

Labor MILITANT

VOLUME 3, NUMBER 2, JUNE 1983

FOR WORKERS' POWER AND SOCIALISM



Vietnam

How quickly some forget

Nuclear disarmament

British Labour's
unilateralism

Affirmative action

Women stalled again

The Accord opposed

NSW Young Labor leads

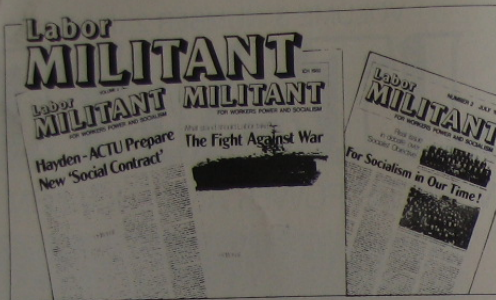
Victorian unions begin
to follow

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Labor Militant is published by socialists in the Labor Party. We have been producing this internal publication since June 1981, and in that time have built it up as the only left internal publication with a national scope and distribution.

We published 6 issues in 1982 and 4 in 1981. We now plan to publish monthly. To accompany this step up in production *Labor Militant* has changed its format from a newspaper to a magazine. We think this change makes *Labor Militant* more attractive, more convenient, and easier to read.

Labor Militant promotes socialist policies for the Labor Party. Each issue carries news and analysis from a socialist viewpoint of events and issues of particular interest to Party members. We have devoted a lot of space to discussing the Prices and Incomes Policy over the past year. In our view the Accord signed with the ACTU last February is no different to

the social contract that proved so disastrous for British workers under Labour Governments in the 1970s.

Labor Militant looks at the nature of the capitalist economic crisis and the socialist measures needed to confront a crisis of this depth. This crisis is not caused by wage rises and wage cuts will not help resolve the crisis in the interests of the working class.

We also devote a lot of attention to the threat of war and the wars that are already going on. From Central America to the Middle East, the United States and its allies are determined to block progressive movements in order to protect their economic interests. This drive to war by Ronald Reagan increases the danger of nuclear war and Australia's participation as part of the US war machine must cease.

International issues are also very important. Where should Labor stand on the liberation struggle in El Salvador? On Solidarity's fight for

socialist democracy in Poland? On the Israeli aggression in the Middle East and rights of the Palestinian people? On East Timor and Vietnam?

We must look at such political questions from the point of view of how the Party should respond. With Labor in Government in four states and federally this discussion is absolutely vital.

We include news and assessment of major Party Conferences and discussions of Party policy. In doing this we also examine the current structures of the Party and the measures needed to transform it into a party capable of really fighting for socialist policies in a period of recession. We support moves to democratise these structures—in particular, to make the parliamentarians and party officers truly accountable to the ranks, unions and branches.

We believe that free and open debate within the Party and affiliated unions on Party policy and practice can only help to make the Party better represent the working people from whom it draws its strength.

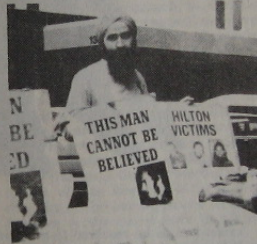
If you agree with these aims we encourage you to help finance and distribute *Labor Militant*. You can get each issue sent by mail at a cost of \$5 for 10 issues. We can also make arrangements to have a bundle of any size mailed or delivered for your branch. There are high costs involved in the production of a publication like *Labor Militant* so any financial contribution will help to ensure its continued regular appearance.

For subscriptions or any further information please fill in the clip-off and write to any of the addresses below.

Thank you for your support.



Perhaps Nifty Nev wishes he'd bitten his tongue earlier.



Action in support of the three jailed Ananda Marga members continues as supporters await a High Court verdict on the appeal.



Ronald Reagan's war against the people of Central America escalates.

Labor MILITANT

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Signed articles do not necessarily represent editorial opinion.

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Keating's mean Mini-Budget

The mid-May Mini-budget is yet another example of the Hawke Government's policies of consensus and evenhandedness—everyone must agree to make sacrifices in order to prop up the capitalist system. Its proposals are based on making the whole community pay for any Government expenditure regardless of their income level or ability to pay. The cost of the job creation programs, the extensions to public housing and the expansion of the building industry are supposedly equally shared. A closer look brutally reveals who is going to pay and who will benefit.

Those hit by the Mini-budget are the older sector, the young and the average family.

The Australian Taxpayers Association estimated that the average family would lose directly about \$8 per week through the abolition of the health insurance tax rebate at least six months before the introduction of Medicare in 1984 and through increased telephone charges, petrol increases in rural areas and the rise in air fares.

The earnings of the young are up for grabs too. Fraser's "paper boy" tax has been introduced in the almost exact form proposed by Fraser. What Fraser couldn't bring in because of the uproar and opposition mounted by the Labor Party and the union movement, Keating has slipped through without comment.

But the biggest burdens of this budget are laid on the older sector—those who have retired or who are about to retire.

The Government is trying to force as many people off the old-age pension as possible. By introducing the 30 per cent tax on lump sum superannuation payouts up to \$125,000 instead of the previous 5 per cent tax, the Government is forcing workers into a "lottery of death" situation. Should they take the lump sum now vastly reduced (\$7500 lost on \$25,000) and live off the pension, or should they take their superannuation in the form of an annuity and not be eligible for the pension? This decision for many is based on an estimate of how long they expect to live. The only beneficiaries out of this are the insurance companies for whom the "lottery of death" is the daily basis of profit.

The other slug to the elderly is the reintroduction of the means test. And it's here that the Government's "evenhanded" philosophy is most apparent. The means test is in fact a



Thanks, Mr Keating.

universal policing of everyone over 70 years of age. It is costly to run and inefficient to boot. The money it saves in terms of reducing the pension bill is eaten up by the cost of administering the means test. Its only virtue is that it gives the appearance of being just—that those over a certain income shouldn't get Government benefits. (This ignores as well the fact that this Government benefit has already been paid for by years of taxes.)

But this is really a cover up job for real justice. It obscures the measures the Government should bring in but won't—measures which are part of Labor policy and which would start to make those who have the greatest capacity to pay to the line.

When for example is the Government going to introduce an effective capital gains tax? If money is needed to fight the rising level of unemployment why isn't the Government examining ways of effectively taxing the quite substantial profits of industry? Why not re-examine a wealth tax or probate on the vast estates of the capitalist class?

The answer to these questions is simple. The Hawke Government is committed to defending the capitalist system. It accepts that the economic

crisis has to be resolved to maintain this system—to manage the system on behalf of the bosses. Therefore the reasons for the crisis are those advanced by the capitalist class. Workers excess pay demands caused the crisis, so now the crisis must be resolved by making the working class pay.

That is what the Mini-budget does, that is what the Prices and Incomes Accord is doing through long-term erosion of wages by inflation accompanied by an effective freeze on industrial action, that it what the wage freeze has done, that is what the cuts to social spending have achieved, both under Fraser and the state Labor Governments.

All of these "sacrifices" by the working class have not stopped or even slowed the rate of growth of unemployment and that's not what is at issue. The rate of profit is what is all important.

The "reasoned negotiation" and "equality of sacrifice" approach only creates a climate for demands for even greater sacrifices. And at the same time this reconciliationist approach disarms the working class by preventing the growth of class consciousness needed to begin the fight back.

GM-H hacks SA jobs

Premier John Bannon's response to General Motors Holden's projected massive retrenchment of 2800 workers over the next three years, was cold comfort for those whose jobs are on the line.

He announced that the State Labor Government and the Vehicle Industry

By our South Australian correspondent.

Unions were preparing a submission to the Federal Government on the Export Facilitation Plan and its impact on South Australian Industry. In addition the Government would undertake a survey of the impact of the GMH cuts on the Woodville area.

This passive approach to GMH's large scale restructuring will not save the jobs of the thousands of vehicle workers threatened by this decision.

Bannon attempted to camouflage this weak stand by saying that:

"Once again decisions made in Detroit with minimal consultation in Australia are affecting our future."

But he made no attempt to propose any alternative to the sackings. Nor did he challenge General Motors' right to lay off its workers without any thought of the consequences to their families or the community in which they live.

Vehicle workers need immediate action to stop the job rot. The Labor Government has the mandate to achieve this. Labor promised workers that it would maintain the jobs of those currently employed and it would move

to create jobs over the next three years. Unless the GMH jobs are actually saved then these are just empty words.

Workers and the community have shown their willingness to fight in the face of previous cutbacks by GMH.

Since GMH carried out its voluntary retrenchment plans and started scaling down the toolroom at Woodville, workers at GMH in South Australia have maintained a tent city outside GMH gates in protest. This tent city, demonstrations, community support organised by the Amalgamated Metal, Foundry and Shipwrights Union, have all put the spotlight on the ruthlessness of GMH.

Woodville city Mayor Mr John Dyer has endorsed the GMH workers' protests and has launched a community campaign around the theme: "Don't let GMH close Woodville".

Some Labor Party Branches in the Woodville area have discussed the sackings and lent support to the workers. Yet the State Government only came up with another diversion to saving jobs—a study on the effects of decreasing protection.

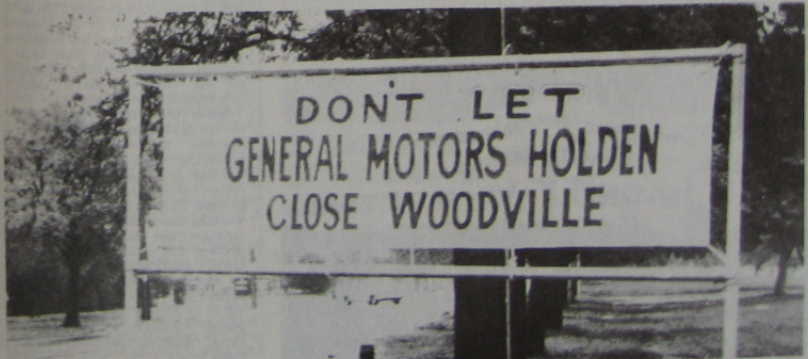
Calls by some sections of the labour movement for increased protection for an industry that already has 85% protection miss the real point. Regardless of what protection GMH gets, it, like all Multinationals, makes its decisions on the basis of its profits and not on what's best for the working class. The bribe of more Government handouts by protection hasn't saved jobs. The only way to stop GMH's cost-cutting actions is by making it too

expensive for them to sack workers.

The Party must put forward nationalisation as the only realistic job saving method. The State Government has the power to nationalise GMH right now. It had this power constitutionally all along. And if the Cain Labor Government in Victoria took the same stance with all GMH holdings there, the GMH bosses are faced with a real choice—use some of the profits in the interest of the workers who created them or lose the means to make the profits.

But the Federal Government and Bannon have refused to even move in this direction. Bannon has said that Government ownership of industry was something that needed to be "talked about". Ralph Willis, Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations has dismissed such talk with a firm 'NO' and Senator Button Button, Minister for Industry and Commerce, has gone so far as to justify GM's actions claiming that it "had to" sack these workers given its big losses over the past year.

Woodville workers at the tent city and Labor Party members in the vehicle industry can be forgiven for thinking that that this response is no different to what they got from the Liberals. What workers need now are clear actions in their interests not more surveys and studies. If they don't get these actions then they become disillusioned with the Party. This is the real reason why Maggie Thatcher is in power in Britain today. And this is the reality that the Party must come to grips with right now.



Social Rights Campaign launched

About 120 union and labour movement activists met in Melbourne on May 22 and voted overwhelmingly to "reject the concept of a prices and incomes policy as embodied in the ALP-ACTU Accord and the Economic Summit."

The meeting, convened by the Progressive Unions Group of the

By Chris Sice
Member of *Sprungvale (Vic) branch*
and the *Tramways Union*

Victorian Trades Hall Council, was held under the title: "The wage freeze and the future," at the Vehicle Builders Union offices in Carlton.

The meeting also resolved overwhelmingly to establish a "social rights campaign" to "take up the economic, political, and social interests of the working people, their material conditions won to date, as well as the need to live in peace and security."

The resolution, moved by Steve Gibson of the Australian Federated Union of Locomotive Engineers, and seconded by John Percy of the Tramways Union, was the subject of a lively discussion before being adopted.

Linked to this resolution, a draft program for "the social rights of the working class" was also adopted.

Moved by Australian Telecommunications Employees Association Assistant State Secretary Len Cooper, the draft document took up the question of automatic, quarterly wage adjustments to maintain real wages; increased social welfare, health, education, housing, etc. abolition of all anti-union laws; shorter working hours in the face of new technology and the threat to jobs; withdrawal of

subsidies for big business and nationalisation of companies which cannot continue without such handouts from the public purse; opposition to imperialist wars and support for struggles for national independence, progress and social change; and pursuit of the objective of socialism.

Cooper was one of two keynote speakers at the meeting, the other being Australian Railways Union National Secretary Ralph Taylor, who argued the case for supporting the ALP-ACTU Accord.

Several other speakers, including ARU State Secretary Jim Frazer and ARU Organiser George Zangalis, also spoke in favor of the Accord, arguing that to set up a social rights campaign would "split" the labour movement.

In reply, opponents of the Accord pointed out that unity around class-collaboration was fatal, and would eventually lead to a real split in the labour movement. Speakers slammed the Accord and the Economic Summit as providing for wage cuts for the working class in return for a mythical rise in the "social wage".

At the end of the meeting, a further motion was carried recommending that the Steering Committee of the Progressive Unions call a further meeting of unions, parties, and other organisations to discuss action around the social rights campaign, preferably within a month.

In all, the meeting was significant as one of the first genuine debates about the meaning of the Accord — and the first notable, broad-based union rejection of this anti-worker agreement. The next task is to take the alternative social rights campaign into the broad ranks of the labour movement so that the fight to defend working class

interests can be mounted.

Social Rights Motion

That this meeting of union and labor movement activists rejects the concept of a prices and incomes policy as embodied in the ALP-ACTU Accord and the Economic Summit. We point out that the Accord and the Summit

Communique attempt to tie the working class to the profit needs of capital at a time of severe economic crisis. These policies, fully backed by the employers, aim to deal a major setback to the standard of living of working people through a loss of real income and sustained unemployment, and to weaken, demoralise, and disarm the working class politically by imposing a class collaborationist practice on the whole labour movement. Ultimately our very right to defend our basic interests will come under attack.

We believe that both the short-term interests and the long-term goals of the working-class movement can best be defended and extended by an uncompromising fight against the employers and their proposals to reduce living standards. Such a fight must take up the economic, political, and social interests of the working people, their material conditions won to date, as well as the need to live in peace and security. These objectives can only be achieved by the development of the widest unity of all working men and women, migrant workers, in fact, of all the oppressed and progressive forces in society.

Since the capitalist system proves once again that it is the obstacle to working people achieving these aims, now is the time to prepare the socialist future out of the conflicts of the present. Only on this road can the working-class movement emerge stronger from the present crisis, prevent the resurgence of reactionary political forces, and make its essential contribution to the further development and advance of society as a whole. We pledge ourselves to develop a social rights campaign to fulfill these needs.

Coxsedge's open letter to Hawke

Below is printed a copy of the open letter Joan Coxsedge wrote to Hawke after the Ivanov/Combe affair. It was on the basis of such protests and outrage at ASIO's manoeuvring in the affair that Hawke, without reference to Cabinet, set out the terms of reference (including the Ivanov/Combe events) for a Royal Commission into Australia's security network.

the slightest understanding of the workings of secret agencies like ASIO, that only the Director-General and God, in that order, have any idea what the organisation is up to. Even if a Judge, or an Attorney-General, no matter how eminent, by a stroke of the pen, demanded that ASIO should desist from certain activities, the laugh would be on that person. After all, how could she/he enforce such a judgement?

Committee for the Abolition of Political Police

12 May 1983

Dear comrade,

The credibility of the Australian Labor Party has been severely shaken by the Government's handling of the Ivanov affair and the *National Times* "revelations", both involving ASIO and foreign secret services. Its latest action against David Combe on the basis of an ASIO smear and innuendo is a travesty of justice. After the earlier official statement that the Ivanov expulsion was part of an international United States campaign against Soviet diplomats, the Combe debacle suggests that this Labor Government, like all previous governments, is acting blindly on ASIO recommendations to the detriment of the entire labour movement.

These shocks have come shortly after media reports that the National and International Security Committee of the Cabinet is planning to tinker with Australia's secret agencies, apparently without any rank and file participation.

As you are aware, I have worked in this area for more than a decade, which has given me both an insight and an attitude to the role of secret agencies. My persistence on the need to abolish ASIO and expose the existence and operations of all other secret agencies has the unanimous support of the Victorian and South Australian Branches of the Australian Labor Party, and came close to being adopted at last year's National Conference in Canberra.

Widespread support of this proposition was not only based on the deeply felt reaction from working class members of the Party towards pimps in general and secret political police pimps in particular, but was an understanding of the illogical and contradictory nature of the "control and accountability" concepts.

It is well-known to anyone with even

suitable ASIO targets. Since its formation, ASIO, in cahoots with Special Branches in every State, has exercised political discrimination and intimidation against hundreds of thousands of Australia's best citizens, the people we are supposed to represent.

You will also be unable to come to grips with the problem of ASIO's dual allegiance, namely, its sham allegiance to the Australian Government and its real allegiance to the international intelligence community, led by the United States—in other words, the problem that brought South Australia's ex-Police Commissioner Salisbury into conflict with the South Australian Government a few years ago.

Instead of taking notice of ASIO's denigration of individual members of the ALP, ASIO moves should be seen in their proper political context as a diversion to distract people's attention from recent bad publicity it has received. It is more than likely that ASIO is right now compiling another "Document J" with which to destabilise the labour movement.

ASIO protagonists must state clearly what useful work it has been doing, is doing now and is expected to do in the future. If this fails, as it is bound to, the answer is to dismantle this clandestine anti-democratic outfit.

With cracks already appearing in the much-vaunted "Summit" and the experience of a sabotaged Constitutional Convention fresh in the Party's legal minds, surely now is the time to recognise that "bringing Australia together" is only a slogan unless it means attracting progressive Australians behind a strengthened ALP policy. Further counter-productive attempts at class-collaboration will simply alienate our best supporters and amuse the Establishment. Remember the old German proverb—"Those who dig holes for others, fall in themselves".

The mounting crisis of inflation and unemployment puts increasing stress on the entire social fabric of our society. In the days to come, there will be little mileage for the ALP in having assisted repression at a time when we, as a Party, should have fostered dissent.

After years of Liberal inaction and reaction, Australians are looking to a Labor Government that will govern fearlessly in their interest.

I look forward to your reply.

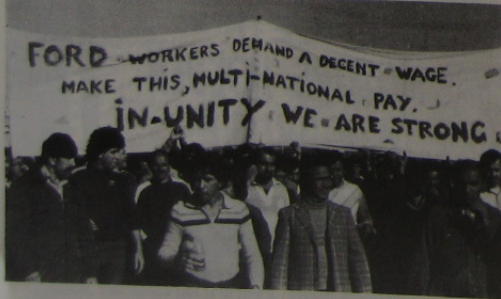
Joan Coxsedge
Committee for the Abolition
of Political Police



Joan Coxsedge — 10 year fight to abolish ASIO.

An outfit like ASIO can never be accountable while it is secret, and the people who might be able to reveal details of its operations and personnel are afraid to do so, because they are threatened with heavy fines and gaol sentences, thanks to the draconian ASIO Act, which has given it vastly increased powers. This Act was based on the recommendations of ex-civil libertarian Justice Hope, who ignored his own findings that ASIO was a criminal organisation. This highlights the danger of running another inquiry unless it is fully open to the public.

Present events refute claims that organisations like the CIA and ASIO are basically OK, but that they've gone off the rails a bit and we'll be able to bring them back into line. The reality is that these organisations are basically rotten. They are anti-working class and therefore anti-Labor, as exemplified by Justice Hope's recommendation that trade union leaders are



Labour Militant, June 1983

Young Labor opposes Accord

Published below is the Report of the NSW Young Labor Council Unemployment, Economic and Industrial Committee.

This was presented to and adopted by the NSW YLA Annual Conference held on May 14-15 at Sydney University.

There has been no media coverage of this Conference and the progressive policies adopted there. For this reason *Labor Militant* is publishing the full text of this Report. We wholeheartedly support the positions it contains and note that the NSW YLA Conference is the first ALP body to oppose the class collaborationist policies of the Hawke Government contained in the Accord and the Summit.

1. Representative of the Community?

The Economic Summit was said to have been "broadly representative of Australian political, economic and social interests". (Summit Communiqué: 1)

Was this really the case? There were:

- only 2 women at the conference to represent over 50% of Australia's population.
- no representation for the 750,000 officially unemployed or those subject to hidden unemployment.
- no blacks
- token representation of migrants.
- no representation for unionised labour.

One would be led to believe that Australian society was solely comprised of white male corporate executives, union officials and parliamentarians. Those excluded from the summit are precisely those who have been most affected by the deepening economic depression. This Committee therefore asserts that the Summit is therefore unrepresentative of the community who will be affected by its decisions.

2. The Concept of Consensus

"Class is no longer relevant in Australian society".

This statement is representative of the philosophy behind the newly elected ALP Government's holding of the Economic Summit. The concept of consensus is that labour and capital can be brought together to determine the direction of the economy for the benefit of all. It presupposes that the

interests of labour and capital are reconcilable—indeed that they are mutual. This is being forwarded at a time when:

- over 3 million Australians live in poverty.
- the top 1% of wealth holders own 22% of the wealth.
- the top 5% of wealth holders own 45% of the wealth.
- the bottom 80% of wealth holders own 28% of the wealth.

This inequality is derived from the capitalist mode of production—a production process which perpetuates social classes. There is a fundamental antagonism between the ruling class who own and extract profits from the production process and the working class who supply their labour. A gain for the ruling class is a defeat for the working class if the power structures of society remain constant as *all* profits are created by workers and then extracted by the owners of capital. In order to survive in a capitalist economy the forces of capital are inherently offensive. If a company is not efficient it will be the subject of a takeover or merger with another competitor. This can be substantiated from an empirical analysis of the continuous process of increased concentration and decline in competition in capitalist economies. The result is that it is in the interest of capital to keep wages at a minimum, and working conditions become a secondary consideration.

It is also in capital's interest to create the impression of a classless society to diffuse workers opposition to the system from which they are the prime beneficiaries. This Committee rejects the concept of consensus and asserts that any gains which the working class can achieve must be sought independently. Due to the situation of economic crisis any policy which simply proposes to manage the capitalist system in its present form must be imposed at the expense of those whom the ALP Government was elected to represent—the working class.

3. The Role of the Prices and Incomes Policy

In our report passed at the Bellingen Quarterly Conference we stated Young Labor's opposition to the content of the ALP/ACTU Accord on Prices and Incomes Policy. This Committee reasserts this opposition. Furthermore we recognise that this agreement played a substantial role in creating the preconditions for its ultimate manifestation—the neglect of

workers interests of the Economic Summit.

4. The Communiqué and Its Implications

Due to the philosophical basis of the Economic Summit as outlined the inevitable result was that the working class would be asked to pay for the capitalist depression. The premises behind the discussions were based upon consideration of economic performance as productivity or profitability, rather than fulfilling the social needs of the population. This result was thus influenced accordingly.

Item 2 of the Communiqué states that "there is a recognition that to achieve recovery will require restraint in expectations and claims from all sections of the community except the impoverished". An examination of the rest of the document reveals however, that this has not been fulfilled, as of course it could not have been.

"The preservation of the private sector as a profitable operating sector is essential to Australia's well being and to encourage job creating investment both from within Australia and abroad". (Item 9) This Committee asserts that it is a myth that the private sector has particular characteristics which make it desirable to maintain in its present form. Contrary to this, we support the democratic socialisation of key industries to ensure workers control over the production process. In this way production will occur for social use rather than exploitative profit incentives. Since it is workers that keep the economy running, it is workers who shall run the economy.

The Committee also recognises that the maintenance of high profit margins does not necessarily create employment. In a recent survey of 135 companies listed on the Stock Exchange, 70 of these had increased their profit in real terms. Of these 30 reduced their numbers of employees. In contrast, of the 55 remaining companies who had a reduction in profit, only 21 reduced their numbers of employees.

The attempt to create the impression that higher profits will solve unemployment is a falsification directed at benefiting the ruling class even further. BHP made enough profits to buy Utah, through the sacking of 16,000 workers.

Solving unemployment must be given top priority by the ALP Govt. This must be achieved by direct intervention into the production process. It is indicative of the nature of capitalism that unemployed labour



One voice not heard at the Summit.

exists at the same time when needs in housing, and other socially useful production processes are most needed. The way in which profits are to be kept high is through further reductions in wages. By agreeing to wage restraint the ACTU and the ALP Government have effectively implemented the Fraser Government's wage freeze.

This Committee rejects this and calls upon the ACTU to renew its wages and 35hr week campaign. We call upon the Federal Government to ensure that the proposed return to centralised wage determination (Item 2) ensures the maintenance of real wages and workers standard of living.

The fact that the Communiqué is aimed at making those who can least afford it pay for the depression is evidenced by the lack of controls on capital. Item 27 on price surveillance

states that its objective is not to "deny an adequate return on investment but to ensure consistency for profit earners with other sectors where income is subject to constraint. It is not the intention of the Government to create a bureaucratic body which artificially tinkers with prices".

The Government is thus quite prepared to control workers incomes but views controls on capitalist incomes as "artificial". It can be seen that by accepting the consensus ideology, Labor is effectively supporting the interests of capital against that of workers.

There is at least a recognition of the need for a limited expansion of the economy with the current projections for the deficit blowing out by five billion between 1982-3 and 1983-4 to 9.5 billion. This appears to be a starting

point, until item 31 of the Communiqué is considered. The final insult to those whom Labor should represent is that "any requirement for increased aggregate public expenditure may need to be met substantially from taxation, which may require increases in taxation or less than full tax indexation".

Thus it is stated that any minor (and they are very minor) concessions which may be given in the social welfare areas will be funded by labour itself considering the lack of any redistributive taxation measures.

This Committee therefore rejects the Economic Summit and its findings in the Communiqué. We call upon the government to fulfill policies based upon its socialist objective. It is only when the class nature of society is identified and attacked that the ALP can govern in the interests of those people who have given it a mandate.

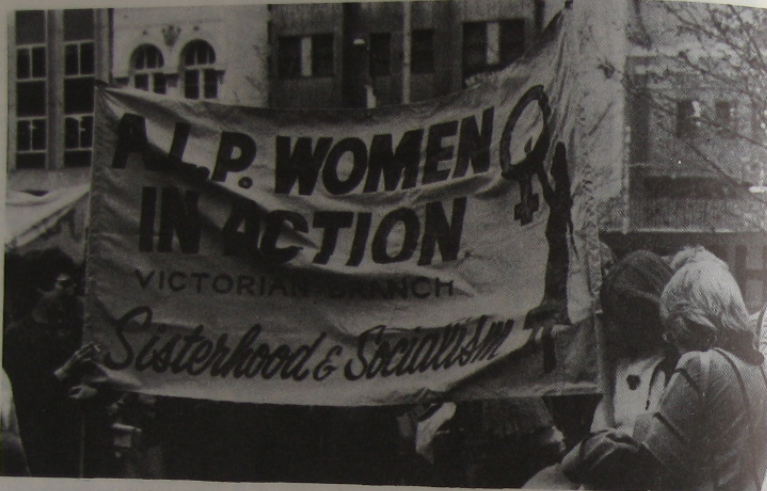
SA civil liberties violation

On Friday May 13, a dance held by the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML) was the subject of harassment, provocation and intimidation by an estimated 50 police officers. NORML seeks to reform the current legislation by legal and democratic means. It has as its state patron Don Dunstan.

Typical of the incidents that led to 3 arrests, none of which were related to drug offences, were the events leading up to the arrest of Chris Hannaford, Secretary of Young Labor. Witnesses had observed several incidents of deliberate jostling and physical intimidation of people at the dance. Chris was standing next to Clare Henderson when she was manhandled by a police officer. Chris said that in his opinion the policeman was committing assault. After he tried to take the policeman's number, he was arrested. His attempt to prevent an assault and collect information to legally redress this action, resulted in a charge of "hindrance" of a police officer in the course of his duty. Signed statements by witnesses state that unnecessary force and manhandling were used to effect the arrest. NORML, in a public statement, alleged that a senior police officer was in attendance.

These actions emphasise the pertinence of two Young Labor policy items coming before the Party's June Convention. The first deals with the implementation of clause 59 of the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Drugs, and the other motion calls for the establishment of an appeals procedure for dealing with complaints by the public against members of the police force.

One step forward in Victoria



Labor women from a wide variety of Melbourne metropolitan branches attended a special seminar on Sunday May 22. Its purpose was to explain to women the structure and functioning of the Victorian Branch, the various policy committees and what women could expect from the ALP. This was the third such training session held in Melbourne since the Affirmative Action Program was adopted by the 1981 National Conference. It is all part of the ten year program to ensure that women have representation at all levels of the party hierarchy including 25% of State delegates to National Conference.

By Coral Channells
Member of Preston (Vic) branch and the Amalgamated Metal Foundry and Shipwrights Union

Other aspects of the Affirmative Action Policy were spelt out and the appointment of a National Organiser Kate Moore, who has specific responsibility for women members of the ALP was noted. However the appointment of a woman organiser in all State Branches has not yet happened.

One area of Affirmative Action Policy not yet tackled is the problem of getting preselected for safe Labor seats

instead of the marginal or the virtually unwinable seats that are usually the lot of women candidates.

The seminar included a very informative session with presentations by representatives from the three factions within the Victorian branch—the Socialist Left, Independent and Labor Unity. Labor Unity, for those not in the know, is the new preferred image of the previous Centre Unity faction.

A brief history of the three factions—how they arose from the split in 1954 and Federal Intervention in 1970—was outlined and it was pointed out that Victoria is the only state with a three way factional split. It was a step forward to have the faction organisation discussed quite openly at such a seminar. But it was a pity that the major policy differences, the very basis for the differences between the factions, couldn't be explored. The organisers stressed that this wasn't the place to discuss policy but simply an informational and training seminar.

In fact the faction differences got blurred over. Race Matthews speaking for Labor Unity made it appear that the aims of his "democratic socialism" and those of the Socialist Left were very similar whereas in reality there are many areas on both a local level

and in foreign affairs where the Left and Right diverge enormously.

But despite any criticisms these seminars are extremely useful for new women members and the next one is projected for October.

The situation for Labor women in Victoria is very different from that in N.S.W. There is no State Women's Organisation or Conference. The Victorian Women's Central Organising Committee voted to disband in the mistaken belief that this would promote equal footing with male ALP members. To fill the gap the Status of Women's Policy Committee consisting of 15 members was formed. But this is just one of 23 other policy committees. The organisation of women tends therefore to be on an ad hoc basis. For example delegates to the National Labor Women's Conference are chosen on a first come first served basis.

What is needed in Victoria is a much broader State organisation where women can participate, collectively think out and decide progressive policies in an atmosphere free from intimidation by more experienced male comrades. It is in such an atmosphere that necessary skills and self confidence are acquired.

Two steps backward nationally

A central plank of Federal policy on women was put back on the shelf after its airing during the election campaign.

The Sex Discrimination Bill is to be introduced during the current sitting of Parliament. But the strongest section of the Bill—the affirmative action section—has been deferred for at least another two years.

However that's not to say that the amended Bill isn't a gain for women. Just the reverse. It will cover discrimination against women and girls in three major areas:

- access to jobs and apprenticeship training programs;
- access to rented accommodation by women with children;
- readily available finance from lending institutions from women seeking to buy houses.

By Robynne Murphy
Member of Wollongong (NSW) branch and the Federated Ironworkers' Association.

The Bill will make discrimination unlawful on the grounds of sex, marital status, pregnancy and possible pregnancy in areas including employment, education and the provision of goods and services. It includes protection from sexual harassment, victimisation and discriminatory advertisements.

Clearly the Bill is a step forward for women, especially those who live in states like Queensland which have no Anti Discrimination legislation.

But the indefinite deferral of the affirmative action section is a real blow. This was the central plank of the election campaign for women and one of the few concrete job creation policies which would have widened the job range available to women.

The affirmative action legislation would have required foreign, financial and trading corporations, as well as companies seeking Government contracts, to include in their management plans "a strategy to eliminate discrimination against women in all sections of the company". It would have applied to companies and corporations employing more than 100 people, or with a Government contract or agreement for services and supplies exceeding \$50,000.

It is just such kind of legislation which opened up the job market for women in the United States to allow them access to such traditionally male areas of work, as mining, oil, steel, etc., especially those involving skill. As the



US coalminers won jobs through affirmative action.

recession hits more deeply the traditional female jobs are being eroded by technical innovation and plant rationalisation. Women's unemployment has skyrocketed even higher and faster than men's.

In more and more countries affirmative action programs are being implemented to overcome the effects of years of discrimination which make the notion of "equal access" to jobs a meaningless phrase.

In Britain the Sex Discrimination Act allows for positive discrimination in education and training for jobs as well as in advertising. But the British legislation does not apply at the point of employment. However both the Trade Union Council and the British Labour Party have adopted policy in favour of positive action, and some employers, often local councils, have declared themselves "equal opportunity" employers.

In Sweden companies that establish themselves in areas particularly hit by the economic crisis have to employ at least 40 per cent women if they receive government grants. In addition if Swedish companies employ women in traditionally male jobs they can get large state subsidies.

Italian workers at Fiat Cars have won a significant step forward on this question. The unions forced the management to agree that 50 per cent of all new recruits should be women.

Increasingly the workers movement in countries, like Austria, Germany and Spain are examining affirmative action programs as the way to overcome some of the cumulative effects of past discrimination against women and as a method of combatting high

rates of female unemployment.

So why has the Hawke Government stalled on carrying out policy on this question?

According to the media reports the only reason given was that the bosses complained it would cost too much. But that's their standard response to any innovation or change to their present profit making arrangements! Anyone who has had a job knows that.

You'd think that a Labor Government would take it for granted that this would be the automatic reflex on the part of the employers.

For the Cabinet to delay the introduction of the legislation because of "a lack of community understanding about how it operates" based on cost complaints by industry bosses, is cynical at best and treacherous at worst.

Unless concrete policies like affirmative action are actually implemented, women are going to become increasingly disillusioned with the Party as the effects and burden of the economic crisis fall more and more heavily on their shoulders. It is a problem that we, the Party rank and file, will have to resolve. Unless we can make the Parliamentary Party responsible for implementing Party policy by fighting for the right of recall, then all our efforts to get progressive policy adopted in the first place will have been wasted.

This is a fight that must begin immediately. Hopefully women in prominent positions in the Party will be in the front line in such a fight, especially those inside the Parliamentary Party.

US targets Nicaragua

In flagrant defiance of US law passed unanimously by Congress last December, the Reagan Administration is pouring arms and money into Central America to try to bring about the overthrow of the Sandinista Government of Nicaragua.

Labour and progressive movements worldwide have a vital role to play in stopping Reagan from crushing the Sandinistas, who head the only Government in Nicaragua's history which has put the interests of the impoverished worker and peasant majority above those of the super-rich landowners and industrialists.

By Debra Stewart

Member of Annandale (NSW) branch and the Australian Railways Union

This was recognised at the 16th Congress of the Socialist International due to be held in Sydney over Easter but restituted in Portugal to accommodate the snap Federal Elections.

Among the major resolutions adopted by the Congress was an urgency motion reaffirming support for the aims of the Nicaraguan revolution and opposing efforts by US agencies to destabilise the country.

But why has Reagan invested at least \$31 million — and an incalculably greater amount of political credibility — in trying to get rid of the Sandinistas? It's not because the Nicaraguans, after a prolonged and bitter struggle to overthrow the US supported dictator Somoza, now propose to turn their country over to the Soviet Union for use as an airstrip and missile base. This is the picture the gutter press tries to paint.

What really scares Reagan is the example the Nicaraguans present to the oppressed peoples throughout Latin America — the example of a semi-colonial people who have taken control of their destiny away from the North American transnationals and the US Embassy, and have gone on to use their resources in a rational way to improve the lives of the workers and peasants.

In the years from 1970 to 1979, US transnationals invested \$11.45 billion in the Third World and repatriated profits of \$48.67 billion — a \$4.25 return for every new dollar invested. That's what Reagan is defending — that vast flow of wealth from Latin America to the US, which would dry up if other countries made revolutions like those of the Sandinistas.

Simply on this score alone, of ending the imperialist plunder which keeps the Third World in underdevelopment and misery, the ALP must stand by the Sandinistas.

But since they threw out the US-backed Somoza dictatorship in 1979, at the cost of 50,000 dead, the Nicaraguan revolutionaries have notched up an inspiring set of achievements. The Sandinistas' record of fighting for the rights and living standards of the Nicaraguan masses is one with which the Labor Party here can be proud to identify.

Politically, one of the revolution's greatest achievements has been to build, almost from scratch, a strong, independent, and democratically run trade union movement — the sort of movement Solidarnosc has tried to build in Poland.

The revolutionary period has seen an explosion of popular mobilisation, with mass organisations of women, youth, and farmers, as well as residential block committees in the towns, taking over the administration of countless matters that affect them. These democratically run bodies elect representatives to Nicaragua's parliament, the Council of State, which has a majority of worker and peasant



Reagan's Nicaraguan "freedom fighters."

delegates.

The social and economic programs initiated by the Sandinistas have shown the remarkable advances which can be made, even in a poor and underdeveloped country, if the majority of people are mobilised to raise their nation out of backwardness.

Under the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, more than 50 per cent of Nicaraguans were illiterate. Today, this has been cut to around 10 per cent.

Four times as much is now being spent on education and the number of schools has doubled.

The Sandinistas are also pressing ahead with a comprehensive agrarian reform which has already distributed around one million hectares of land to formerly landless peasants. Together with popular control over the distribution of basic foodstuffs, this has brought about a dramatic improvement in the amount of food available to the general population. The cost of feeding an urban working-class family in Nicaragua is now reckoned to be just a little more than half the cost in neighbouring Costa Rica. Consumption of food staples has risen by 40 per cent since 1979.

Greatly improved nutrition has aided the Sandinistas in their campaign to improve the health of the population.

Nicaragua's progress in health has caused it to be viewed as a model by the World and Pan American Health Organisations. A comparison of 1977 and 1982 figures shows that the number of hospitals and first-aid stations doubled, and the number of doctors' visits increased by 160 per cent. Since the revolution, polio, formerly the scourge of Nicaraguan children, has been wiped out. But while all these achievements have been huge steps forward for the Nicaraguan people, further progress is constantly hampered by the continual harassment of the US backed counter-revolutionary forces.

Too many of the meagre resources of a Third World country like Nicaragua have to be poured into repelling these attacks and constantly repairing the damage caused by armed harassment and bombings.

These resources are much needed elsewhere simply to pull the country out of the devastation and destruction of years of super-exploitation. Extended malnutrition, poverty, unintended disease all cause long term problems.

It is for these reasons that the Labor Government should not only support the Nicaraguans in their struggle to repel foreign interference but should also give material aid to help them achieve their social goals.

Branches and Party bodies should pass motions (see the box) urging such aid by the Government. If any one wishes further information about the events in Nicaragua contact CISCAC. Films and speakers are available. See the ad on page 27.

Sample motion

That the Federal Labor Government give material and financial aid to Nicaragua recognising the tremendous effort the new Sandinista Government is making in areas of literacy, education, employment and medical care for the people of Nicaragua. Their work has been made more difficult by the recent April invasion by forces from Honduras backed by the U.S. Government. Further that the Prime Minister protest to the U.S. for its military aid to counter insurgents in Honduras and Costa Rica and that it desist in its plans to destabilise the Government of Nicaragua.



12 Sandinista militia on patrol.

British Labour Party's unilateralist policy

The coming British elections provide a good opportunity to look at the policy of the British Labour Party on nuclear disarmament.

Opinion polls have established foreign policy as the second biggest issue after unemployment in the June 8 elections. And up front in this debate is the question of Britain's own nuclear arsenal, including its integration into the US nuclear system through NATO.

By Val Edwards

Member of North Auburn (NSW) branch and the Australasian Society of Engineers

The planned deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles has created a storm of protest in Britain and throughout Europe since the decision was announced by the NATO High Command in 1979. Literally millions of people have come into the streets of Europe to protest the placement of these missiles.

Conservative policy under a re-elected Thatcher Government will commit the British people to maintaining the \$700 million a year British "fortress" on the Malvinas (Falklands) Islands. It will allocate another \$4 billion to the placement of Cruise missiles, and will replace the ageing Polaris nuclear submarines with the Trident system at a cost of \$15 billion.

According to the *Economist*, "The Labour Party want to make Britain a non-nuclear power during the next Parliament, to remove American nuclear bases, and to pull Britain out of the EEC."

"Labour has previously flirted with some of these policies in opposition and then dropped them in government. But never before has it campaigned on such a combination of policies; never before has it been led by a convinced unilateral disarmament and anti-European; never before has the Party's Left been so strong.

"This time Britain's voters have a real choice."

At its October 1982 National Conference, following a position established in 1979, the Party adopted an unequivocal policy in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The Conference resolution, which was carried by the two-thirds (71%) majority needed to have it inserted in the Party's manifesto, includes the following passages:

"This Conference records its alarm at the continuing arms race between the superpowers and the increasing threat of nuclear war within Europe,

rejects the policy of the present Government in increasing its reliance on a defence policy based on nuclear weapons and recognises that unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain will be a vital initiative leading towards multinational disarmament worldwide.

"Conference reaffirms the decisions of annual conference in 1980 and 1981 committing the Labour Party to unilateral disarmament by:

"Opposing unconditionally the replacement of Polaris by Trident or any other system and the deployment of Cruise missiles, the neutron bomb and all other nuclear weapons in or by Britain;

"Closing down all nuclear bases, British or American on British soil or in British waters; . . .

"Ensure that the next general election manifesto contains an unequivocal, unambiguous commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament for the Parliamentary Labour Party, including spokesmen on defence, to actively campaign on its policy in its first session in office."

The resolution reflects strong pressure from the Party rank and file, many of whom are active in the campaign against nuclear arms.

It also reflects strong pressure from the ranks of the trade unions. Under this pressure, the Trade Union Congress itself adopted a unilateralist anti-nuclear policy at its 1982 National Conference.

Behind these decisions stands the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament which has grown in leaps and bounds since the modern disarmament movement got off the ground in response to the 1979 NATO decision.

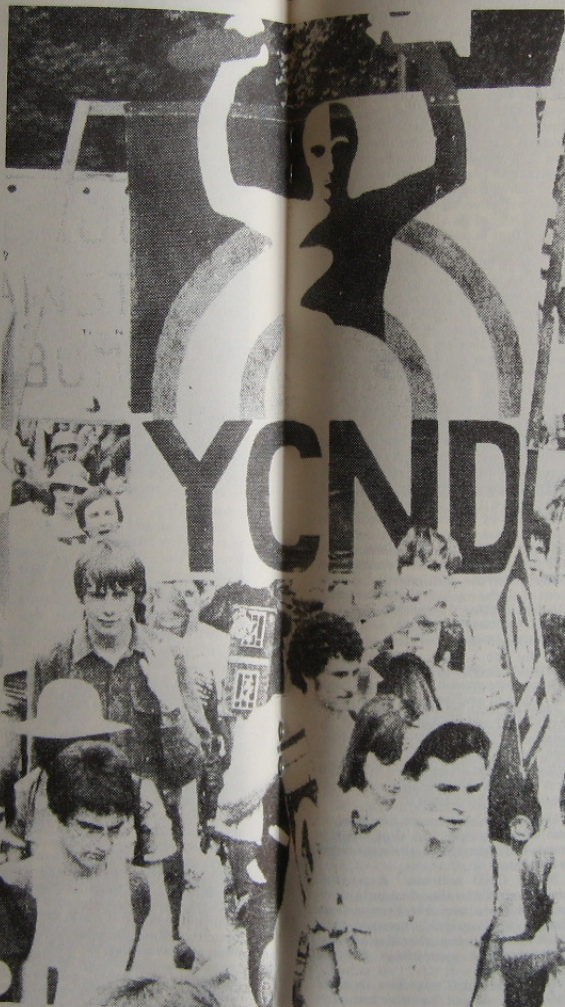
Even at the height of Thatcher's chauvinistic barrage during the assault on the Malvinas Islands in 1982, CND could mobilise over 200,000 people in a demonstration on June 6 for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

However, the *Economist* may be comforted by the fact that in the June election the choice for British voters could be more apparent than real.

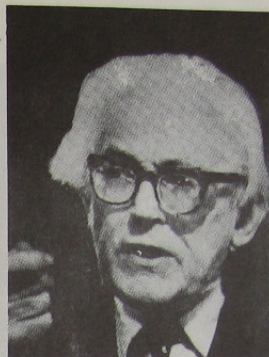
In preparation for the elections, the Labour Parliamentary Leadership issued a manifesto which was deliberately equivocal on nuclear disarmament and directly contrary to Conference policy.

The manifesto, which was prepared by a committee headed by party leader Michael Foot, comments on nuclear disarmament as follows:

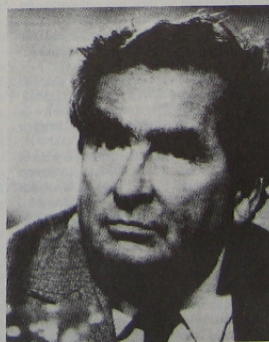
"Unilateralism and multilateralism must go hand in hand if



More affiliates to CND than unionists to the Labour Party.



Michael Foot.



Denis Healey.

either are to succeed. . . . We are resolved on measures which would enable Britain to pursue a non-nuclear defence policy. However . . . the way we do it must be designed to assist in the task to which we are also committed—securing nuclear disarmament agreements with other countries and maintaining cooperation with our allies."

This statement is "multilateralist." That is, it makes British disarmament dependent upon "agreements with other countries" and "cooperation with our allies." In the end, such pre-conditions prevent disarmament.

Deputy Party Leader and head of the party's right-wing faction, Denis Healey, pledged more than eighteen months ago that he would not serve in a Labour Cabinet committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament. The Conference vote did not change his mind.

A major campaign has been started inside the Party to demand that the election manifesto faithfully carry Conference policy on disarmament. In response to rumours as early as February that the policy would be watered down, the Labour Disarmament Liaison Committee sent a letter to Michael Foot protesting the revision. The letter was signed by Labour CND, Trade Union CND, Labour Action for Peace, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, the Labour Co-ordinating Committee, and the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society.

Also in February, over 300 delegates packed out the largest-ever Labour CND Annual General Meeting to demand a special Party Conference if the manifesto did not uphold Conference policy. The meeting represented over one hundred Party Branches.

At the same time, a Scottish Labour CND was formed to campaign for the presentation of the Conference policy in the election. And by February, over 144 prospective Labour candidates, including 120 MPs—a little less than half the sitting Labour MPs—had signed a statement calling on the Party Leadership to ensure that Conference policy was expressed in the manifesto.

Healey and Foot picture the unilateralist policy as an electoral liability, but the facts simply do not substantiate the claim.

At the end of 1982, a specially commissioned Gallop Poll revealed that 58 per cent of British people opposed the introduction of Cruise missiles, and 56 per cent opposed the Trident nuclear submarine program. These figures are confirmed by the success of the CND mass demonstrations. Clearly, there is a mass sentiment in Britain for unilateral disarmament.

This sentiment is evident also within the ranks of the Labour Party. It has been shown that 77 per cent of

British Labour

Continued from page 15.

the party membership say "No to Cruise."

However, Labour's support has been running at about 34 per cent in the general electorate. This means that something like a quarter of eligible voters in Britain oppose Cruise missiles but see no reason for supporting the Labour Party. This is one result of the Party Leadership's failure to devise an economic program which will seriously address the problem of unemployment. This is understandable when more than 3 million are unemployed officially and these figures continue to rise.

However, it is clear that the Party could win back a very large proportion of this vote by running hard in the election on Conference policy for unilateral disarmament. By this means it might even win the election.

But it appears that for the Foot-Healey leadership, winning the election is a bigger threat than dumping the Party's commitment to disarmament.

Why? Because Foot and Healey both recognise that despite the Conference commitment to remain in NATO (a commitment that contradicted the vote against Cruise and Pershing II), implementation of the policy for unilateral nuclear disarmament would mean, in reality, the end of the US alliance. And this is something that they cannot countenance. This is why they are committed to multilateral disarmament.

For much the same reason, the Tory Party has been churning out propaganda in favour of multilateral nuclear disarmament. The Tories also have in mind winning a section of the anti-nuclear vote.

The key message of the Tory campaign is that unilateralism is utopian, serious nuclear disarmament is multilateral disarmament, and the Tory Party Central Office is pouring out dozens of speeches—by Margaret Thatcher, Norman Tebbit, Cecil Parkinson—attacking unilateralism. The Tory press, of course, has also been harping on the so-called Russian connection of CND.

Conservative MP Winston Churchill runs an organisation funded by the Tory Central Office called the Campaign for Defence and Multilateral Disarmament whose apparent prime purpose is to spy on and smear CND activists and supporters. For this reason, the organisation even "infiltrated" CND in order to attend its 1982 Conference.

By such means, it has become the first task of Michael Heseltine as Minister for Defence to combat CND. Heseltine, considered a "liberal" and

"in touch" with the young, was appointed to this Ministry at the beginning of the year with a more or less explicit brief to "defuse" CND by going into bat for multilateralism.

While the Tory campaign has successfully turned the Labour Party away from a popular unilateralist program, it has not been able to intimidate CND.

At its November 1982 National Conference, CND adopted the central campaign slogan, "Britain out of NATO, NATO out of Britain," to express its firm commitment to unilateral disarmament, and rejected moves headed by prominent author and activist, Edward Thompson, to link this to a struggle against the "two superpowers" and their "blobs".

This vote reflected a similar strong sentiment for unilateral disarmament expressed in a poll conducted at CND's June 1982 demonstration in which 68 per cent registered their opposition to British participation in NATO.

Getting out of NATO, of course, means no Cruise, no Pershing, no Trident, and it means breaking the alliance with the United States, including the removal of US bases from Britain. These policies are popular.

In fact, CND's policies have the support of very nearly the entire organised British working class. It is an extremely significant and very revealing fact that more British workers are now affiliated to CND through their trade unions than are likewise affiliated to the Labour Party itself. In this way, six million workers today support CND.

Major sections of the Church have also come out in support of CND and for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Since the opening of the election campaign, senior Roman Catholic priest Monsignor Ernie Kent, who serves in almost a full-time capacity as CND General Secretary, has come under fire from the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Hume. In May, the *Guardian* speculated that the Cardinal could easily be acting under pressure from the Thatcher Government.

Kent, who feels he may soon have to choose between CND and the Church, has remarked that if such a choice is made necessary "then I don't think it is the right church for me".

A similar battle has unfolded within the Anglican church. At its most recent General Synod Bishop Graham Leonard of London led a successful attack against a working party recommendation (sponsored by the more progressive Bishop of Salisbury) that the Church advocate abandonment by Britain of the nuclear deterrent.

Leonard, a known conservative, was appointed Bishop of London in a move that was widely regarded as having been sponsored by the Thatcher Government.

Another instructive case is provided by the women at Greenham Common — the first US base scheduled to receive Cruise missiles in September 1983. These women have maintained a 24-hour-a-day picket there for eighteen months. This is a further testimony to the breadth, staying power, organisation, and public support for CND, and for unilaterally ending Britain's nuclear commitment.

These facts register an overwhelming sentiment in favour of taking Britain out of the nuclear weapons system without conditions, without consultation, and without the prior agreement of the United States or Western Europe. It is a recognition that, in the end, this is the *only* way to disarm, and to show a lead in disarmament world wide, because the United States will never agree to the disarmament of any of its allies. After all, it is the US that is pressuring Britain and other European countries to accept the Cruise and Pershing missiles.

It is the US alliance that prevents Britain's nuclear disarmament, not any imagined threat from the Soviet Union. Otherwise, it would be easy enough for Britain to accept recent proposals by the Soviet leaders for the eradication of *all* nuclear arms from Europe.

This is understood by those, like Margaret Thatcher, who support multilateral disarmament from a right wing position. But, unfortunately, it is a mystery to those "multilateralists" in the progressive mass movement.

In the end it will be necessary to find the means by which every nation can disarm. That may be described as a kind of "multilateral" disarmament. But that is not how the term is used today. When the multilateral disarmament of all the nuclear powers becomes the precondition for the disarmament of any one — which is the position of the multilateralists of both the right and the left — then multilateralism becomes a barrier to any disarmament occurring at all.

It is this that led Helen John, one of the Greenham Common women, to comment: "Multilateralism is an objective we all hold. But it can only be achieved if you are prepared to take the first step. A unilateralist is a multilateralist who means it."

Helen John's comment is a recognition of the simple fact that when it comes to disarmament, the real enemy is at home.

Many CND activists, it is true, favour multilateralist demands, such as, "For a nuclear free Europe from Poland to Portugal" because they want to avoid being otherwise accused of harbouring sympathies for the Soviet Union.

While they are mistaken in their fears, they do not however see such demands as excluding the specific fight against Cruise, Pershing, Tri-



Mass disarmament march against Cruise and Trident.

dent, and NATO. This has been evident in the practice of CND itself which raises all these demands simultaneously.

There are useful lessons to be learnt from the British experience which apply to the disarmament movement in Australia.

But some multilateral advocates in the Australian disarmament movement have been willing to argue that unilateralism is popular (and defensible) in Britain only because the British nuclear arsenal is relatively limited and thus of no consequence in the worldwide nuclear stand-off between the "two superpowers."

While this position shows a cynical disregard for a mass movement many times larger and more powerful than that which exists in this country, it also has a certain logic for the movement here.

The same forces who support such an argument are those who have campaigned most vigorously against allowing the broad antiwar movement here to adopt unilateralist slogans similar to CND, the British Labour Party, and the TUC, such as the removal of US bases and the withdrawal from ANZUS.

It can only be concluded from this,

that such forces regard the US nuclear facilities in Australia as more significant to the US than any British cant in the stand-off with the Soviet Union. Therefore the US bases here must be preserved according to this logic.

A key part of the support for this position too is based on the fundamental commitment by the ALP Leadership to maintaining the US alliance.

Commenting on his proposed June trip to see US President Reagan, Bob Hawke told the press recently:

"Whatever views people may have about the United States, I regard it as a country of fundamental importance to our relationship (sic). It is a cornerstone of our international relations."

Even Left Party Leaders who are prominent in the disarmament movement have shown themselves completely unwilling to break from this mould and support an independent policy for Australian nuclear disarmament. Instead they campaign for multilateral disarmament — "Disarmament East and West".

Usually their justification for this position is that while they themselves of course support unilateralism, it will

only alienate certain sections of the disarmament movement such as the Party ranks, or the Churches.

The British case proves this to be a totally fallacious argument. And already in Australia the US bases is far to the left of the Party Left.

We are also told that unilateralism will cost the support of the Labour Government. That is not an argument against building a campaign for effective disarmament but in fact the reason to take the campaign inside the Party.

Only by tackling the question of removal of the US bases and breaking the military alliance with the US can we carry out nuclear disarmament.

In the words of Helen Jones, it is difficult to claim that such multilateralist campaigners are "multilateralists who mean it".

Those who mean it will put as the first letter of their opposition to nuclear arms the removal of those installations by which Australia makes its contribution to the worldwide US nuclear weapons system—the US bases.

This should be the position of the movement as a whole. In this, we can only learn from the British example.

How quickly some forget!

Interview with Peter Boyle, an activist in the Committee Against Repression in the Pacific and Asia. CARPA is campaigning for the Hawke Government to implement policy on restoring humanitarian aid to Vietnam.

Q. Party policy explicitly states that the Federal Labor Government is committed to an immediate restoration of humanitarian aid to Vietnam, yet Prime Minister Hawke says that the Government may not implement this policy. Can you comment on this?

A. Certainly no one disputes that the Party has a clear policy to this effect. The Parliamentary Party's duty is to carry out this policy. It's a matter of the democratic functioning of the Party and responsibility to the membership.

But there is another very strong commitment, a moral commitment, that the Government has to the Vietnamese people. A resumption of aid to Vietnam would be a magnanimous gesture but merely the beginning of a repayment of a great blood debt that the Australian Government owes the Vietnamese people. A restoration of

the paltry \$7 million aid that was cut off in 1979 would hardly compensate for the death and destruction that Australian troops caused in the unjust war against Vietnam between 1965 and 1971.

Q. Some people in the Party have argued that this was ended over 11 years ago and so should not determine Australian Government policy in 1983.

A. Is it really over? It would seem to us that the very fact that there is a big campaign being waged in Australia and abroad against the restoration of Australian aid to Vietnam, is an indication that the war against Vietnam is far from over.

Just recall the extent of the long-lasting damage done by the Australian, US and other forces. They left Vietnam with 20 million bomb craters, 150,000 tons of unexploded bombs, 15,000 villages, cities, and towns either razed to the ground or heavily destroyed, 1.5 million disabled persons, nearly a million widows, and three million unemployed people in the south. During this undeclared war the US, Australian and other allies dropped more bombs than they did in the entire Second World War.

When people say it is over, they

should remember too that for a number of Vietnam veterans in Australia suffering from the effects of Agent Orange, it is far from over. Just imagine how much more so this applies to Vietnam, the country in which Agent Orange and millions of gallons of other toxic chemicals were used? The United Nations catalogued some of the after-effects of this aspect of the war in Vietnam—deformities at birth have increased five-fold and cancer is far more prevalent.

Then even after the liberation of Saigon in 1975, Vietnam was not allowed peace. At first the US merely switched to economic warfare, reneging on the \$3.2 billion in reconstruction aid it promised in the Geneva agreement. It then imposed a trade ban and campaigned against United Nations and other countries aid programs to Vietnam.

Before the year was up Vietnam was facing military attacks again, this time from the dictator of Kampuchea, Pol Pot. Between 1975 and 1978 Pol Pot's raids caused hundreds of massacres of Vietnamese civilians living near that border. These raids left mass graves in Vietnam similar to those Pol Pot left all over Kampuchea.

Federal Policy on Indochina

a The Government should accept the fact that with or without Soviet military and economic aid, Vietnam is one of the most significant military powers in the Pacific region. Any future foreign or domestic policy decisions concerning developments in the Pacific region should reflect cognisance of the reality of this military power.

b Australia should support policies which would result in the independence of the three Indo Chinese countries, based on democratically elected governments.

c The Government should resume its commitment to the two aid projects in Vietnam suspended in January 1979. We should also resume cultural exchanges so as to promote greater understanding between our countries.

d The level of any future humanitarian and development aid should be consistent with our United Nations commitments and also should acknowledge our involvement in the Vietnam war and the subsequent need for rehabilitation in the interests of the Vietnamese people.

e The general abhorrence in Australia of the Democratic Kampuchean regime should be kept in mind when considering Australia's attitude towards the region. Australia should discourage all support for the Democratic Kampuchean (Pol Pot) regime so as to create conditions favorable to a withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. Australia will not give any recognition, bilaterally or multilaterally, to any coalition or regime including Pol Pot forces.

f Australia should make strenuous diplomatic efforts to

promote regional solutions to Indo Chinese problems and, in the interests of peace and stability in the region, attempt to decrease the involvement of the superpowers.

g Australian humanitarian aid to Kampuchea should continue, and developmental and cultural assistance should be introduced.

h The Government should encourage further and continuous study of this volatile area which is likely to become more important in Australia's future. In this way, the Australian public can become aware of the many contributing to the present instability of the region, and public interest in events in the region will be stimulated.

i The Government should utilise its relationship with ASEAN to encourage all forms of dialogue between ASEAN countries and Indo China which may help decrease tensions in the region and promote a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea. Australia should also continue to lend its support to international efforts aimed at decreasing regional tension.

j Working through United Nations organisations the Government should press for some administrative machinery to be established on the Thai-Kampuchean border so that genuine refugees—those seeking a new life separated from short term refugees—particularly from Kampuchea—who intend to return to Kampuchea.



The result of saturation bombing of Vietnam by the US.

Q. Ironically, those who oppose a restoration of aid to Vietnam use the Vietnamese involvement in the overthrow of Pol Pot as their main argument. How does CARPA see the "Kampuchea question"?

A. Unfortunately, many ALP leaders echo the big business press and the White House by referring to Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. But the real story is quite different. After numerous attempts at negotiation with Pol Pot over the border incidents, Vietnamese troops together with rebel Kampuchean forces ousted Pol Pot in December 1978.

Q. What is the role of China in this area?

A. The Vietnamese and Kampuchean governments see China as the most immediate and serious military threat to their sovereignty at present. China made a destructive and murderous punitive raid into Vietnam in February 1979 following the overthrow of Pol Pot.

Two months ago they pounded Vietnamese border villages with artillery fire and continue to arm and supply the remnants of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge in the Thai-Kampuchea border area.

But it must be pointed out that the Chinese military threat has the backing of Washington. It is more convenient for Reagan to have someone else attack Vietnam directly as the memory of the anti-Vietnam war movement is still fresh in his mind.

Q. Another argument against resumption of aid to Vietnam is that of the alleged Vietnamese threat to Thailand and other ASEAN countries. What are your views on this?

A. Who threatens who? When Hayden made his condemnation of "Vietnamese aggression" against Thailand in April, we were told by the *National Times* and the *Australian* that he was already in possession of a cable from Australian intelligence to the effect that the Thai generals' charges of Vietnamese aggression were dubious. Aid workers in the border regions later confirmed the falseness of these charges.

But on the other hand it has been fully confirmed that Thai planes have dropped napalm bombs on Kampuchean and Vietnamese forces, that Thailand has provided sanctuary for Pol Pot's murderers and other counter-revolutionaries and provided aid to these forces. Thailand has also facilitated US and Australian aid to the counter-revolutionaries.

And that is another point. While Hayden finds it so hard to decide to implement Party policy to aid Vietnam, he seems to have no problems in deciding to continue to aid the other side. Most of Australia's Government aid to Kampuchea goes through Bangkok, and so to the camps of the counter-revolutionaries. Australian aid helps prop up Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge.

Australia gives \$40 million in direct military aid to the ASEAN Governments, but hesitates to fund a cattle farm and milk factory in Vietnam. This is a shameful situation.

Q. Finally, what is the situation in Vietnam today?

A. It is desperate. After 80 years of colonial exploitation, and nearly half a century of continuous war this should come as no surprise. 20 per cent of the children suffer from malnutrition and half the population is permanently undernourished. Per capita income is just \$290 per year and the infant mortality rate is 115 per thousand live births (compared with 25 in most developed countries). Yet Vietnam provided the main aid source for Kampuchea following the overthrow of Pol Pot and even today supplies regular aid to Kampuchea.

Most other countries with Vietnam's level of poverty and underdevelopment receive some aid from most of the rich countries.

But thanks to the efforts of the US Government and its allies, an estimated half a billion dollars in aid is being blocked each year. Last year for instance the US with the help of the Governments of Argentina, Canada, West Germany, Japan, Thailand, and Britain, blocked \$5.3 million in aid under the UN World Food Program.

We believe that it is essential that the Australian Government end its shameful participation in this continuous war on the Vietnamese people.

For further information about CARPA see the advertisement on page 27.

State conference — more restrictive rules changes

The coming Victorian State Conference on June 18 will be an important one. It is the first since the rules change on the election of Conference

By Doug Jordan

Member of Preston (Vic) branch and the Tramways Union

delegates was adopted at the April Conference. Now the recently elected FEA delegates to Conference will retain their positions for a two year period.

But the rule changes haven't ended yet. Further changes are up for adoption at the coming June Conference. These represent the most extensive revision of the rules for a long time, perhaps even since intervention.

It isn't possible to go through these changes in detail here. They are itemised in the May edition of *Labor Star*. But the broad direction of these

changes is very clear.

Although some of the changes streamline the administration of the Party, the general thrust is for more centralised control of the Victorian Branch, a downgrading of State Conference, and a decrease in the broad participation in decision making by rank and file members.

Firstly, there will be an increase in fees for pensioners and unemployed. At present pensioners pay \$2 and the unemployed \$5 for a year's membership. In future they will both have to pay \$10 compared with the full rate of \$15 which remains unchanged.

This is a blow at the most disadvantaged groups in society. Given the subsistence levels of both these sectors and the inflation rate surely any change should move in the direction of reducing their membership fees not vice versa. This change can only

discourage participation of both sections of the community in the ALP at a time when both are explosively expanding through lay-offs and so called "voluntary" retirements.

Secondly, State Conference will now only meet twice a year in June and November instead of the previous three times. Together with the FEA changes, this represents a downgrading of the importance of State Conference as the supreme decision making body with a corresponding decrease in participation, debate and discussion. Previously it was also possible to organise a special State Conference if 10% of delegates signed a petition. This now requires 20% support. This was used last year in Victoria to campaign vigorously against the overturning of the uranium policy by National Conference. It makes it more difficult to

convene such emergency conferences, at a time when judging by the record on foreign policy to date, just such a mechanism is going to be needed to keep the Parliamentary Party from flagrantly flouting and overturning policy.

Thirdly, union delegates to State Conference no longer have to be members of the union they are representing. Now unions can appoint any spokesperson they wish (as has already occurred in practice.) This again sidesteps the important battle for democratisation of the unions. Union delegates to the ALP bodies should be elected by the membership of the union if there is to be fair representation of the grass roots. Appointment of non-union delegates puts the day of union democracy even further off into the deep blue yonder.

On the positive side the elimination of postal votes for elections at Federal Electorate Assemblies (FEA) removes an extensive abuse of the system. Some dozens of votes in the same handwriting had often ensured election of certain delegates. The rule change means that voting takes place on two consecutive weekends in May for an extended time.

However, at the same time, the eligibility of members to vote has been tightened up. Members must have twelve months continuous membership to vote. Similarly FEAs will now have to meet only twice in May every second year. So the opportunity for discussion and representation within the wider context of the Federal Electorate is diminished as well.

Another way in which party members were consulted was the plebiscite. This too will be abolished.

The Public Office Selection Committee, set up after intervention, is a rather complicated procedure to pre-select candidates. This has been streamlined giving equal numbers between the local and central panels for all preselections.

The method of selecting central panel candidates by a lottery has also been eliminated. This will now be on the basis of proportional representation.

The Administrative Committee has proposed to greatly increase its powers. Nominations for any seat can be reopened if supported by 75% of the Administrative Committee. Rank and file members should have the right of recall for endorsed candidates but not the powerful executive committee of the Victorian Branch.

The balance sheet of these rules changes is very negative—greater restrictions on debate and political participation, on representation and recall combined with an increase in centralised power. And the method and time allowed for discussion of the rules changes reflects just the same tendency.

It's time for politics

The Tasmanian Branch of the ALP soon to be given back responsibility for running its affairs, still does not publish its own Party paper. This is indicative of the level of political debate here. Political discussion, it seems, is not to be encouraged.

With the conservative Gray Government in full cry, hammering the working class daily, it comes as no

By Frank Noakes

Member of Lilydale (Tas) branch

surprise that party membership is gradually on the increase. Even though this is encouraging, it by no means makes up for the droves that left the Party in the last couple of years of the State Labor Government.

These members, new and old alike, need to be exposed to political debate. Branch meetings alone cannot provide this very necessary function. A Party paper, with a democratically elected editorial committee, allowing free discussion and criticism is an absolute must. Other State branches and factions within those branches can, and rightly do, afford the production of regular newspapers.

As an illustration of the current attitude pervading the State Branch, our Branch at its April meeting unanimously passed a motion expressing concern at the Federal Government's failure to implement ALP foreign

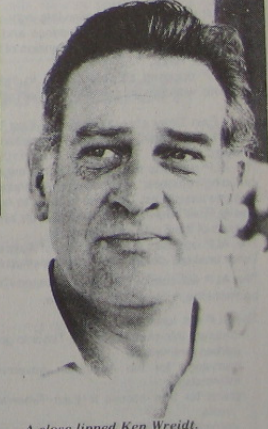
policy. This motion was rejected by the Electorate Council because it was felt that we should not be criticising but supporting the Labor Government. A lack of politics is the cause of such myopia.

Political parties differ from one another on the basis of policy. When a party fails to carry out its policy it is betraying its members. A political party is not akin to a football club to be supported uncritically. Policy is everything. It was exactly this attitude, fostered by Party careerists, that allowed the State Parliamentary Party to dominate the Tasmanian Branch as a whole. This led the Party to its trouncing at last year's state election. Since then federal intervention has brought about some dramatic reforms.

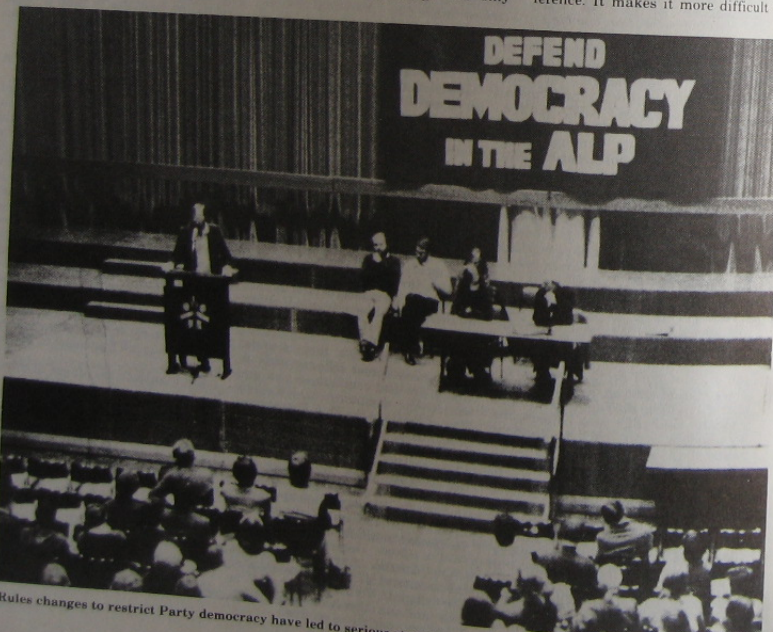
Meanwhile, the Gray Liberal Government has just completed its first year in office and on the basis of the performance of the ALP Leadership to date, it will enjoy many more to come. Ken Weidt, State Opposition Leader, appears to be one Labor leader who has kept his promise. Weidt promised after the State Election not to be unduly critical of the Gray Government in its first year. So whilst Gray and his cronies have been assailing workers' living standards and the environment alike, Weidt has been adhering to his promise and has hardly said a word.



Premier Gray on the attack.



A close lipped Ken Weidt.



Rules changes to restrict Party democracy have led to serious struggles just to be a member of the NSW Branch.

east timor

Fretilin not welcome—still

Interview with John Sinnott, member of the Australia-East Timor Association

In the last issue of *Labor Militant* we carried an interview with George Preston, Spokesperson for the East Timor Support Group in the ALP. In that interview George outlined why it was so important that Labor policy on East Timor be implemented. A tour was arranged with two Fretilin representatives for mid-May so that up to date information would be available. Visas were granted, and arrangements all set up, when Hawke intervened to prevent the tour going ahead that time.

Q. The Labor Government has withdrawn the visas of the two Fretilin representatives due to tour here mid-May until Mr. Hawke finishes his visit to Indonesia. What effect has this had on the people in the ALP?

A. We were caught by surprise when Cabinet decided that the visas would not be issued until Hawke had returned from Jakarta because we had already heard that Immigration Minister Stewart West had given the

go-ahead for the visas to be issued. The two Fretilin representatives, Abilio Araujo and Roque Rodrigues, were about to leave Portugal to come to Australia when they were told the



visas were not ready. The action of the Government will annoy many people in the Labor Party and make them determined to stand up to the underhand methods of working by the Government.

Obviously they are too afraid to come out and announce they will ignore ALP policy. But in effect they have simply ignored policy on a number of points. One indication of a strong feeling of the membership, is that the Parliamentary Caucus felt obliged to meet Abilio and Roque at a special conference when they eventually get to Australia. This will mean members of the Caucus will have to fly from all over Australia for the meeting.

Federal Policy on East Timor

The ALP recognises the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence and condemns and rejects the Australian government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor.

The ALP opposes all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor.

Aid to East Timor should benefit the East Timorese but should not support Indonesian Government integration processes or military strategy.

The ALP supports the principle of free migration of East Timorese, including refugees, and believes Australia has an obligation and ability to assist East Timorese to come to Australia.

The ALP will seek out and make publicly available information on all aspects of the East Timor issue.

The ALP opposes the operations of Australian companies in East Timor until self-determination has been achieved.

The ALP will continue to support United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese.

The ALP will, further—

circulate information on East Timor to governments and political parties overseas;

campaign for the Australian government to release more information;

press for free access to East Timor for the Australian news media;

demand that FRETELIN representatives be allowed into Australia, and press for an Australian parliamentary delegation to visit East

The total disregard for policy by the leadership will also anger many rank and file members especially when the last State Conference made it quite clear that the Victorian Branch want to see the policy implemented.

Q. Recently we had the example of the Defence Minister Gordon Scholes handing over an Australian patrol boat to the Indonesians. Do you feel this is just a continuation of Fraser's policy in giving military aid and in violation of Labor policy?

A. This is the first of two patrol boats that will be handed over by the Hawke Government. The ALP policy is also broken by this temporary ban on Fretilin representatives. Hayden opened a language centre in Jakarta while he was there which will be used by the Indonesian military.

There has been no diplomatic activity that we know of in support of East Timor. Australia still has as its Ambassador to the United Nations Richard Woolcott who is notoriously pro-Indonesian and I'm sure he would be an ineffective lobbyist on behalf of East Timor even if he was told to do so. If they were genuine about the policy the Government would find a new job for Ambassador Woolcott.

Q. What do you think Labor Party



Fretilin march in 1975.

members can do to hasten the process of Australia giving support for the East Timorese?

A. Well, it is urgent because the United Nations decides the agenda of the Decolonisation Committee in August and the Indonesians have been lobbying very hard to get the resolution on East Timor dropped. Australia has to start working right now or there is a grave danger the Indonesians will have their way. Last year Fraser heavily pressured the delegates from the Solomon Islands and Fiji and got them to change their vote to one of

support for Indonesia. The Hawke leadership should be talking to countries like these to get them to support East Timor.

There have been rumors which haven't been denied that the Australian Government intends to abstain at the United Nations. This is totally inconsistent with ALP policy. There must be pressure from all levels of the Party calling upon them to vote for self determination for the Timorese and not abstain.

Q. Finally when will the visit of the

two Fretilin representatives take place?

A. At the moment we think they will arrive in Australia at the end of June or early July. There will be public meetings in Sydney, Melbourne and possibly Canberra. We urge all supporters of the people of East Timor to come along to these meetings and show the Government that there is a large movement of sympathy for the East Timorese people. This will be the only way of pressuring the Government to carry out Federal policy.

Australia-East Timor Association

The most effective way of supporting the people of East Timor is through joining the Australia-East Timor Association and participating in its activities.

The Secretary
AETA
PO Box 93
Fitzroy, Victoria, 3065

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The rewards of a faithful servant

Closure of the Newcastle state dockyards, Crown St Hospital, attacks on the working conditions of nurses, railworkers and other state public servants. There are a lot of things Neville Wran should stand trial for.

Allegedly making a phone call to Murray Farquhar is minor by comparison.

Wran has fallen into a trap . . . a trap that most professional Labor politicians are susceptible to. The trap of being a faithful servant of the capitalist rulers of this country. Wran has been their administrator, has attempted to make their system work even though it's in a state of economic and social collapse, has helped them promote the idea that we should all live by their laws.

Of course the capitalists don't live by their own laws. Most of the highly respectable families who own (or are big shareholders) in the industries and the newspapers in this country can trace their family fortunes back to activities such as blackbirding and piracy in the Pacific, corruption in horse racing or swindling on govern-

ment contracts and other business deals. Even the drug trade probably figured in the affairs of many — the opium trade along with piracy and slavery made the fortunes of many respectable British families (sections of which later migrated to this country).

Today these people are in the far more respectable business of robbing workers of the fruits of their labour.

The main difference between today's respectable businessmen and criminals is one of time. The big crims of today are trying to tread the path of the respectable capitalists' forefathers. Allegations of corruption in the Government, the Judiciary and the Public Service will surprise and shock only the naive. That's the way the game is played.

The State distributes patronage, it is a source of a great deal of wealth for many capitalists—government contracts are notoriously lucrative, so is the ability to have the police turn a blind eye to activities outside the law. Wran accepted that framework, it's part of the system as it stands, it's no secret that Wran didn't want to change

the system. No amount of royal commissions or police bodies (such as the proposed National Crimes Commission) will put an end to crime.

Only a new social system, run by the working class for the working class will do that.

Hilton frame-up drags on

On April 19 and 20, the High Court in Canberra heard an appeal by Paul Alister, Tim Anderson and Ross Dunn.

These three members of the Indian-based religious group Ananda Marga, were framed in 1978 by the evidence of

By Martin Tuck
Member of Leichhardt (NSW) branch

police informer Richard Seary. During the trial at which they were convicted of attempting to murder National Front leader Robert Cameron and (police) Seary also alleged that the three had also planted the Hilton Hotel bomb.

Previous issues of *Labor Militant* have explained the highly dubious nature of Seary's evidence, the complexity of police in the frame-up, and the fact that these three men have been used as scapegoats to cover-up the involvement of ASIO and NSW Special Branch in the Hilton bombing.

Although Alister, Anderson and Dunn have already spent five years in gaol for a crime they did not commit, they may yet have to wait up to one year more before receiving the High Court verdict on their appeal. Nevertheless, legal council and members of the Campaign for the Acquittal of Anderson, Dunn and Alister (CAADA) are extremely optimistic about the outcome of the appeal.

The main grounds for the appeal were that: (a) a large quantity of relevant ASIO documents were not tabled in the trial that convicted them on the orders of the then-Liberal Minister; and (b) the presiding judge admitted prejudicial material into the trial (Seary's Hilton allegations and other false statements about the nature of the Ananda Marga).

In the event that the appeal fails, CAADA will launch an all-out public campaign to get NSW Attorney General Paul Landa to initiate a judicial inquiry into the whole case. Landa has said to CAADA members

that he could only launch such an inquiry when the appeal procedure was exhausted. If the High Court decision is unfavorable, Landa should immediately proceed with a judicial inquiry.

If, on the other hand, the High Court quashes the convictions it can either order the three men to be immediately released, refer the matter to Landa for further action by him, or call for a retrial. This third option is by far the most likely course. Bail could then be applied for to get them out of gaol. However, this is only likely to be granted once Landa has put to rest the Hilton allegations.

The inquest into the Hilton bombing deaths held belatedly last year after a four and a half year campaign, found a prima facie case of murder against Alister and Dunn. The judge found these two, along with Anderson, should be tried on a charge of conspiracy to murder. Again this was purely based on the "evidence" of paid police informer Richard Seary. It is up to Attorney General Landa whether three innocent men have to face yet another trial.

What is at stake here is not just the wasted years spent by three men in prison. The main issue at stake is: Can we let ASIO Special Branch and NSW police get away with political frame-ups. If we as individuals or collectively as the Australian Labor Party, allow this travesty of justice to continue, then this is not the last case of political frame-up that we will see in Australia.

On November 18, 1982, Federal Attorney General Gareth Evans being interviewed on a Nationwide program said: "I don't believe that on the evidence that was led at those trials that any reasonable person could be satisfied, now, looking at it in retrospect, that they were guilty beyond reasonable doubt."

In a letter dated April 15, 1983, CAADA addressed three questions to Evans. If as expected the High Court appeal is successful, will he intercede and ask Landa to release the three men? If the appeal is successful will Evans guarantee the three men will be released? And, if there is a retrial will he allow the above mentioned ASIO documents to be presented.

The three Ananda Marga men now in gaol, their families and all ALP members have a right to know the answers to these questions.

I request readers of *Labor Militant* to act now on behalf of the Ananda Marga three. Pass motions of support in your branches and other party bodies and write to Landa and Evans about their intentions regarding the freeing of these three men.

Send in copies of motions or requests for further information to CAADA, Box 160 Holme Building, University of Sydney, NSW, 2006.

about them.

Yours fraternally,
George Petersen, M.P. for Illawarra.

In reply:

Yes George I had missed your article in *Socialist Fight* and so was unaware of your public stance on the Accord. But as you say yourself, this is not really the public stance to which I referred.

Without wishing to disparage *Socialist Fight*, views expressed there are hardly public in the same sense of the mass distribution and readership of commercial dailies like the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Australian* or the *Age*.

However I am distressed by your conclusion that I have maligned Jenny Haines for whatever reason. The editorial does note that the Accord was not unanimously agreed to, although it doesn't mention Jenny's lone opposition nor those who abstained.

Jenny Haines is to be supported for her stand. But that doesn't undercut the thrust of my argument. Even though Jenny voted against the Accord, she remained silent about her reasons for doing so. As your letter states, she published her reasons after the event (my emphasis).

I don't know why Jenny kept silent at that time so I can't comment on her reasons for this. However the point is that nobody "spoke out against the terms of the Accord". And because no one spoke out publicly at that time, a huge opportunity to expose this class collaboration was missed. Clearly stated opposition from a working class viewpoint would have had a big impact and would have received mass media coverage at that time. As every socialist knows, decent mass coverage is very hard to come by. And the statement that Jenny "has since published her reasons for the world to know" just illustrates my point. I haven't seen her reasons and I cover the mass press pretty closely.

There is one further point I wish to make with regard to your letter.

I am distressed by the tone you use and the conclusions you seem only too willing to leap to. Given that we share the same assessment of the Accord and the need to fight against it, it would be more appropriate to write in a more comradely manner pointing out what, in your opinion, seemed to be an oversight on my part. Such a constructive approach would help to build a united fightback.

Leaping to conclusions about sectarian motives as outlined in your final paragraph, seems to me to provide a classic example of what you refer to there. If I am mistaken in your intent, I apologise in advance.

As a Brisbane City Council busdriver I found the articles on public transport in your May edition very interesting.

I noticed that there were many similarities between what our Labor Council is saying and doing about the bus system in Brisbane and the attitude of the the Cain and Wran Governments towards public transport.

Recently the Council's Transport Department cut back on the regularity of some of the more busy routes. Runs to densely populated areas have been reduced to the extent that already overcrowded buses have become more so. Some new services have been introduced in other areas but the number of drivers employed has not been increased.

The quality of life for most drivers has deteriorated with these cutbacks. Many shifts are now well over eight hours a day. The 38 hour week has had no effect since it has been introduced in the form of paid overtime rather than increased leisure time.

Another move that is worrying many drivers is the intention to introduce linked (or articulated) buses into the bus fleet.

This move seems to contradict Labor's policy of improving public transport and increasing employment. The introduction of link buses not only threatens jobs but also the frequency of service.

David Matters
Kurilpa branch ALP QLD.

16th May 1983

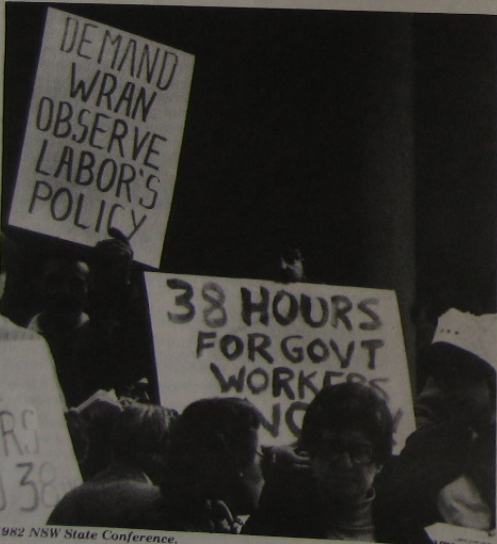
Ms. P. Brewer.

I presume you are the author of the May 1983 editorial in *Labor Militant*.

It was amazing to find the following sentence in the editorial: "Not only militant union leader or radical" parliamentary spokesman against the terms of the Accord." Have you read my article in "Socialist Fight" of 20th April 1983? You could be forgiven for not mentioning me because "Socialist Fight" has a small readership, although I would be surprised if you had not read that issue when you wrote the article.

But there is no excuse for your overlooking Jenny Haines, General Secretary of the N.S.W. Nurses Association, whose courageous lone stand against the Accord certainly received plenty of publicity—and who has since published her reasons for the world to know.

I can only reach the conclusion that you are playing the old game of sectarian politics which fails to recognise your left rivals unless you can find something derogatory to say



review

ASIO exposed

ROOTED IN SECRECY
The Clandestine Element in
Australian Politics
By Joan Coxsedge, Ken Coldicutt
and Gerry Harant
Published by the Campaign for
Abolition of Political
Police (CAAP) \$12.95

Within only two weeks of Parliament being reconvened, a scandal has been manufactured yet again by ASIO to protect the interests of this vast, sinister enterprise.

I strongly recommend to Mr. H. that he reads this book *Rooted in Secrecy*. Perhaps then he might realise that security organisations exist to pull the rug from under the

By Coral Channell
Member of Preston (Vic) branch and
the Amalgamated Metal Foundry and
Shipwrights Union

labour movement and Labor Governments, no matter how accommodating their leaders may be. It's a lesson that the labour movement has learnt (through bitter experience) many times before. And just some of these experiences are documented in the book.

The first chapter deals with how the manipulation of the Parliamentary process, the Menzies era, ASIO's leaking of information and the Petrov affair kept Labor out of office for the next 23 years. It then summarises the available information on the coup against Whitlam in November 1975, highlighting in particular the links of the CIA with Khemlani, Kerr's close contact with ASIO and the intelligence network, and recent information that Henry Fischer, another spy, absconded with half a million dollars from the Iraqi Government on the pretext it was for ALP funds.

There is an amazing transcript of a private interview with Andrew Pearce and two Indonesian security officials taken in Bali in September 1975. This had been taped by BAKIN, the Indonesian Intelligence Organisation. The entire scenario of Whitlam's dismissal is mapped out exactly as it did happen, but two months before the coup.

There are some side line conclusions. Fraser and his cronies knew they were playing with fire, and were extremely nervous. Fraser was reported to be under sedation and drinking heavily as public opinion swung against them in the last weeks of November.

You can be forgiven if you, like me, were naive enough to think that

Australia has only the one security organisation, ASIO. There are many others, not so public: ASIS, the Australian Secret Intelligence Service; DSD, Defence Signals Directorate; JIO, Joint Intelligence Organisation; ONA, Office of National Assessments; and PSCC, Protective Security Co-ordination Centre. All these security organisations are listed with their history and interconnections. And a useful summary of the role and activities of the various U.S. bases in Australia is included to fill in some of the detail of the surveillance network.

An interesting chapter on the American connections with all sorts of cultural and business organisations in Australia shows just how insidious the CIA operations are. Even the Adelaide Women's Health Centre in 1978 was approached to accept a hand-out by a group funded by CIA money.

The chapter on Special Branch is fascinating. No wonder the authors had difficulty finding a printer and distributors. One begins to wonder how many thousands of people have been refused jobs and promotion for some unknown 'crime' like watching a 'communist' bookshop.

The complicity of the media is also

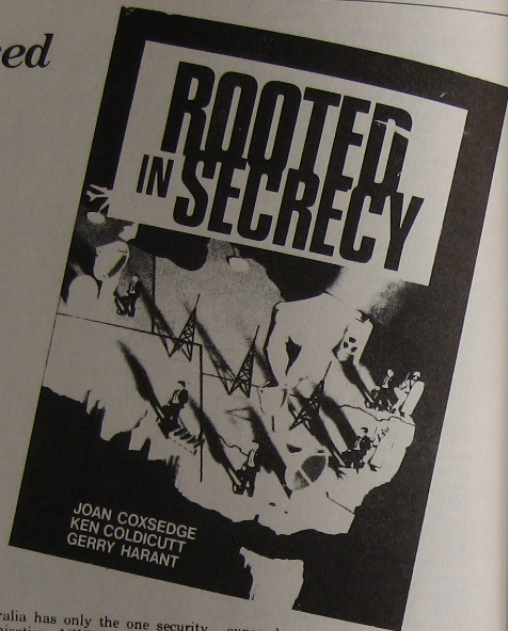
exposed as well as the corruption of journalists who have become part of the information collection network—for a fee, of course.

There are many other topics of great interest, one of course being the Ananda Marga frame-up of the Hilton bombing. (See the article p. 24)

The book covers a far wider range than the basic theme of clandestine security organisations. It puts these in the general framework that while we have a society where a small elite exercise power over the vast majority, then secret agencies are inevitable since no "democratic" Government can afford to admit, least of all in its laws, that its purpose is to protect the power and privilege of a small minority.

The book is an invaluable tool and store of information you will find nowhere else. It must be highly recommended for political activists or anyone remotely connected with the Trade Union movement or the ALP.

Rooted in Secrecy is available from Joan Coxsedge, 81 Irving St, Footscray 3011. (For further information see the ad. on page 27)



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1. To aid in defending victims of political persecution and injustice in the countries of Asia and the Pacific, regardless of their particular beliefs, affiliations or associations, and to provide whatever assistance is possible for their families.
2. To organise such actions as may be possible within Australia to put pressure on reactionary Asian and Pacific governments to stop restrictions on the rights of free speech and free association, to respect the role of law in all political cases, to ameliorate the harsh conditions under which political prisoners are held, and to work for their amnesty and release.
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The peoples of Central America and the Caribbean need your support



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Aims of CISCAC

1. To promote an understanding among the Australian people of the struggles of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean against exploitation and repression, and to build solidarity with these struggles.
2. To oppose all imperialist intervention in Central America and the Caribbean and to champion the right of self-determination for the peoples of the region.
3. To support the revolutionary governments of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada and to defend the gains already made by the popular victories in these countries.

If you want to be active in this campaign, just contact the addresses below.

ADELAIDE: PO Box 428, Unley 5061.

BRISBANE: PO Box 141, Ashgrove 4060.

CANBERRA: Central America Solidarity Group, PO Box 606, Dickson 2602.

HOBART: PO Box 532, Sandy Bay 7005.

MELBOURNE: GPO Box 5421CC, Melbourne 3001.

NEWCASTLE: PO Box 253, Newcastle 2300.

PARRAMATTA: PO Box A431, Sydney South 2000.

PERTH: PO Box 118, Victoria Park 6100.

SYDNEY: PO Box A431, Sydney South 2000.

WOLLONGONG: PO Box 1976, Wollongong 2500.

western australia

Anzus in action — WA leads the nation

During the Yom Kippur war in the Middle East in 1974 Richard Nixon placed the North-West Cape communications base on nuclear alert. Fortunately it was not required for nuclear war on that occasion. But it did play the role of beaming navigational information to Israeli aircraft fighting the Egyptians.

That is just one example of how Australia plays a role not only in the American nuclear war drive but in its conventional war making as well.

By Barry Healy

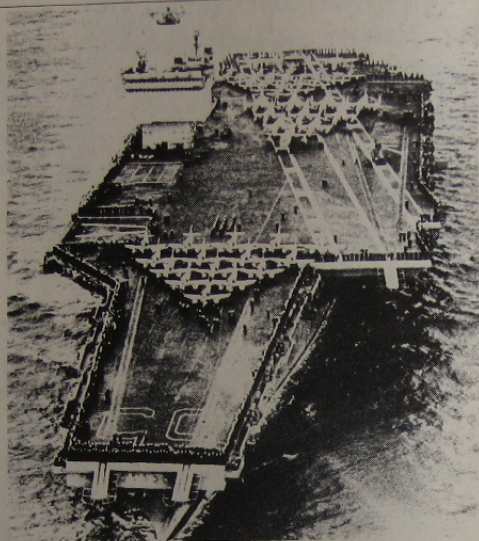
Member of Wanneroo (WA) branch and the Amalgamated Metal Foundry and Shipwrights' Union

Western Australia has the distinction of leading the nation in this involvement. Perth, and other WA ports, are major recreation centres for flotillas of the US Navy.

Approximately every six to eight weeks major visits by nuclear powered and armed warships occur and swarms of sailors and marines jam the streets and flood the cash registers. Their presence has become so commonplace that they don't stir any publicity anymore. So most people in Perth are unaware of exactly what their role is.

Cockburn Sound receives so many attack submarines that it is a de-facto submarine base. The aircraft carriers, their auxiliaries and the submarines which visit are part of the US Indian Ocean fleet and form the platform for the Rapid Deployment Force in this region.

The RDF is the centre of US military strategy for containing social change in Third World nations where America has vital interests. Diego Garcia is the main base for this force in the Indian



US nuclear fleet welcomed by WA bosses.

Ocean. From there the RDF is centrally located for striking at freedom fighters located from Southern Africa through the Middle East to South-East Asia.

The RDF is designed to deliver tactical nuclear armed forces to any "trouble-spots" at short notice. Its existence is the link between US conventional and nuclear strategy.

The intervention of the RDF could easily lead directly from a localised conventional conflict to full scale nuclear warfare.

All these visits have been very quietly escalated over the years so that no public questioning of their presence has built up. That placid acceptance suits the business community just fine. A visit by a major flotilla is worth at least \$2 million in the pockets of Perth businesses.

But a breach can now be seen appearing in this carefully manipulated public acceptance.

15,000 people marched in Perth in the March 27 anti-war demonstrations. While the organisers of the rally deliberately avoided raising the question of the warships' visits it was quite obvious from the placards and banners among the crowd that the basis exists for a mass movement against the ships.

It is also quite clear that the majority of ALP rank and file in WA oppose the

visits. As was reported in Labor Militant No 6 in 1982 the State Conference last year adopted a position opposed to the ships.

The resolution was quite mild in its wording and did not bind the leadership to any action. But it still drew a very heated response from Federal Parliamentarian John Dawkins, who is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. State Secretary Michael Beehan joined with Dawkins in fighting against adopting the resolution.

Australia's two major ports, Sydney and Melbourne, are also the centres of Australia's anti-nuclear movement. The strength of that movement has forced the Party Leaderships in those states to take stands opposed to visits by US warships.

The Socialist Caucus of the WA Branch at its April meeting discussed ways of drawing the ALP into the anti-war movement here. While no concrete strategy developed there it is clear that the question of the ships will not be kept off the agenda for long.

A strong anti-war movement already exists even though the Party has failed to give a decisive lead. With the added strength of a clear anti-warships position from the ALP the movement could gain overwhelming strength.

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