the stated aim of the demonstrators was to disrupt the game with non-violent means. From what I saw, this aim was pursued by the demonstrators, even during periods of extreme provocation by the police. Now, if the

police regarded whistles, crackers, smoke-bombs and people running on the oval as factors which could disturb the peace, all they had to do was to remove the cause of the indignation of the majority of the people at Olympic Park by stopping the game. What is so sacred about a game of rugby? or what is it regarded as sacred by the police because it had the blessings of Mr. McMahon?

To illustrate my point, I shall use an analogy which thinking people will find quite valid. If there was to be a rugby match between two teams of naked



hippies, it would be reasonable to expect that a section of the population would object to it very strongly, on the grounds of obscenity. If these "old dears" tried to disrupt the match with their whistles, should the police clobber them on the head, or should they simply stop the match?

The people who participated in the anti-apartheid demonstration were not born in the Victorian era when syphilis was the dreaded disease. They are people of an era in which racism is one of the most dreaded diseases. In their eyes, a rugby game in which racially superior players, representing a racist government, are participating is the apex of obscenity. For my grey-haired Jewish friend who was also at the demonstration and whose family was spared to death by a racist government similar to the one in South Africa, this rugby game was more than obscene, it was a very painful experience. And to all this obscenity, the police had to add their brutality!

As a taxpayer I demand that a Royal Commission should investigate the actions of the Victorian police at the anti-apartheid demonstration.

D. Skiotis,  
Elwood (Vic.).

## Selling

The increase in price of Tribune to 20c hasn't affected our sales within the Footscray area. Our sales average between 15 to 20 outside Coles of a Saturday morning.

Of course to maintain these sales it takes quite a lot of hard work, particularly where there is a situation of limited numbers of sellers.

I know we are no exception to that. However we are a branch which meets every week to maintain the paper-selling in Nicholson.

The Tribune selling to a branch should be the primary thing to local work in an area.

The Footscray branch takes this attitude by trying to establish contact with young people, and the local council.

There have been approaches to local newswriters to handle Tribune, but we have found that they wouldn't accept it.

The two issues of Tribune, with Darcy Dugan and John Lennon on the front pages, were not appealing for a revolutionary paper.

I think it is important for Tribune to have front page material dealing with the immediate problems confronting the

people in a revolutionary way.

In conclusion, I think Tribune should be looking more at the trade unions and making some sort of a link with the declining capitalist system by putting the message across and of course forward to a new society.

Liz Courtney,  
Zarraville (Vic.).

## Premier

Aboriginal Paddy Cummins (see story, Page 4, this issue) used to work as a young man for Premier Bjelke-Petersen on his farm property for eight shillings a week and sleep in the cow shed.

No wonder the Premier is so concerned about the racist white South African rugby team.

It is well to recall also the Jim Jacko case at Hope Vale Mission, North Queensland, some years ago, when a public inquiry indicted the Lutheran Superintendent of the Mission for abusing Aborigine Jim Jacko (who was 19 years of age) and then imprisoning him for going out with this girl friend, later for making him leave the Mission. At that time Premier Bjelke-Petersen was chairman of the Mission Board.

When Jim Jacko later led a go-slow strike at the Mission for the wage of 3/6 (35c) Bjelke-Petersen was still chairman. Jacko was exiled to Bamaga for his strike activities.

D. Marchisotti,  
Toowoong (Qld.).

## Inflation

"There is no inflation in Russia; its price level had been practically stable for 20 years." - Lord Casey, The Age, July 1, 1971.

Prices are fixed by competent authorities in Russia. Despite the size of the USSR, food, clothing, TV sets, etc., cost the same with very few exceptions whether you buy them in a Moscow department store or in a remote village thousands of miles from Moscow.

All land in the Soviet Union belongs to the people, it cannot be bought or sold. The cost of housing is negligible, medical care is entirely free, as are university education is free, transport ridiculously cheap. The average weekly wage is four cents motor bus, five cents underground railway - all irrespective of distance travelled per trip. Books and entertainment are the cheapest in the world. Prices are fixed to promote certain goods such as children's clothing, as are certain other goods which it is desirable that everyone should enjoy; conversely, a higher price ceiling is fixed for such goods as vodka, cigarettes, furs, precious stones, etc. There are 40 million dwellers in the USSR.

Because all property belongs to the State it is possible to plan for and achieve a proper balance between the demands of the people and the goods and services provided.

That is why INFLATION IS PREVENTED and why wages can be raised and prices cut at the same time in a socialist society.

Paddy O'Donoghue,  
Noble Park (Vic.).

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Lead speakers:  
ANDREA JACKSON & CHARLES SILVER: Economic aspects.

DAVID EVANS: Australia, developing countries and capitalism's contradictions.

JACK LEGGE: The environmental crisis.

BERNIE TAFT: The political crisis.

MICK COUNIHAN: Mass communications and capitalism. All welcome. 50c admission. Questions and discussion. Cup of tea provided.

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# A.L.P.'s CHINA MISSION

By Laurie Aarons

The Labor Party delegation's visit to the People's Republic of China is a big success. For rather different reasons, it has pleased Mr. Whitlam and his colleagues the Chinese government, most especially the Chinese farmers, interested in trade and the Left which has fought for 21 years to force recognition. Even most of the capitalist newspapers give qualified approval.

Of course, not everyone is pleased; some are very displeased. These are the most reactionary forces in Australia, who will certainly unleash a violent counter-offensive, first against the PRC and then against the Labor Party.

This has already begun, with Messrs. McMahon, Bury and Bjelke-Petersen (plus of course, Santamaría and Garb) to the fore. McMahon solemnly assures us that diplomatic relations are still a long, long way off. Bury, that bumbler with an long way off. Bury, that bumbler with an long way off. Bury, that bumbler with an long way off. Bury, that bumbler with an long way off.

Bjelke-Petersen, the only State Premier who has the distinction of being an even greater orator than Sir Henry Bolte, introduced a typically gutter demonstration into the debate. Following his leader, Mr. Anthony, he shows the typical Country Party contempt for real rural interests, just when the countryside faces its worst crisis since 1950.

## Bogey

The Liberal, Country and Democratic Labor parties are still trying desperately to keep alive their scare stories about the Chinese menace. Like the Bourbons, they've learnt nothing and forgotten nothing — and, like that dynasty, they face the chopper, even if only electorally.

The Chinese invitation and Chou En-lai's public discussion of vital issues with the delegation, guarantees that the public debate on relations with China will rise far above the past crude rivalry. Absurdities of Government arguments make these irrelevant.

Australian public opinion is far ahead of the government, recognising the vital importance of China's recent diplomatic breakthrough and the social consequences for Asia and for Australia in which Australia's future lies. It has long been obvious that Australia desperately needs a radically new foreign policy, in place of one whose only foundations are "all the way with USA" and "beware of the yellow hordes of Red Asia".

The vital need is wide discussion about these foundations of a new foreign policy. In the Peking discussions, Mr. Whitlam showed his Achilles heel in somewhat apologetic, but still stubborn defence of

## Launceston to Peking

the US Alliance. Fresh from his success at the Launceston federal conference, where he kept ANZUS and the alliance as ALP policy, he argued for it in Peking — with out similar success.

His disingenuous defence of ANZUS as protection against resurgent Japanese militarism is completely out of tune with fact and history. ANZUS was never intended as anything but an imperialist pact against China, the Asian national liberation revolutions and "communist aggression". This can be proven by reference to the 1951 debates, when the myth of the Sino-Soviet "world conspiracy" was at its most strident. From ANZUS to SEATO, from the Korean war to Vietnam, is the chain of Australian involvement in Asia as an accomplice of United States imperialism. And the parliamentary Labor Party's record in all this is not quite as Mr. Whitlam now represents — nor is his own.

His defence of the US alliance, lower kept though it may be, has been the central tenet of his foreign policy thinking. As to why this is so, he may even believe that the United States is really the world's greatest democracy, unfortunately led astray by Johnson and Nixon (though his private views are known to be different); he may just believe, with Moniz, that Australia needs a great and powerful friend; he may simply calculate that the only way to Prime Ministership is pandering to the Establishment propaganda that the US alliance is supported by all Australians, bar communists, radicals and other way-out rabble.

## Japan & USA

Mr. Whitlam's expressed views on the Japanese menace — however sincerely held — can scarcely include the United States as a counterweight. As Chou En-lai pointed out so well, the United States has built up Japan since 1950 precisely against China — and, we add, the USSR.

Indeed, future US plans for Asia and the Pacific, faced with the disastrous consequences of the loss of China to the Vietnamese people, include the "Pacific Triangle" — US-Japan-Australia. Plans Cop and other US installations are a military beachhead; US-Japanese investment (and Australian dependence on the Japanese market) a firm economic base; a satellite role by Liberal governments the political alliance.

Can a Whitlam government change this? Will it want to? Chou En-lai may have had this in mind when he said to Mr. Whit-

lam: "We look forward to when you take office and put into effect your promises."

This was one of the most significant remarks in the whole interview. It has deep relevance for the Australian political struggle, however the Chinese leader intended it. For most of the Left, especially perhaps some who call themselves Maoists, experience of Labor governments is part of the struggle for a revolutionary position.

Electoral promises are part of the bourgeois-democratic system, in which social-democratic parties are integrated. Burning domestic issues as well as foreign policy, demand answers (promises), which then have to be delivered by a government that holds office but lacks power.

## Conferences

Recent Labor Party conferences, particularly in Launceston and Sydney, showed an interesting stage of development. Spotting possible electoral victory, Right Left and Centre responded characteristically. A new Left emerged alongside the old, with promise of more dynamic policies and action. At Launceston, most of the Left combined to push back the "Cameron proposals", and made important challenges to other policies. Alongside this, there were shifts to the Right by others on some issues (Queensland delegation on the Moratorium, for example).

The New Right further developed its own strategy, too. At the NSW conference, some peculiar voting trends were noted, including throwing some Right-wing union votes to some Left-wingers. While this produced reconfirmation and inroads, it is not really surprising. This is the New Right strategy, so well developed by Mr. John Ducker.

If the ALP Left is more alert than in the past, this policy will fall in its objective. It certainly should not be used for factional advantage, by anyone.

The most important issue is the continued development of a mass movement outside the parliamentary system. This is developing on all fronts: the anti-war movement, the anti-apartheid struggle, and on the industrial front. Efforts to integrate these are senseless. They range from the cries of back to arbitration to diverting the anti-war movement to voting Labor into office, to the only way to end the troops out of Vietnam.

However, the movement is developing such a momentum that it is not easily diverted to integration. There is no validity in opposing election of a Labor government. There is every validity in testing out the parliamentary strategy, with a bigger and more militant mass movement fighting for real implementation of the policy changes promised, showing the real targets for action to achieve these and go further.



There were very few humorous incidents at the July 3 Victoria-South Africa rugby match at Melbourne's Olympic Park.

Several occurred when rugby supporters came up against police searches and a ban on bottles and cans being taken into the ground.

Those determined to take their liquor in had to swallow it first.

One well-dressed lady, however, emptied the hot coffee out of her thermos flask and poured in a bottle of sparkling wine. Judging by the amount of froth bubbling across the football, our rugby fan did not consume much alcohol that afternoon.

Then there were the seven photographers dressed in police-grey, standing in a row. Cheeky student asked if they were from the press.

One said "Yes". Another said "No". A third said "Why?".

Ah well... it sounded very funny to the bloke who heard it.

Well-known figures in the local nazi outfit were prominent among the violent vigilantes at the Melbourne rugby game.

They were tolerated (to put it mildly) by the police.

A quote on the Pentagon Papers from General Maxwell Taylor, US Ambassador in Saigon in 1964-65:

"... one of my great concerns over the consequences of these documents is that I think we're completely confusing our people and stirring up suspicions and doubts and that sort of thing, based on nothing at all."

What is past is past and we look forward to when you can take office and you put into effect your promises. — Chinese Premier Chou En-lai to Whitlam.

The papers reckon that Chou En-lai has a mind as keen as a razor. But what about his opposite number in Australia, our own William McMahon?

Who commented that the Labor Party delegation in China was "playing politics".

Report from Chilean presidential press office says that United States mining companies took \$10,800 million out of the country in the last 60 years.

This is equivalent to the entire national worth since the time of the conquistadors... 400 years ago. We could say that they have made off with a whole Chile — with roads, ports, houses, business, hospitals, schools. This is the astonishing X-ray of imperialism in Chile and the root of its underdevelopment.

According to daily press reports, a new edition of "Memoirs of a Soviet Diplomat" by Ivan Malsky has been published. The first edition came out some six years ago.

But it seems that this time criticisms of the "tragic consequences" of the Stalin "personality cult" have been cut out. Which is a reminder of one of the cynical riddles which circulate in the Soviet Union.

Q. What is the task of the historian?

A. To predict the past.

All that needs to be said is that the ruling class right throughout the history of class society has attempted to use sex to divert people's struggle.

— Weekly paper "Vanguard."



**SPRINGBOOKS** versus NSW; SYDNEY, JUNE 10: To help you find the players, we've put an arrow pointing to them. Police and massed demonstrators need no arrowing. See pages 7 and 10.

# KEEPING THEM 25 YEARS BEHIND

By Pete Thomas

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, in 1946, sheeners in Queensland and NSW implemented a 40-hour week for themselves, by their own action and without awaiting any court authority for doing so. Today, a total of over 600,000 Australian workers, especially white-collar employees, have a working week of from 39 hours down to 35. For coalmine workers, the 35-hour week became a reality this month. But, in the face of all this, a Commonwealth Arbitration Commission decision last week refused to reduce the 44-hour week that the Pastoral Industry Award still imposes on station hands.

This is the second year in succession that the Commission has said No to an Australian Workers' Union claim for a 40-hour week for the station hands.

The Commission in its latest decision did say that the 44 hours should be worked in five days instead of 31 days. But even this is not to be enforced against any Saturday morning work which is held to be "essential for good husbandry or looking after stock." In such cases, the boss can work his station hand on Saturday morning without any penalty rate.

The Commission refused even to limit the daily spread of hours though it acknowledged that "we even contemplated having a spread of hours from sunrise to sundown."

For working under these conditions the station hand is now (under this same decision by the Commission) to receive, as a minimum wage, the parsimonious amount of \$46.40.

## 'Feudalism' & 'Unrest'

It will scarcely be any great consolation to station hands to be reminded that as the pastoralists' advocate pointed out they get "perquisites", including such benefits as free medical attention. However, if the person quiescently vouchsafed to the station hand in the form of housing goes to the extent of free accommodation, or a rental of not more than \$2 a week, then this removes the obligation on the boss to pay even the minimum wage.

Overall, the judgment seems to be dedicated to vindicating again the Commission's reference in last year's judgment to what was called "a somewhat feudal



T. DOUGHERTY: Commission's decision "bloody lousy", so... ?

approach to employment" in the industry.

Last year's judgment was able to say that "we do not find there is any serious unrest among station hands." So it was a reasonable inference that a lack of "unrest" was a factor in the Commission saying No.

This inference is buttressed by the fact that the Coal Industry Tribunal decision on miners' hours only a few weeks later referred, in its very first sentence, to use by miners of "direct action in the form of strikes and threats of strikes rather than resort to arbitration"—and went on to award a reduced working week which the workers had shown they were determined to take anyway.

The latest Commission knockback to the AWU on the 44-hour week in the pastoral industry does acknowledge that its No last year was followed by

"some industrial activity" in protest. But the extent or impact of it has seemingly not been sufficient to disturb the Commission.

In fact the Commission refers approvingly to the "amiable" relationship between most station hands and most employers.

As for the role of the AWU leadership, the Commission's decision notes the facts that, out of a total of about 30,000 station hands, only about 900 are members of the AWU; that this 900 is some 200 fewer than a year ago, and that the AWU "will not seek to have non-unionists covered by the award", though it could legally do so.

The unhappy fate of the two years' successive 40-hour claims to the Commission should cause some renewed thinking about the frustrations from arbitration which courtroom advocacy is not backed by adequate display of union muscle.

The AWU's rightwing officialdom itself has had to readjust a bit from its erstwhile heavily arbitrationist leanings, in the days not so long ago when AWU leaders would furiously berate commissionists and others who warned against reliance on arbitration.

After last year's knockback by the Commission, we heard from the AWU's general secretary (Mr. Dougherty) that the arbitration system "is really going through a crisis." Now he is quoted as describing the latest Commission decision as "bloody lousy."

## Next stage?

The AWU has as one of its declared objects, in rule 3 (b), "to advocate and fight for a six-hour day and five days of six hours each to constitute a week's work."

There's been the test of the advocacy thing: two arbitration cases in little over a year, and still no halfpence. So, with advocacy getting nowhere, what happens now about the "right" part of rule 3 (b)?

According to the press report, the AWU is to ask all ACTU-affiliated unions to put a black ban on farms which work employees more than a 40-hour week.

Such a call would, rightly, bring a response — and some greater than the AWU officialdom has given, in some cases. In fact, it calls by other unions.

But it is the character and strength of the AWU's own action that will primarily determine whether the 44-hour week of the 1920s-1940s is now to be ended at least for station hands.

was contained in a report by the committee of inquiry set up by the Labor Council of NSW in the brawl at the May 20 Council meeting, in which the union leadership was accused of "gross mismanagement of the Council's work."

While recommending the lifting of the suspension, the committee's report recommended other things, that the "industrial leaders" be censured, and that it be required to supply the names of the nine of its members against whom the union leadership had taken action (and who should be debarred from ever being a delegate to Council, etc.).

The EOC Workers' State secretary (Mr. J. McDermott) said last weekend that, believing that the reindemnification was the union's responsibility, he would certainly resume its proper place on the Council.

However, he said, the report by the committee was also, according to information to him, spokesman for the NSW Labor Council meeting by Messrs. R. B. March (Council secretary) and T. McDonald (BWU) — contained misstatements, wrongly alleging that the union's leadership bore a responsibility for the May 20 events.

The union, therefore, would be issuing a statement to rebut these allegations and to set the record straight, in justice to itself and in justice to those trade union bodies and jobs who had supported the union's demand for reinstatement on the Council.

## UNIONISTS ACT ON APARTHEID

SYDNEY: Lively anti-apartheid activity by trade unionists, including a suspension of hold-ups of a South African Dutch ship Safocean Auckland, accompanied the Sydney stay of the Springboks last week.

The Safocean Auckland was held up in Port Kembla for some days when watersiders refused to handle it. Then they lifted the ban and allowed the Safocean Auckland to go to Newcastle, where watersiders in that port promptly put a 24-hour ban on it. Following that, the ship came to Sydney last weekend and was held under a ban there.

In Sydney, at least 15 unions endorsed a resolution supporting the Moore Park anti-apartheid rally on the Saturday afternoon and calling on police to respect people's right to demonstrate.

Unions endorsing the resolution included Miscellaneous, AEU, VWWF (both Sydney branch), mechanical, Building & Construction Workers (Builders laborers), Bollermakers, Seamen, Painters & Dockers, Firemen & Dockhands, Sheet Metal, FED&PA, MEU, AFULE, Water Board Employees, ARU and Actors Equity.

On the Friday, a four-page anti-apartheid leaflet calling for participation at the Moore Park rally was distributed by unionists at city railway stations. The leaflet was authorised by three prominent union officials, Mr. J. McDermott (VWWF), R. Pringle (Building Construction) and B. K. Childs (Printing). Last week also a telegram was sent to Prime Minister McMahon for immediate cancellation of the Springboks

tour and saying that the apartheid policy "itself generates the violence which is imported when such racially-based sporting teams tour internationally."

The telegram was signed by Mr. L. Boyce on behalf of the AS&CJ, BWU, Plasterers, Stonemasons, Wall Tilers, Roof Fixers, Bridge & Wharf, Plumbers and Painters Unions.

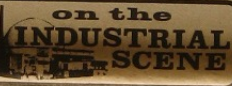
In the AWU, according to a press report on Saturday, the NSW State executive has decided against any ban on the South African team, but the AWU's Federal executive council decided on Friday to ask the Springboks to abandon their tour.

The NSW Committee for Membership Control in the AWU has issued a statement condemning the NSW executive's attitude and calling on AWU members to join the anti-apartheid demonstrations.

An agenda item submitted by the Watersiders for the ACTU Congress proposes that support be sought from the ICFTU and other world trade union bodies in protest action on ships trading to South African ports and in factories, shops and transport systems handling goods to or from that country.

## CALL TO STOP OVER PENSIONS

MELBOURNE: A meeting last week of the 26 unions at present suspended from attendance at the Victorian Trades



Hall Council decided to call regional stopwork meetings on July 21 in support of the ACTU campaign for improved pensions.

The unions decided to call for stoppages of at least one hour for the meetings.

July 21 was nominated by the ACTU executive as National Social Services Day, with authority for stoppages of up to four hours.

None of the unions had heard of any initiative being taken by the THC.

In Sydney, last week's NSW Labor Council meeting was told that on July 21 there will be a central rally from noon to 2 p.m. in Wynyard Park, and a rally at Bankstown and possibly one at Parramatta.

The Council's assistant secretary (Mr. J. Ducker) said that the emphasis would be on an immediate \$5 rise in pensions, improved child endowment and a national health scheme, including control of doctors' fees.

● Giving a push on pensions: Page 6.

## COUNCIL LIFTS SUSPENSION

SYDNEY: Last week's meeting of the NSW Labor Council decided to lift the suspension imposed on May 20 on the NSW branch of the Australian Building & Construction Workers Federation (Builders laborers).

A recommendation to lift the suspension

## COUNCIL LIFTS SUSPENSION

MELBOURNE: Clerical staff employed at the Trade Union Training and Research Centre at Footscray have been on strike for about two weeks and as Tribune went to press the dispute was continuing.

The immediate cause of the dispute is the administration of the strike.

The issue involved are complex. Because the dispute is not a clear-cut one of capitalist against worker or even of management against worker, Tribune is refraining at present from publicising the arguments.

This course is being taken in pursuit of a solution which is in the interest of all immediately concerned and of the labor movement as a whole.

It is understood that third parties in the labor movement have offered their services in the finding of a solution.

The dispute was set up on the initiative of the leaders of the Victorian branch of the Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union with financial and other assistance from various unions and sections of the labor movement.

The Clinic is administered by a Board of directors which is in turn appointed by the shareholders who comprise the Management Committee of the AMIEU.

## SHOULD TAKE LONG-SERVICE RIGHTS WITH YOU

By a special correspondent

MELBOURNE: The demand for "portability" of long service leave is one which should be seriously considered by the labor movement in Victoria.

Premier Bolte has been talking about changes in superannuation schemes (and they could bear some scrutiny, too) but the leave issue has apparently not been considered.

Long service leave in Victoria comes under the Labor Act of 1948 with all its subsequent amendments, and up to four or five years ago long service leave of three months on full pay was due if a worker spent 20 years with an employer.

Then the legislation was changed to

allow for long service leave to come after 15 years. If after 10 years the worker was sacked or left because of sickness, he gets pro rata leave.

But if he works for nine years and nine months and is then sacked or leaves, he gets nothing. If he works 10 years and gives notice to go to another job, he gets nothing.

But a worker should be allowed to go where he likes. If he has worked five years, a scheme should be in operation to allow him to carry that on to his next job. Even if he works at a number of jobs for 15 years, he should still be entitled to long service leave.

What is suggested is a similar scheme to the superannuation system Bolte is talking about. That is, a commission should be established under which an employer would pay an amount each

year representing the long service leave payment for his workers. If he keeps the workers for 15 years, then the commission pays the worker the money and probably interest as well.

If the worker changes his job at any time, that employer finishes with him, and the new employer pays the commission. This would overcome many problems — such as the boss giving the worker notice after nine years and 10 months, which does happen.

The boss avoids paying long service leave, and quite often he re-employs the man a month or so later.

And such a scheme would prevent long service leave being a means of tying a worker to a particular job.

# NEW GUINEANS SEE POWER IN THE BARREL OF A GUN

By ALEC ROBERTSON

HEAVILY-ARMED police this month used gunfire and gas against unarmed Tolai villagers near Rabaul in the most brutal repressive action in Papua-New Guinea for many years. Australian armed forces (the Royal Australian Air Force) were used to reinforce the police.

Press reports made it clear that the clash was provoked by the Australian Administration, which sent 150 riot police, armed with guns, tear gas and vomit gas, at dawn on July 1 to seal off the Matupit Island village by occupying the causeway that connects it to New Britain, close to Rabaul.

The official purpose of this big show was merely to serve a summons on one villager, Mr. Peter Urami, vice-president of the new Gazelle Peninsula local government council sponsored by the militant Mataungan Association.

The summons was served easily enough by a white police officer and a constable who drove right into the village. The villagers, seeing the threatening body of riot police nearby, began to build a roadblock at the village end of the causeway. They were driven away with a tear gas gasmade barrage. Now furious at this attack on the edge of their village, the Matupit men moved through the jungle and attacked the departing police with stones but were again deluged with tear gas.

## Volleys

The villagers replied by running on to the nearby airfield. Police attacks were then intensified, driving the villagers back into the jungle where both gas and shot gun volleys were repeatedly used against them. According to press reports "an unknown number" of villagers were injured in these clashes — police refused to give details.

The whole police operation had occupied four hours, during which (according to police) the villagers had threatened to disrupt aircraft take-offs and landings. If so, this was doubtless because the Mataungan Association members know from experience that when Rabaul police meet any resistance, reinforcements are flown in from Port Moresby. True to form, the authorities flew extra police in later that day, using a RAAF Hercules aircraft.

Why so much fuss to serve a summons? There is no doubt this was merely the McMahon Government's pretext to mount a major provocation against Matupit, for it was there on May 29 that the Mataungan Association launched its independent local government council in defiance of the manoeuvres of the New Guinea Administration and the Government in Canberra.

Local government was the most immediate issue that had brought into being the Mataungan Association of the Tolai people in early 1969. The Administration decision to force acceptance of a multi-racial council in the Gazelle Peninsula was seen by the Tolai people there as a device to perpetuate the dominance of the white minority (plantation and business owners).

## Inspiration

A prolonged struggle of non-cooperation with the multi-racial council was waged by the Mataungan Association, based mainly on refusal to pay local taxes (which they carefully paid into their own independent tax fund), and punctuated by police provocations and militant Mataungan resistance. Many leading members suffered heavy jail sentences.

Last year the struggle widened to a defence of traditional lands against Administration subdivision plans.

The appearance of the Mataungan Association pointed to the depth of Tolai hunger for self-determination and an end to the system in which white foreigners decided everything and exploited the black people. That was the basis for rejecting the white-manipulated "multi-racial" council and white-devised land schemes.

The struggles of 1969-70 were so fierce that all politically conscious people in PNG became aware of the strength and relative success of the Mataungan movement, and the inability of the white Administration to overcome it. It became a prime source of inspiration for the latent national liberation revolution of PNG; and the Administration and the Australian Government saw this.

In July, 1970, a major attempt at violent suppression, involving mobilisation of a 1000-strong police army around Rabaul, with units of the Pacific Island Regiment of the Australian Army placed on call in reserve, rebounded so badly on the Government that the then Administrator and other officials were replaced.

The Government then adopted a tactic of manoeuvre mixed with the threat of force, rather than force only. The reason was the Government's estimation that by making some concessions in "localising" the PNG government structure and promoting more rapidly the small "reliable" educated elite of New Guineans, there would be time for the big investors of Australia, Britain, Japan and the USA to gain full control of all the promising mineral and land resources.

Therefore the Government suddenly swallowed all its previous insistence on the multi-racial council, abolished it and began constituting a Gazelle Peninsula council to consist of representatives of the indigenous people only. But once again the Government had underestimated the depth of the demand for self-determination; the Mataungan Association flatly rejected this, too. Their view was that since this was still a scheme devised by the white exploiters, to operate under Administration supervision, this council could not be a vehicle of true self-rule. The Association declared that it would set up its own council and run its own elections.

Further Government negotiations to break down the Mataungans will to political, economic and cultural self-determination were fruitless. The official policy behind the scenes — under pressure from the old (plantation) and new (industrial) investors abroad — began to harden again. The Government set out to weaken the Mataungan movement by undermining some of its sources of independent economic strength — e.g. the cocoa industry.

This led to a new crisis early this year arising from the Administration action in reconstituting the former Tolai Cocoa Project into a government-sponsored New Guinea Island Produce Company for fermenting and marketing the cocoa bean crop of Tolai growers. This was in effect a takeover of the locally controlled Tolai Cocoa project loosely combining the small private Tolai-owned fermentaries which most growers had dealt with for years.

In response, Mataungan followers in February of this year closed and barricaded with barbed wire the Ngatur fermentary, 22 miles from Rabaul. The authorities replied by disposing 500 armed police to guard four fermentaries and then wading in with pick handles, pistols and tear gas grenades wielded by 100 police. In a big clash



Clash at Ngatur (see story)

at Ngatur, Mataungan supporters were reported by police to have thrown a simple type of petrol fire bomb at police, but mainly used rocks, bottles and cocoa pods.

Mataungan spokesman John Kaputin was reported in the press as warning of the inevitability of further violence if the Administration continued its policies. And it should be understood that whenever such clashes have occurred in the Gazelle, armed police camps are set up in the area for weeks on end.

The cocoa dispute has dragged on throughout this year. Government restrictions were placed on the small fermentaries to force growers to sell their "wet" bean to the new company. One Tolai cocoa farmer complained bitterly that the small fermentaries "give us better service and a good price... now suddenly we are virtually forced to patronise the NGIP Co. against our better judgment... suppressing our basic freedoms."

If there were any doubt of the Mataungan view of this issue, Association spokesman John Kaputin removed it by calling on Administrator Johnson to abandon his efforts to intimidate the cocoa bean growers.

## Council

"Leave the Tolai people to pursue their own initiatives. In the minds of the Tolai people, the Administration only exists in the barrel of the gun," he wrote to the Post Courier (20/5/71).

But the hard-core struggle was still around the autonomous local council. The Mataungan Association earlier this year conducted its own elections so effectively that the "official" reconstituted Gazelle council elections were postponed late in May for six months because, as officially admitted, they would have been meaningless. Within a week of that announcement, the Association publicly launched its own Council during a demonstrative gathering of some 10,000 Tolai people on Matupit Island. Invitations to representatives of the Administration, Rabaul business and the churches to attend had been almost all ignored — a sign that the Establishment was determined not to go further compromise.

Elected council personnel announced at Matupit that day included: Mr. Beniona Tolulupa (president), Mr. Peter Urami (vice-president) and councillors for 46 wards in the Gazelle Peninsula. It was made clear that, while the old "official" council apparatus is stagnant for lack of funds, Mataungan-sponsored council are "going their own way until self-government or independence".

As to the authority of the new council, Mr. Oscar Tammar, MHA (Mataungan patron) said the Mataungans did not recognise the validity of the Local Government Ordinance and added "Power needed for council to operate comes from support. We have this support from 60,000 people."

## Organisation

These statements suggested that the Mataungan movement's aims were undiminished, its strength had grown, but it was prepared to "cooperate" in the Establishment structure to the extent of seeking to expand its present small bridgehead in the House of Assembly.

This, then, was the local background to the latest and most serious police provocation on July 1 at the same Matupit village, as an Administration reply to the independent local government council, and as an intimidation of the people generally.

In the immediate sense, the Mataungan supporters in Matupit were vanquished by the police guns and gas. But the fact that they instantly responded to the police aggression by organised counter-force, first ambushing the police with stones, then launching an attack on Rabaul airport, says much for the developing level of organisation and offensive spirit, as well as the courage, of the Tolai people.

After some two years of confrontation, their fighting organisation (Mataungan) has never bent the knee to the colonialists; it has forced the Government politically on to the defensive; and the repeated recourse to police violence has evidently brought the Tolai people to an understanding that the need for armed struggle may not be far away.

# Death & poverty in koorie camp



**A first-hand report by Penny Marsh**  
**PERTH:** Recently three aboriginal people have died here because of poor housing conditions. On 31st May, 1971 Mrs. Mary Nettle (55) who suffered from a heart complaint died in a makeshift camp leaving a family of five. Seven days later her husband, Mr. Charlie Nettle (62) died. On 12th June Mr. Jack McKenzie (85) died in another camp.

Families, including tiny children and the elderly or ailing are forced to camp out in the open during bitterly cold, wet weather.

Yet while this tragic situation exists, at least 884 home units stand empty and unsold, hundreds of flats and units in the Rockingham-Kwinana area are vacant and 'To Let' signs are common outside big blocks of flats. As their contribution to the problems of the homeless, land speculators and developers like millionaire Alan Bond, make frantic attempts to maintain their extravagant profits by trying to rent out units or swap them for farms or houses.

I interviewed Mr. Arthur Prosser, aboriginal representative on the Native Welfare Department (N.W.D.) Advisory Housing Committee.

As well as the two families where deaths had occurred, Mr. Prosser said at least 7 others involving 20 adults and about 9 children lived in humpies or tents on the outskirts of the metropolitan area. Many other families stayed with relatives or friends despite a N.W.D. ruling that tenants should have no overnight visitors.

Mr. Prosser took me to see John Moore's family. A regular worker, he has been employed in the country until required to come to Perth for medical treatment. The family have applied for a N.W.D. house and are living on \$26 a week in a tin shed until Mr. Moore can be hospitalized. What will happen then to her and her children is Mrs. Moore's constant worry as she has injured her foot and is unable to leave the camp without transport.



Sickness is an ever-present fear. Most families fear serious illness because they are without transport. Some families are used to the warmth and dryness of conventional housing and the cold and dampness of the bush camp aggravates complaints like arthritis and encourages respiratory infections.

Keeping warm and clean are always problems. Comments like: "You can't possibly live in a place like this. There's no showers or bath or proper bedding equipment" and "We're the same as anyone else. Nothing's worse than trying to get warm" were common. Most families travel into Perth once a week to have a warm shower.

Most aboriginal men are unskilled and this brings nagging worry and insecurity.

Reflecting the anger felt throughout the aboriginal community, the President of the Aboriginal Advancement Council of W.A., Mr. Jack Davis, drew attention in a press statement to the fact that the deaths had occurred because Native Welfare Department housing was inadequate and that its allocation depended too much on ratings of "social acceptability."

The crisis in the rural industry has compounded the problem. There are houses available in the country, but there is no work. Many families come to Perth looking for work and are destitute even when they arrive.

Could these families find houses themselves? Most could not. Even when employed, the initial payment of over \$100 (bond, letting fee and two weeks' rent) for a family sized house, is too much to raise. When houses are obtained privately they are usually disreputably run-down as agents openly discriminate against aborigines. Exorbitant rents drive many people into poverty.

The N.W.D. has 270 houses in the metropolitan area and usually tells applicants there will be "more soon." Applicants often feel



that they are not being dealt with honestly and that they should be told the real situation when they ask about houses.

Aboriginal people are not the only "marginal workers" who are homeless.

St. Bartholomew's Night Shelter in East Perth, will soon cater for 55 men. 20-30 men sleep in the St. Vincent de Paul Night Shelter and 15 women and up to 8 children can be sheltered by the Daughters of Charity. Father Hodge, Chaplain of St. Bartholomew's knows of men who sleep in cemeteries and under bridges or railway hoardings. In addition, he said: "Thousands of men are inadequately housed and overcharged." For example, a rooming house he knew had accommodated 15 men at \$8 a week each. The men shared one gas ring and primitive toilet and washing facilities.

Fifty men were accommodated similarly in four houses near a hotel. He could name street after street in the inner city where such conditions occurred. When a man receives \$10 a week social service because he is sick, alcoholic or too elderly or unfit to be chosen for casual laboring jobs, \$8 rent leaves \$2 a week for other necessities.

Jails and mental hospitals provide shelter for many others, casualty departments in hospitals turn away people with "no fixed abode" and a pretended illness, and pensioners merely exist. Homeless mothers, deserted or unmarried, go from one "live-in" job to another because they can never save enough for the bond or even the rent on a flat.

These are the people who "haven't made the grade" according to the values of our society. They form the sections of the community with the least economic pressure to exert on the establishment. They struggle for a human existence while already wealthy land sharks cling to high rents in the attempt to maintain profits.

## Giving a push on pensions

FOR the first time ever, trade unionists throughout Australia have the authority of the Australian Council of Trade Unions to stop work for four hours on Wednesday next week (July 21) on a demand for alleviation of the glaring injustice of present pension rates.

The action will centre on the ACTU's call for an immediate \$5 weekly increase in pensions "as a first step in implementing the comprehensive ACTU social service policy."

It rests with unionists to organise and embark on the widest July 21 action, particularly stoppages and lively participation in demonstrations and meetings, as a starting point for a continuing militant campaign for the \$5 pension demand and around the ACTU's full social services policy.

The ACTU policy, as carried at the 1969 Congress seeks a series of minimum standards.

On pensions the ACTU program seeks the establishment of standards based on percentages of average earnings, and with age pensions payable at 60 years for men and 55 for women (instead of 65 and 60, which any means test).

At the time of the 1969 Congress the total age pension for a married

couple was 42% of the average weekly earnings, and a single person's pension was about 26%. The Congress resolution puts a target figure of 60% for a couple and 37½% for single.

On the Statistician's figure of \$84.80 for average male weekly earnings in the December 1970 quarter, the couple's pension on the ACTU basis would be a little over \$50 a week, as against \$30.25 now, and the single pension would be against \$31 and \$32 a week, as against \$16 now.

The program proposed equivalent increases for widow pensions.

Unemployment and sickness benefit objectives are set by the ACTU at 30 per cent of the average weekly earnings (that is, about \$25) plus 20% (almost \$17) for dependent spouse and 5% (over \$4) for each child under 16 years.

The present absurd levels of these benefits are \$10 for a single person, with \$7 for dependent spouse, \$2.50 for first child and \$3.50 for each other child.

The ACTU program is for maternity allowance to be \$140 for each child born. (The present rate is only \$30-\$35, depending on the number of other children; for

multiple birth, there is only \$10 extra for each child.)

Child endowment would, under the ACTU program, be \$3.60 for each child up to and including four, and an extra 60c for each further child.

(Existing rates are only 50c a week for the first child under 16, \$1 for the second, \$1.50 for the third, and then successive increases of 25c for each other child under 16.)

Other points on the ACTU social services program include:—

Government construction, maintenance and conduct of homes for the aged.

Free pharmaceutical benefits.

Free hospital accommodation in public wards of public hospitals. (At present Queensland provides this, but public ward costs in other States are from \$70 a week in NSW — which is to increase to over \$100 next month — to \$105 in Victoria.)

Control of fees for intermediate and private wards of public and private hospitals. Hospital benefit payment for patients in intermediate or private wards equal to that paid for a public ward patient.

Increased hospital accommodation with extensive outpatient facilities, including diagnostic and treatment clinics and domiciliary services; adequate provision for the chronically ill, mentally ill, mentally retarded or otherwise handicapped persons.

Safeguards on nutrition, health, hospitalization and social service.

benefits of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders.

Increased Government medical benefit, payable irrespective of membership of benefit societies; rigid Government control of doctors' fees. Free dental service, free ambulance service, free flying doctor service. Free artificial limbs, hearing aids and optical needs.

The ACTU program is obviously far in advance of existing standards. But it still could well be improved. For instance, 60% of average weekly earnings for a pensioner couple would still in the average case mean a drop of 40% (or over \$30 a week) in income on the day that the worker becomes a pensioner.

However, the immediate need is to generate the maximum response, essentially at job level, for next week's July 21 action.

In some cases, union leaderships will be making calls for this. In many others, there will be the top to be inaction or, at best, only token action. This makes rank-and-file initiative imperative. Employers and governments — so vicious in attacking union actions on social and political issues — will be anxiously assessing the response on July 21.

It's up to workers to show them.

— Pete Thomas

# Anti-racist tale of two cities



After a hot reception in Perth and Adelaide, South African Springboks match in Melbourne on July 3 was confronted by street march of anti-apartheid protesters.



ABOVE: When police began searching and screening demonstrators at the gates to the ground, some protestors tried to storm over the fence, but were beaten back by police.

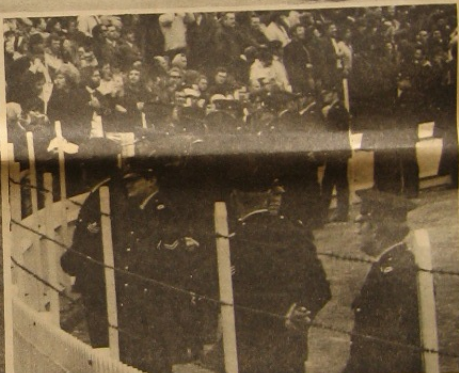
BELOW: Springboks had to take sneak-flights interstate due to airline unions' refusal to carry them. Here is their unglamorous entry to Sydney.



A minor example of scandalous police brutality against demonstrators during the Melbourne match confrontation.



Only this demonstrator breached the barriers and reached the centre of the ground during Saturday's Sydney match. Several had managed it at the earlier (Tuesday) match.



This picture shows the difficult barrier imposed by police on the 6,000 demonstrators on Saturday. Still, scores of courageous young people made the attempt and were bashed and arrested.



One of the 142 arrests during demonstration at last Saturday's Sydney match, also marked by vicious police violence.



Typical scene on the play arena during the 1 1/2 hour demonstration at Saturday's match, as massed police, prison vans, smoke bombs, flares, oranges, golf balls, and struggles between police and demonstrators made a farce of the Springbok match.

# MORATORIUM: WHAT NOW?

DESPITE the over-riding current attention to the anti-racist struggle around the Springboks, it is essential also to draw lessons from the June 30 Vietnam Moratorium. Was it a success — and, if so, to what extent?

Reports show that the Australian total of demonstrators was the biggest yet — certainly in Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth, Newcastle, Wollongong and smaller centres. In all centres, the right of the people to use the streets to make their demands for an end to the aggressive war was successfully re-asserted. This directly rebuffed the repressive aims of the authorities adoped following May 1970, and it was a particular triumph in Melbourne in Sydney and Adelaide, where police brutality had reigned supreme last September.

More basic however, was the marked extension of organised discussion of the war, and of Moratorium stopwork action, into new areas of industry. With the apparent exception of Adelaide, (where waterside workers did not stop work), there were not only stoppages by the main maritime unions at all ports but also, in the eastern States, significant stoppages in factory industry, particularly involving thousands of building workers.

Participation of high school students was notably higher in a number of cities, and the march in Brisbane by a body of serving conscripts, in defiance of Army attempts to prevent it, was profoundly significant.

## ALP contrasts

Evidence of the impact of the mass movement and the discrediting of the war policy on higher circles of the Labor Party was clearer. While the West Australian Labor Premier, Mr. Tonkin, actually marched, the recent ALP debates in Victoria and NSW had weakened rightwing resistance to the Moratorium. Thus Sydney saw a range of ALP speakers, even including the rightwing State president John Ducker, not only joining in but even tending to overload the speakers' list at the rally.

In the opposite direction, Adelaide saw the weight of the ALP (aided by dissident communist minority forces and others) thrown against the Moratorium stopwork campaign and street demonstrations, with the Labor Premier and government proposing a "law and order" position, if anything sharper than that of Askin and Bolte on this occasion.

Taken overall, these factors showed a broadening of the anti-war movement around the Moratorium and a discrediting, not only of the past reactions of the Establishment and their police, but also of those grouplets on the Left who had this year given the Moratorium away as "finished". Yet June 30 revealed serious negative features and dangers, too. Perhaps the most basic of these is the complacency — deliberately fostered through Nixon's Vietnamisation — that, in Sydney at least, visibly reduced the contribution of many former activists to what, nevertheless, turned out to be an important success, which could have been much bigger. The fact that the US and Australian governments still have a years-long perspective of waging counter-revolutionary war in Indo-China needs to be widely communicated.

Turning to the other side — the ruling forces who, as sponsors of aggressive intervention in SE-Asia, are bitterly opposed to mass anti-war action — in most places on June 30 they "played it cool" (though not so in Adelaide and Hobart).

No doubt, police violence was being saved for the anti-Springbok demonstrations, which by their



In Melbourne's June 30 Moratorium

nature involved more direct confrontations: but in Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne the authorities showed on June 30 that they could muffle the political impact of pre-announced street actions — even a two-hour sit-down occupation of a central block of Sydney's main street. Amply assisted by the mass media, they avoided last year's inspired uproar about "Moratorium lawlessness", avoided confrontation and so kept all publicity to a minimum.

In fact, a new note of jocular tolerance appeared in some mass media commentaries — a sure sign that the Establishment is seeking to absorb and integrate such Moratorium demonstrations into the normal life of the system.

To a degree, this may be explained by more skillful tactics by the war forces. But it may also be related to some loss of the spirit of challenge, of readiness to force the protest home across legal and other barriers, that built the Moratorium in 1970 and which is currently such an attraction to youth in the new anti-apartheid movement.

Further, the fact that a wider political spectrum — e.g. among leading ALP forces — has become involved brings a tendency to blur the political line hammered out by the Moratorium movement and attempts to harness it for electoral purposes.

Since less emphasis is put by the more conservative forces on mobilising the labor movement rank and file into mass action, particularly political anti-war strike action, and on defeating all American-Australian imperialist aggression now and in future, it is now all the more necessary to stress these very questions, alongside the main immediate demands on withdrawal and conscription.

The strength of anti-war challenge rests basically on the further development of the stopwork movement, around some appropriate target date later this year; but it can also gain from the lesson of the concreteness of the anti-Springbok campaign by upgrading other known targets for militant confrontation, e.g. —

- Parliamentarians voting for the war budget in August, or endorsing the periodic Defence Report.
- Major war contracting companies.
- US or Saigon visitors to Australia on war policy business, and Australian Ministers going to Vietnam.
- Military establishments geared to the Indo-

china aggression.

Some June 30 demonstrations — particularly those in Wollongong, Newcastle, Brisbane and Adelaide — displayed a valuable method of frustrating the authorities' policy of "absorbing" the impact of a conventional march. This was the conscious use of surprise tactics: unannounced halting of the march at intersections or other points along the route, for sit-downs, short rallies, etc.; and use of big stores and arcades to break through from one street to a "forbidden" street (in Adelaide).

But the biggest task in mobilising the latent strength of the movement and giving it a cutting edge is in achieving clearer understanding of the war issue by hundreds of thousands of workers to the point of taking stopwork action, and of more successfully knitting this into a general demonstrative action to end the war. This may require radical revision of some forms of activity — for example, a combination of decentralised demonstrations, in working hours, with massive central demonstrations, outside work hours, could be considered, possibly on successive days.

Now that the basic idea of Moratorium action in Australia — the use of work stoppage to fight the war policy — is really beginning to grow, it is up to all anti-war forces, including those "conservatives of the Left" who still resist the stopwork campaign, to devise forms of demonstration that fully publicise and bring together the widespread stopwork actions, thus revealing their growing power and encouraging new sections of workers into similar action.

— Alec Robertson.

## PUBLIC MEETING

Sydney Trades Hall Auditorium  
7 p.m. to 9.30 p.m. Friday, July 23

## TWO VIEWS ON CPSU CONGRESS

PAT CLANCY (NSW Secretary, BWIU): "24th Congress of the CPSU was a significant historical event for the world's working class and was democratically organised and conducted."

Laurie Aarons (National Secretary, CPA): Significance and character of the CPSU Congress.

Chairman: Tas Bull — Questions  
Admission 50 cents

Apprentices, Students, Pensioners 20 cents

## OBITUARY

The progressive movement lost a stalwart when Cliff Maskell died in Brisbane recently after a fairly long illness.

Cliff was born in Townsville in 1892. He attended the first branch meeting of the Communist Party branch when it was formed in Brisbane. This meeting was held in the Trades Hall.

He was associated with many of the well-known socialists of that period — J. B. (Jack) Miles, Jack Roach, Ernie Lane and others.

Cliff was president of the Furniture Trades Union for several years and represented that organisation on the Queensland Trades & Labor Council. He was very active in the 40-hour week campaign.

He proved his versatility by designing the line cut for the front page of the first Guardian published in Brisbane.

His relatives and friends will miss him greatly.

—Bill Sutton.

## Books in review

By Kathie Gleeson, manager, International Bookshop, Melbourne.

### Shipwreck of a Generation: The memoirs of Joseph Berger

(Harvill-Collins, \$6.50, post 21c). Joseph Berger, a founder of the Palestine Communist Party and a prominent figure in the Comintern, spent over 21 years in Soviet prisons and camps. In this book he tells the stories of some of the hundreds of men and women he came to know in the camps and prisons. Gives an enormous amount of information for the historian or the student of Russian society.

### The action image of society — on cultural politicization

by Alfred Willener (Tavistock paperback, \$5.25, post 21c). A study of the French Revolution, 1968. After a series of interviews with participants, it seemed to the author that the double juncture between anarchism and Marxism and between politics and culture was probably one of the essential features of the May events. From this basis comes one of the most interesting and exhaustive sociological studies of this important modern happening.

### Conversation with Eldridge Cleaver

by Lee Lockwood (Cape paperback, \$1.90, post 11c). Cleaver talks about the American revolution — why it should be made, how it will be made and the role he intends to play. It reveals him as a theorist and a socialist-revolutionary.

### Birth of the Communist Manifesto

(New World Paperback, \$3.25, post 17c). With text of the Manifesto, all prefaces by Marx and Engels and other supplementary material. Edited, with an introduction by Dirk J. Struik, which is an historical introduction sketching the social and intellectual climate in which the manifesto was conceived.

### Socialism in Cuba

by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy (Monthly Review reader \$2.95, post 11c). An important study which deserves reading by anyone concerned with problems of Latin America and underdevelopment. Particularly interesting is the final chapter in which the authors suggest that the regime's paternalistic political style and its tendency to shut off political debate may prove injurious to the very goals it hopes to achieve.

### Strike at Pilkingtons

by Tony Lane and Kenneth Roberts (Fontana paperback — \$1.90, post 11c). The first full account of any strike to appear in the United Kingdom. The authors discuss in detail what happened to management and union, the unofficial strike committee and rank-and-file members. Indispensable for all interested in worker control and the trade union movement.

### A dirty story — Pollution in Australia

(Sun paperback — \$1.65, post 11c). From the time the white man landed in Australia in 1770, we have proceeded to treat the country with criminal negligence and wanton destruction. Foul rivers and waterways, industrial smog, squalid rubbish piles and the death of our wildlife. This is a firm plea for public education to face the pollution challenge.

### An analysis of human sexual response

(Panther, \$1.80, post 11c). The startling findings and possible implications of the famous Masters and Johnson research into human sexual response — interpreted and discussed in non-technical language by some of the world's foremost authorities.



## Lodge's Last Talk With Diem

Excerpt from cablegram from Ambassador Lodge to State Department, Nov. 1, 1963, as provided in the body of the Pentagon study. According to the narrative, the message says that at 4:30 P.M. on Nov. 1, President Diem telephoned Ambassador Lodge and the following conversation ensued:

**DIEM:** Some units have made a rebellion and I want to know what is the attitude of the US?

**LODGE:** I do not feel well enough informed to be able to tell you. I have heard the shooting, but am not acquainted with all the facts. Also it is 4:30 a.m. in Washington and the US Government cannot possibly have a view.

**DIEM:** But you must have some general ideas. After all, I am a Chief of State. I have tried to do my duty. I want to do now what duty and good sense require. I believe in duty above all.

**LODGE:** You have certainly done

your duty. As I told you only this morning, I admire your courage and your great contribution to your country. No one can take away from you the credit for all you have done. Now I am worried about your physical safety. I have a report that those in charge of the current activity offer you and your brother safe conduct out of the country if you resign. Had you heard this?

**DIEM:** No. (And then after a pause) You have my telephone number.

**LODGE:** Yes. If I can do anything for your physical safety, please call me.

**DIEM:** I am trying to re-establish order.

Right: November 1, 1963: The bullet-riddled body of the discarded US puppet ruler of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem.



## THE FALL OF DIEM

Tribune reproduces on this page extracts from the first instalment (July 1) of the resumed New York Times series on the Pentagon Papers, which tell the detailed, inside story of US involvement in the Vietnam war.

This instalment bares American complicity, especially through the CIA, in the plot which ended in the overthrow and assassination of their own puppet ruler, Ngo Dinh Diem, in November 1963.

The ruthlessness and duplicity with which the US pursues its own interests, as seen by the dominant Establishment forces of the given time, are brought out starkly in the Pentagon Papers.

Given Australia's degree of political dependence on the United States, and the CIA's known involvement in Australian labor movement and other public affairs, the Papers also raise questions of keen concern to the people of this country (see below).

## Highlights of the Period

The Kennedy Administration's "complicity" in the 1963 overthrow of President Ngo Dinh Diem is documented in the Pentagon study, which says that this episode "indisputably demonstrated" United States involvement in the Vietnam conflict.

Here, in chronological order, are highlights of this period:

### MAY-JUNE, 1963

Buddhist protests against Diem Government flare into violence after Government troops attack demonstrators in Hue. Crisis worsens as confrontations become focus for widespread political disaffection with Diem's regime and Ngo Dinh Nhu, his brother.

### AUGUST, 1963

Saigon regime, violating pledge to U.S. that it will seek to conciliate Buddhists, stages midnight raids on Buddhist pagodas. Many arrests and beatings.

First request for U.S. support of coup plot made to CIA agent.

George W. Ball, Acting Secretary of State, tells Henry Cabot Lodge, new U.S. Ambassador, that Diem must "remove Nhu or we can no longer support him." Says "appropriate military commanders" can be pledged "direct support in any interim period of breakdown central government mechanism." Authorizes Ambassador to threaten aid cut-off unless jailed Buddhists are released.

Lodge replies chances of "Diem's meeting our demands are virtually nil." Says "by making them, we give Nhu chance to forestall" coup. Suggests "we go straight to generals with our demands."

CIA agents make contact with two plotters.

Col. Lucien Conein, a top CIA agent, meets with Lt. Gen. Duong Van Minh, plot leader. Minh asks U.S. to suspend economic aid to Diem regime as signal of support. It is indicated that CIA agents gave plotters sensitive information about loyalist forces.

Lodge, replying to query from President Kennedy, says "US prestige" is publicly committed; "there is no turning back..."

National Security Council meeting "reaffirmed basic course." U.S. "will support a coup which has a good chance of succeeding." Gen. Paul D. Harkins, U.S. military commander, Saigon, told U.S. State "he is prepared to establish liaison" with plotters. Lodge authorized to "announce suspension of aid" at will.

Private Kennedy message to Lodge pledges "everything possible to help you conclude this operation successfully," but asks continuing reports to allow

possible "reverse" signal. Says "we must go to win, but it will be better to change our minds than fail."

Lodge urges Saigon to break down in conspiracy. National Security Council meets. Paul M. Kattenburg, head of Vietnam Interdepartmental Working Group, urges U.S. Rusk says U.S. will not pull out "until the war is won," and "will not run a coup."

### OCTOBER, 1963

Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, and Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Chairman of Joint Chiefs, propose after Diem meeting that U.S. "work with Diem regime but not support it." Urge economic pressure.

Conein, and other CIA agents renew contact with Minh and other plotters. Lodge urges assurances U.S. will not "thwart" coup.

President accepts McNamara-Taylor proposals, series of economic cut-offs. Study says "regime very ambiguous" question whether aid suspension is meant as "green light for coup."

Aid cut-offs start. White House messages to Ambassador "stress surveillance and readiness," not "active promotion" of coup. Study says they stress desire for "plausibility of denial" of U.S. involvement.

Coup canceled. Leader cites Harkins' attitude as reason. Harkins denies "try-discuss coups that were not my business."

Doubts about coup revived in Washington, study says. Lodge asks "attitude of judging and warning on any plan with poor prospects of success."

Lodge opposes any move to "pour cold water" on plot. Lodge and Diem have "fruitless, frustrating" meeting. Ambassador says Diem "gave me a blank look and changed the subject" when asked for "some one thing" to "favorably impress" U.S. opinion.

White House tells Lodge to "discourage" plot. If quiet success is unlikely. Lodge replies U.S. is unable to "delay or discourage a coup."

### NOVEMBER, 1963

Coup proceeds on schedule. Diem, on telephone, study says, Lodge asks "attitude of the U.S." Lodge replies he is not "well enough informed" to say, tells him: "If I can do anything for your personal safety, please call me."

Pentagon study says Diem finally accepts Generals' offer of safe-conduct out of country; he and brother are shot to death by armored units.

## Lodge Message on Meeting Of C.I.A. Agent With Gen. Minh

Cablegram from Ambassador Lodge to the State Department, Oct. 5, 1963.

1. Lt. Col. Conein met with Gen Duong Van Minh at Gen. Minh's Headquarters on Le Van Duyet for one hour and ten minutes morning of 5 Oct 63. This meeting was at the initiative of Gen Minh and has been specifically cleared in advance by Ambassador Lodge. No other persons were present. The conversation was conducted in French.

2. Gen. Minh stated that he must know American Government's position with respect to a change in the Government of Vietnam within the very near future. Gen. Minh added the Generalisimo rapidly and that action to change the Government must be taken or the war will be lost to the Viet Cong because the Government no longer has the support of the people. Gen. Minh identified among the other Generalisimo participating with him in this plan:

3. Gen. Minh made it clear that he did not expect any specific American support for an effort on the part of Government but he states he does not expect to attempt to thwart this plan. Gen. Minh also stated that he did not have any political ambitions nor do any of the other General Officers ex-

cept perhaps, he said laughingly, Gen. Ton That Dinh. Gen. Minh insisted that his only purpose is to win the war. He added emphatically that to do this the United States should support the economic aid at the present level (He said day) is necessary.

5. Gen. Minh outlined three possible plans for the accomplishment of the change of Government:

a. Assassination of Ngo Dinh Nhu and Ngo Dinh Can keeping President Diem in Office. Gen. Minh said this was the easiest plan to accomplish.

b. The encirclement of Saigon by various military units particularly the military units involved in the coup and effecting the city of Saigon into sectors and cleaning it out pocket by pocket. Gen. Minh claims under the circumstances Diem and Nhu could count on the loyalty of 5,000 troops within the city of Saigon.

c. Direct confrontation between military units involved in the coup and loyalist military units in Saigon in effect, dividing the city of Saigon into sectors and cleaning it out pocket by pocket. Gen. Minh claims under the circumstances Diem and Nhu could count on the loyalty of 5,000 troops within the city of Saigon.

6. Conein referred to Gen. Minh that he could not answer specific questions as to USG non-interference nor could he give any advice with respect to tactical planning. He added that he con-

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not advise concerning the best of the three plans.

7. Gen. Minh went on to explain that the most dangerous men in South Vietnam are Ngo Dinh Nhu, Ngo Dinh Can, and Ngo Trong Hieu. Minh stated that Hieu was formerly a Communist and Col. Conein remarked that he had considered Col. Tung as one of the more dangerous individuals. Gen. Minh stated "if I get rid of Nhu, Can and Hieu, Col. Tung will be on his knees before me."

8. Gen. Minh also stated that he was worried as to the role of Gen. Tran Thien Khlem since Khlem that he was played a double role in August. Gen. Minh asked that copies of the documents previously passed to Gen. Khlem (plan of Camp Long Thanh) and munitions inventory at that camp) be passed to Gen. Minh personally for comparison

with papers passed by Khlem to Minh purportedly from CAS.

9. Minh further stated that one of the reasons they are having to act quickly is the fact that many regimental, battalion and company commanders are working on coup plans of their own which could be abortive and a "catastrophe."

10. Minh appeared to understand Gen. Conein's position of being unable to comment at the present moment but asked that Conein again meet with Gen. Minh to discuss the specific plan of operation. No specific date was put into this next meeting. Conein was again non-committal in his reply. Gen. Minh once again indicated his understanding and Conein in the near future and hoped that Conein would be able to meet with him and give the assurance outlined above.

## GORTON AND THE CIA

For most of his Prime Ministership, John Grey Gorton was convinced that his most serious political enemy was not the Labor Party, not any Australian political force, at all, but the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America.

Gorton frequently confided to close associates his belief that the CIA was out to "get" him. The grounds for CIA hostility to Gorton are not entirely clear, but Party certainly had to do with his habit, especially in his early days as PM, of making noises about an independent Australian foreign policy.

Somebody certainly "got" Gorton.

What part if any did the CIA play in his downfall? And what attitude do the mandarins of the US intelligence service have to his successor, William McMahon? Do they think, as they once did of Ngo Dinh Diem, that he is a "tiny little man"?

Certainly somewhere on the shady side of the much-vaunted Australia-US alliance, they are doing their work. The Pentagon Papers have shown, with unchallengeable authenticity, just how dirty this work can be.

# THE PEOPLE versus APARTHEID

**SYDNEY:** Mobilisation of nearly 1,000 police—with 400 of them operating inside the playing arena — turned Saturday's Springboks v NSW football match into a farce and climaxed an effective first week of non-stop demonstrations against the apartheid team in this state.

Cumulative result of the unprecedented anti-racist protests through four States was revealed by Sunday Australian correspondent John Stewart, writing from Capetown.

"There is a growing feeling (among South Africans) that the Australian tour should be abandoned . . . If it is the intention of the demonstrators to cause thinking South Africans to reflect on the reasons for this country's unpopularity, then they have succeeded."

But Rugby administrators, he added, have as their major objective "to stay the course."

## 6000 PROTESTORS

Saturday afternoon in Sydney saw some 6000 anti-apartheid protestors in continuous action throughout the match at the Cricket Ground.

The arena was guarded by close ranks of police inside a three-strand barbed wire and picket fence. This barrier, supplemented by vicious police violence and massive arrests, prevented demonstrators from actually halting the game.

The previous Tuesday (July 6), saw the first Springbok match in Sydney. Some 3,000 demonstrators packed the seats in front of the Hill and maintained a non-stop demonstration throughout the game. Smoke bombs were hurled and non-stop chanting and whistle-blowing maintained.

The barbed wire was cut in several places and demonstrators attempted to jump over it and storm through police ranks.

The successful invasion of the field, however, came in the second half from the Members' Stand, when three women and two men jumped a poorly-guarded section of the fence and raced to the centre of the ground. They included Meredith Burgman, well-known activist on Sydney University campus, who had entered the Members' Stand in disguise.

Police at the Tuesday match were reasonably restrained, following the protests



ONE of the 140-odd arrested — in this case, a young woman — at the Sydney Cricket Ground last Saturday.

at violence perpetrated in Melbourne and Adelaide anti-apartheid demonstrations: 59 arrests were made.

## POLICE SIX-DEEP

Between the Tuesday and Saturday, a plan was worked out for a mass breakthrough immediately the wire was cut along a length of the fence.

However, when the wire was cut on Saturday, police six-deep moved in quickly and blocked the gap before demonstrators could break through. Only

one demonstrator made it to the centre of the field.

In contrast to the Tuesday match, police on Saturday used some of the worst violence seen in Sydney demonstrations for many years; 142 were arrested.

At least three demonstrators were taken to hospital, two suffering from concussion and one with a suspected fractured skull. Many were punched or cut as they were dragged across the barbed wire.

Police violence and arrests were indiscriminate as they dived in groups into the centre of the crowd.

Among those arrested were a two-man ABC television crew (a cameraman and a sound recorder).

Mr. Peter McGregor, convenor of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, said later he intends to charge a policeman with assault after being kicked twice in the chest and once in the crutch while standing shouting slogans.

Some police, particularly those in plain clothes, showed relish in bashing up demonstrators.

The sole police casualty was hit by a full can of beer aimed at a demonstrator by a Rugby supporter.

## HARASSMENT

Throughout the week in Sydney, harassment of the Springboks continued unabated. Throughout the evenings, fire crackers and distress flares went off near the motel. These incidents were not reported in the press.

On another occasion a flare was thrown through a window of the motel, and a fire engine was called.

Mr. Gary Foley, an Aboriginal student, turned up on Saturday morning outside the motel in a Springboks' jersey. Accusing him of theft, police took Mr. Foley into the motel to confront dumfounded Springboks, who regard their jersey as sacred and never to be profaned by non-whites!

Other, more light-hearted incidents indicate Springbok and police nervousness.

For instance, the Springboks were due on the Wednesday to meet supporters for a booze-up at Warringah Rugby Park, Narrabeen, and then to tour Sydney's northern beaches. The bus was due to leave their motel at 8.30 a.m.

However, when four demonstrators in two cars parked outside the front about that time, police and Rugby organisers took alarm and delayed the departure until 11 a.m.

The booze-up at Warringah Rugby Park was cancelled and the Springboks were taken straight on to a ferry for a cruise around Pittwater — followed by three police launches.

In Orange, Springboks' bookings were cancelled at a local country club for fear of demonstrators' retaliation and the tourists were billeted out in individual homes.

## BALL OBSTRUCTION

Police on Saturday systematically hindered bailing officers. Huge ball figures were set, from a minimum of \$200 to a maximum of \$1000. Money available for ball was speedily used up and during the night hundreds of supporters responded to the appeal to lend money for ball.

Police at Darlinghurst station refused to allow bailing officers to bail out protesters until the early hours of Sunday morning.

The next Springboks match — the first Test — is due to be held at the Sydney Cricket Ground this Saturday. Lengthy discussions are to be held beforehand to plan the form of protest.

Activists of the Anti-Apartheid Movement have always recognized that, if police used enough resources, they could prevent invasion of the field. Moreover, the police are better organized and disciplined than the demonstrators and, once they get the initiative, they can keep it.

However, by using massive forces and turning the field into a concentration camp, the police themselves proved the point, reduced the football match to a sideshow, and showed especially that it would be impossible to hold the cricket tour in such conditions.

## REV. FRANK HARTLEY DIES: A PIONEER OF PEACE MOVEMENT

**MELBOURNE:** The Rev Frank Hartley, a veteran of the peace movement in Australia and a supporter of many progressive causes, died on Monday, July 5.

He was one of those pioneers of the peace movement whom today's massive and militant actions would not have been possible.

A founder of the Australian Peace Council in 1949, Frank Hartley worked for peace when the going was hard — during the worst period of the cold war. Together with two other clergymen — the Revs. Alfred Dickie and Victor James — he witnessed years of vilification to pursue steadfastly such causes as nuclear disarmament, peace in Korea, international understanding, and an end to the Vietnam war.

In 1951 he became a member of the World Council of Peace, and attended many subsequent meetings.



The Rev. Frank Hartley

He was a foundation member in 1959 of the Australian and New Zealand Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament — a body which was to make a tremendous contribution to the cause of peace.

Frank Hartley took an active part in the peace movement after his experiences in the Second World War. An army chaplain on the Kokoda trail in New Guinea, he hurried many men and had the task of informing the relatives. He formed strong anti-war beliefs.

His ministry in the Methodist Church reflected his concern for people. For several years he had been superintendent of the church's Praharan Mission, and after years of battling against entrenched interests, a member of the Praharan City Council.

He was strong in his Christian convictions, and never hesitated to state his opinions while at the same time being able to conduct meaningful dialogue with people of various opinions. He was a strong advocate of Christian-Marxist dialogue, and took part in many activities to this end.

He admired the achievements of the socialist countries for peace and social progress, and made a number of visits to the USSR.

Although warned of a serious heart ailment, Frank Hartley found it impossible to be inactive. He took part in the great Moratorium march in Melbourne a few days before his death, thinking no doubt of the days when only a few dozen people would have been prepared to take part in demonstrations against war.

Tribune extends its most sincere sympathies to his wife Marion and his sons and daughter.

## JUNE 30 IN ADELAIDE

A FEW corrections to the South Australian story on the events of June 30. It is appreciated that the material sent had to be divided into separate stories on the Moratorium and the anti-apartheid protest, but there are two important omissions.

Firstly, the following did not appear: "The class character of the ALP and its government was clearly revealed in the ALP issuing a statement to all affiliates not to participate, and in the Government's instruction that Rundle St., the main centre of commerce, was not to be used. This aim of protecting big business (Myers, John Martens, Woolworths, Coles and others) . . . was defeated by the courageous initiative of the demonstrators."

At the end of the Moratorium story, reference is made to the arrest of AEU secretary John Scott. To my knowledge, he did not march and almost all unions in SA, including the AEU, had refused

to support the YMC in preparation for June 30. He was arrested at the rugby demonstration, but so were 30 others.

The police in Adelaide were as savage at the anti-war demonstration as at the anti-apartheid one.

The joint article concluded with: "The movement will debate the credits and debits of Wednesday, June 30, for some time, as well as the factors leading up to the day."

"What emerges clearly, however, is that against those who try to use the movement for their own ends, for reasons of political opportunism and expediency, stand the growing number of people whose own experiences are teaching them that rigorous, militant action can defeat even the strongest enemies."

"This will inevitably lead to the greater awareness to struggle for lasting social change."

—Hal Alexander.

By Eric Aarons

# What obligations and what alternatives in a revolutionary party?

It is a pity that a sincerely held and lucidly put case such as that of Comrades Doug Gillies and Ron Hearn in the *On the Left*, July 7, is treated as a distort issue which lie at the basis of their position.

They imply that there is an obligation for communist parties to change their policies to accord with majority decisions at international meetings.

There is no such obligation. These meetings, since the dissolution of the Comintern which was an organisation with rules accepted by the parties belonging to it) are consultative. The 1960 meeting, for example, specifically rejected moves to condemn those with differing views.

There is a moral obligation to work for maximum international unity, but the attempt to achieve unity by making majority decisions binding, whether directly or "under the lip", has been one of the major reasons for the grave disunity of recent years.

Readers can easily recall for themselves many examples of "unanimous" decisions which were afterwards just as unanimously declared to be gravely in error. Such experiences, the harmful results of automatically following some big party, and of dogmatism and stagnation on the theoretical front, have caused an increasing number of parties to accept the full responsibility for making and implementing their own decisions. This I believe is the obligation of all parties, both to their own people and to the future progress of the international movement.

★

Comrades Gillies and Hearn are rather free in telling us what other parties would do or accept. I change them to name just one party which would:

- (a) change its congress decisions because other parties disapproved of them or
- (b) relinquish the rights they claim in Australia to work in opposition to their party decisions.

It may have been that their minority position was used on an odd occasion to suggest the case against them. On the contrary, the basic issues concerned the policy to be followed in Australia and rejection of overseas pressures — exactly the same type of issues being faced now.

★

One could answer point by point what the two comrades have raised, but the main question remains: how is the present position in the party to be approached? This is indeed a matter of the utmost importance in principle and practice.

It is an occasion for some satisfaction that the question today not whether members of the CPA should have extensive democratic rights — that is taken for granted — but as to whether there is an obligation which would limit those rights in any way at all.

I believe the following:

1. Where there are diametrically opposed views in the party on aim, theory, strategy, tactics and organisation (or any one of these), a decision will be made after due consideration, on what direction the party is to take.

2. When such decision has been made those who disagree have four alternative courses open to them:

- (a) to accept that the party has decided on a direction, and while retaining all views, putting them forward in the avenues provided (as they are), and working for a change of policy at a later congress; or to carry out the decisions made as well as they are able

- (b) to regard the issues as so fundamental as to leave the party possibly establishing another political organisation to put their views
- (c) to remain in the party but refuse to accept the direction decided and the major decisions; to put their own effort mainly into opposing those decisions and pursuing their own policy; to organise with other like-minded people within the party to this end, and to strive also to win a majority at a later congress
- (d) to accept the majority decision as correct, carry on as usual, and see what happens.

I see no other alternatives, though formulations could differ. As to (d), some may do this, but in present circumstances not many, and it is certainly not expected or demanded by the National Committee. (a) and (b) are clear enough, which leaves only (c). Since interpretation is important and alternative (c) means taking a factional direction, I will give my definition of a faction. It is a group of people who:

- (i) have a diametrically opposed position on some or all major questions of aim, theory, strategy, tactics or organisation
- (ii) regard these differences as more important than any agreement on other questions

(iii) consequently put main effort into publicising and working for their own position, and where necessary against the decisions of the majority

(iv) put obligation (loyalty, response to calls of leadership, finance etc.) to the group above obligation to the party as a whole.

★

The question then is: should a revolutionary party be obliged to accept? I believe not. On the contrary, I believe a revolutionary party is obliged not to accept it.

This is not at all because "the fight ... has become more important than the real issues", but because it is at this juncture precisely the real issue.

What is the point a revolutionary party having a statement of aims and methods if anyone in the party can accept them or not, or some other aims and methods, as they please?

What is the point in having rules and a constitution if no one has any duty to accept them — or rather claims all the rights and will undertake no obligations of substance?

What is the point in having a system of party organisations if any group can set up another of their own alongside of, instead of or against it?

The result might conceivably be called a party (though even that is debatable) but it certainly would not be a revolutionary one.

★

In the longer term, more important than the immediate problem of the opposition in the party, is the attitude of other forces who must be looked to as at least potential reinforcements for the party. Some of these could regard the measures being taken to resolve the present dispute as some sort of revision to "stalinism".

One understands their position, particularly since the party is seeking still better ways to develop its democratic prac-

tices and build more effective and acceptable structures, and not all are aware of what has already been achieved.

Nevertheless, I believe such a conclusion on their part would be profoundly mistaken as the problem is not just cure, but has to be faced by any group of revolutionaries who have advanced from the rejection of organisation in principle to facing the question of what sort of organisation? I do not believe there is any

visible alternative to the one I have briefly outlined here.

I agree with Comrades Gillies and Hearn that the mass movement is growing strongly and conditions for a growth of the party are developing. But to meet this promising and challenging situation requires not the destruction of the effectiveness of the party by recognising the "rights" of the opposition to do as they like, or acceptance of their practice of boycotting party discussions to concert action on political and industrial issues.

It requires rather recognition by them that they have an obligation to act in a reasonable measure of unity with the majority around the party decisions, strategy and tactics.

## SYDNEY NEW THEATRE'S DOUBLE-BILL



Janni Campbell and Graham Richards in a scene from *A Race Odyssey*, the first half of the double-bill program now showing at New Theatre, Sydney, every Friday, Saturday and Sunday at 8.15 pm. Other feature is the drama, *The Death of Bessie Smith*, by famous American playwright, Edward Albee.

## EIGHT GO FROM PARTY

SYDNEY: Eight Communist Party members resigned last week. Their resignations were sent to the National Committee in a renewed statement of "protest at policies and methods of the present leaders of the CPA."

The members are Messrs. T. McDonald, S. Sharkey, W. Gould (all Building Workers' Industrial Union officials), R. Clarke and L. Grant. Mesdames A. Sharkey, B. Jago, E. Hokin and Miss E. Parsons. Mr. Sharkey and Mrs. Hokin have recently returned from visits to the USSR.

Most of those resigning attended a meeting held last month to set up a "Sydney Socialist Unity Committee." This body, modelled upon a Newcastle organisation set up by Mrs. B. Curthoys, has been forehadowed as a possible new political party.

These resignations follow soon after those of Mesdames F. Brown, J. Clarke, A. McDonald and A. Grant. Reasons given for the latest resignations are very similar

to the earlier ones. They include allegations of "instability," "Right and Left opportunism," "repressive climate" in the Party, "pornography and pro-Frotskyism" in *Tribune*, and "international factionalism."

These resignations show a considerable division in the organised grouping which has refused to accept the 22nd Congress decisions supported by the majority of CPA members.

The division is whether to openly establish a new political organisation, or to maintain it as a faction within the CPA. The issue was debated at the Ultimo meeting last October, where the majority favoured working as a factional grouping within the Party.

The latest resignations show that the difference has not been resolved. However, those favouring public formation of a new political grouping state their support of Socialist Publications as well as the Socialist Unity Committee.

Jack Legge on the environmental crisis; Bernie Taft on the political crisis; Mick Cousins on mass communications and capitalism. All welcome, 50c admission. Questions and discussion. Cup of tea provided.

PRINCIPLES OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AND THE CPA: Meeting addressed by Laurie Aarons at 197 Lons-

dale St., Melbourne, Friday, July 16, 8 p.m. Communist Party of Australia members only.

Queensland

YETI THEATRE presents "ON STAGE VIETNAM", by Mona Brand and Pat Barnett, Rialto Theatre, West End, July 14-17.

CLASSIFIED

home, five miles from Melbourne OPO available for exchange end of December to end of January, with locally recommended *Tribune* residence only. Write to O.P.O. *Tribune*, 168 Day St., Sydney 2000.

TO LET: Four-bedroom house, Magnetic Island, Queensland, \$18 per week. Apply P. O. Box 544, Townsville.

APPLICATIONS are now being called for caretaker property Magnetic Island. Rent-free. Apply Box 544, Townsville.

## What's On

**New South Wales**  
**NEW THEATRE** presents "THE DEATH OF BESSIE SMITH" a powerful drama about the death of world famous Negro singer by well-known dramatist Edward Albee and "A RACE ODYSSEY" each Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 8.15 p.m. Bookings at David Jones, Mitchell, New Theatre 31-3221.  
 "THE MAGIC TRAVEL BOX" by John Mulligan, a play for children; matinee each Saturday 2.15 Bookings as above.  
**THE STRUGGLE FOR BANGLA DESH:** A prominent speaker at Liberation, 1st Floor, Sea Ocean Beach, July 14, 1971.

July 7, 8 p.m., then adjourn to protest outside Squire Inn Motel.  
**PUBLIC MEETING, Friday, July 16 7.30 pm.** Speaker Joe Palmada on THE CHARACTER AND ORGANISATION OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, Nantitira Room, Trades Hall, Newcastle.  
**Victoria**  
**THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM SEMINAR**, Aug. Sunday, July 18, 10 am-4 pm 1st Floor, 197 Lonsdale St. (entrance Hefferman Lane). Lead Speakers: Andrea Jackson, Charles Silver on economic aspects; David Evans on Australia, developing countries and capitalism's contradictions.

# VICTORIAN POLICE'S OVERKILL

from our Victorian correspondent  
MELBOURNE: Police chiefs, acting with the connivance of the government, over-reached themselves by their actions against demonstrators on July 3 and 4, and are coming in for strong criticism from many quarters.

July 3 saw the most violent scenes in Melbourne for many years, with veterans comparing police action with that of the depression years. The police rampage continued next day against demonstrators who marched to the US Consulate and the South Africa Trade Commission.

The daily newspapers, the student press, and dozens of leaflets are full of eyewitness accounts of the actions of the police on both July 3 and 4.

Many rugby fans were revolted by the police action at Olympic Park, partly by what they saw, and partly by their own experiences of being searched by arrogant policemen. Some who remonstrated (even mildly) with the police were abused, assaulted or arrested.

## PROTESTS

Some examples in a cascade of protests against police brutality were:

\* The 26 "rebel" unions demanded the immediate suspension of Superintendents Hickey and Holland pending the outcome of a full inquiry into the incidents. They asked Labor opposition leader Mr. Clyde King to establish an independent inquiry with trade unions, the Australian Journalists' Association, the Council of Civil Liberties, the Council of Churches, and legal men, taking the lead.

\* They have called for demonstrations in opposition to the police actions and in support of those arrested when their cases are heard in the courts.

\* State secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Mr. John Halpeny, pointed out in a statement that other public inquiries into allegations against the police had been initially rejected by the Bolle Government, who had denied the allegations. He directed attention to the subsequent inquiries which were taken as that into abortion racket which had proved anti-police allegations.

\* There has been a flood of letters to the daily press. The AEA reports a two-to-one majority of letters criticising the police.

\* The Victorian District Committee of the Australian Journalists' Association called for an independent inquiry, and condemned "acts of violence against four members of the AJA" by police. They have asked the Chief Secretary, Mr. Hamer, "to receive a deputation from the AJA to discuss these acts of violence and to seek assurances that working journalists will not be subjected to unwarranted interference in the performance of their duties."

\* The Victorian Council of Churches has asked for the rugby tour to be cancelled, expressed concern about excessive use of violence by police and called for a full inquiry into the incidents.

On Moratorium Day the police in the main stayed on the sidelines despite the fact that the centre of the city was paralysed for over three hours.

On that day there was no violence. The fewer the police and the further they were kept from the demonstration, the less likelihood there was of violence.

But the desire of the government and ruling circles that the Springbok tour must go on at all costs brought different tactics on July 3.

This green light from Premier Bolle and the police top brass gave the fullest scope to the thugs element in the police force. Much publicity has been given to the dangerous weapons such as the student missiles allegedly carried by a few demonstrators. Several points must be made about these.

Firstly, the vast majority of demonstrators would have been opposed to the use of such weapons. Apart from anything else, they have played into the hands of the pro-apartheidists.

Secondly, the action and attitude of



Anti-apartheid demonstrators' arms up in the Nazi salute as a busload of Springboks, convoyed (as always) by police, left Sydney Town Hall last week.

the police had nothing to do with the possession or otherwise of such weapons. They felt that the circumstances were right to "get rough" with demonstrators and perhaps atone for the serious loss of morale which has followed a series of police scandals.

In addition, the police are now making the alleged confiscation of these weapons the occasion to raid students' homes particularly in Carlton, not to search for more materials, but for the purpose of harassment and intimidation.

The rugby tour has resulted in considerable polarisation of opinion not only on racism and apartheid, but also on a range of serious moral issues affecting the future of the socialist and progressive movements. Like the debate on the Vietnam war, it gives the opportunity to the Left to step up ideological work.

The sharp conflict has released the open and latent racism which exists in Australia, particularly in ruling circles but also in other sections, including the working class. It indicates that much is yet to be done in combating our own home-grown racial and national prejudices.

Such feelings have been powerful factors in the drumming up of the support (which is now waning) for the Vietnam war. They will be relied upon in the future by the ruling class to combat the growing movement among the Aborigines and in New Guinea, and must gain increasing attention from all Left forces.

## \$1500 bail on union leader!

SYDNEY: Two trade unionists appeared in the Central Court of Petty Sessions here last Friday, charged with having "maliciously damaged a goal post" at the Sydney Cricket Ground on Thursday night.

This was the venue of Saturday's Rugby Union match between New South Wales and the visiting Springboks (South African white racist team).

The unionists — Bob Pringle (State president, Building and Construction Workers) and John Phillips (ironworker) — were both remanded until August 20. Bail for Pringle was fixed at (with an equal surety) \$1,500, and for Phillips at (with an equal surety) \$500.

As well as having these heavy amounts set for bail, both men were ordered to report regularly to the police. Pringle refused to give an assurance he would stay away from the ground during the Springbok game.

The magistrate then ordered that he stay away while the South Africans were playing.

Set B. Hyde, prosecuting, alleged that both goal posts had been cut part-way through with a hacksaw.

# HELPING TRIBUNE AND HELPING YOURSELF

By CLAUDE JONES

THE second annual Tribune dinner in Sydney on July 3 was such a success that over 50 people have already booked for the 1972 dinner.

It is firmly established as one of the most enjoyable nights of the year, with wonderful food, a relaxed atmosphere (helped by a great range of drinks) and plenty of time to yarn.

This year's dinner (where something is given to Tribune and Tribune gives you something in return) will mean \$639 to funds.

Both Wollongong and Newcastle have plans in hand to make their second annual dinners bigger and better than last year.

Last financial year, the three annual dinners cleared over \$1000 altogether and this year's total will be better.

I am sure that similar results could be achieved in other States, and this form of fund-raising could, if tackled by all States, bring in over \$2000 a year.

How to augment the donations of our solid supporters has been given a good deal of thought. New avenues and methods of fund-raising have been discussed.

The success of the Tribune dinners shows that the idea of "helping Tribune while you help yourself" can be further extended.

As a start, we can now announce that preliminary work has been done for the launching of a new venture, "Tribmart".

It is proposed to offer the Tribune readers and supporters various articles, some of which will be exclusive to "Tribmart".

On offer at the moment are men's sport shirts, women's garments such as happicoats, gurt and other style jackets.

All the garments are made of Indonesian Batik, which is a delicate hand-crafted textile of many beautiful and individual designs. It is entirely hand-made from wax impressions and a dyeing process which is repeated many times to turn out a beautiful and long-lasting cloth.

## Miners' leader

SYDNEY: Mr. Evan Phillips, former Northern District president of the Miners' Federation, will be the Federation's new general president when Mr. W. Smart retires later this year.

Mr. Phillips, who is well known as a communist, won the ballot for the general presidency by 5338 votes to the 2427 secured by his only opponent.

An interview with Mr. Phillips will be in next week's Tribune.

In addition to the garments, 3 yd. dress lengths (41 inches wide) are available.

Samples of garments and materials are on display at 168 Day Street, Sydney, and they will be made available in other States as soon as possible.

This is only the beginning of what is hoped can be turned into a thriving mail-order venture for Tribune. It is expected that some exclusive releases can be announced soon.

The aim of "Tribmart" is frankly to make money to help Tribune. But in helping Tribune, you will be helping yourself. I will discuss more ideas next week. Let me know what you think of them and send any ideas you may have which will help to lift Tribune finances.

This week's donations to the Tribune Fund are up a lot because of the success of the Tribune dinner and also some generous donations, particularly \$100 from one of our staunchest supporters, Christine West of Newcastle.

Diana and Harry Gould, who figure so regularly and generously in the weekly lists, have sent \$20 this week as a "get well" gesture to June Mills, who is convalescing in hospital after an operation.

## Fund donations

Tribune Fund donations this week are: NSW \$199.20, Victoria \$40.60, Queensland \$28.98, W.A. (included in last week's total) \$10. Proceeds of Sydney Tribune dinner \$639.28.

## New South Wales

Guarantors: Non Williams (two payments) \$10, North Sydney Guarantor group \$2, Tribune Editorial \$90, Old Bods \$2, National committee of \$1, E. Burns (Newcastle) 80c, C.P.A. Office (Newcastle) \$1.65.

Donations: K.O. \$30, B.D. \$3, Ashfield Branch \$1.80, Diana & Harry Gould (to double contribution this week instead of a get-well card for June Mills) \$20, Blank, per \$3, Town Hall sellers 40c, C. West (Newcastle) \$100, King's X donors 20c, King's St stand \$2.15, Oxford St, seller per Bill Fitzpatrick 25c, North Sydney cent per \$11, J.C. (Engadine) \$6, W.H. per Railway Trib stand \$2, Margaret per Railway Trib stand \$1.

## Victoria

Guarantors: Eoples \$1.30, Korean Veteran \$3, P.H. \$0.

Donations: Metal Branch \$20, Int. Bookshop \$3.80, Prathon per Toffy \$1, Toffy \$1, F. Bryant (Frankston) \$10.

## Queensland

Guarantor groups: MH Isa \$23, Comp Hill \$4.44, Donations: Brisbane River \$1, Connie M. 30c, M.E. 20c, J.S. 4c.

## Western Australia

Guarantors: Perth Guarantors (included in last week's total) \$10.

## The dinner

Proceeds of Tribune Dinner (Sydney) \$639.28  
Previously acknowledged \$5,986.37  
This week \$908.00

TOTAL \$6,874.43

