

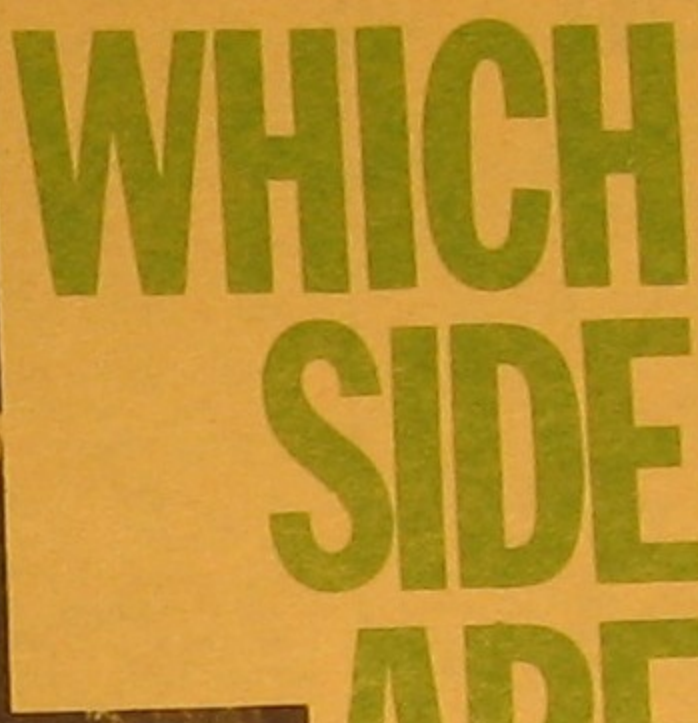
# DIRECT ACTION

A Socialist Fortnightly No. 45 Aug. 9, 1973

20 cents

## LABOR'S FOREIGN POLICY:

### WHICH SIDE ARE WE ON?



### ABORTION:

How Can Women  
Win This Right?

### TARIFFS:

What's Behind  
Labor's Actions?

# DIRECT ACTION

No. 45, August 9, 1973

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## EDITORIAL ISSUES FACING THE ABORTION MOVEMENT

On June 30 several hundred women marched throughout Australia calling for the repeal of all abortion laws and for freely available, safe contraceptives. These actions, though modest in size, played an important role in focusing public attention once again on the abortion laws and in beginning the process of rallying the support that will be necessary to wage a successful campaign to repeal these laws.

Despite the understandable demoralisation of many people following the recent crusade of the "Right to Life" movement and defeat in Federal Parliament of the Medical Practice Clarification Bill advocating reform of the existing abortion laws, support for the June 30 actions came from many areas, including several country centres. The breadth of this support indicated the potential which exists to mount a powerful campaign around the issue of abortion which actively expresses the views of the majority of women and attempts to directly involve these women in the struggle.

However, within the women's movement and among those who wish to see changes in the present abortion laws there are many differences over how women can best win the right to abortion and whether such a visible mass campaign is necessary or even relevant. Some feel that the laws should be reformed rather than repealed, retaining some restrictions on women's right to abortion and that lobbying individual politicians is the only effective means of getting the laws changed. Others believe we should ignore the laws completely and concentrate on building up the avenues by which women can make use of existing services. Yet others are attempting to set up their own abortion clinics, feeling that this is the only way to guarantee that women will receive satisfactory medical treatment.

While all these approaches have positive features, they also have serious flaws. Common to them all is a narrow view of the nature and urgency of the task before us, i.e., to win this right for all women, and an underestimation of the importance of mobilising women around this central demand and of the potential power of such a movement to win its demands.

Freedom to safe, legal abortions would have an effect on the lives of thousands of women who suffer and frequently die at the hands of unskilled backyard abortionists and from self-performed abortions, who are pressured out of schools, out of jobs and into marriages and often unhappy relationships through unwanted pregnancies. But if this is

to be a real freedom there can be no arbitrary restrictions placed on a woman's right to choose and no special conditions attached to this right. There are people who believe that women should be limited in the number of abortions they can obtain during their lifetime, or that limits should be set on how late pregnancies can be terminated. These ideas are a concession to the belief that abortion is really evil and immoral and should be performed as seldom and early as possible, and also that women should somehow be punished for wanting or needing abortions. With effective sex and contraceptive education and easily available contraceptive devices and abortion women probably would seek abortions less frequently and earlier, but restrictions on abortion can only hamper not help bring this about.

In many countries where abortion laws have been "liberalised" as in Great Britain, women are frequently unable to obtain their abortion until several weeks after initially seeking it. They are still subject to the decision of at least two doctors and often find it easier to seek an illegal abortion than to wait to see these doctors, find a hospital or clinic that will perform the operation etc. All these factors and the attendant dissatisfaction with the situation has often only succeeded in playing into the hands of the anti-abortion forces who claim that liberal abortion laws mean chaos and have done little to change the problems, such as the incidence of backyard abortions, that the advocates of reform said would be solved. We must press for abortion to be removed from criminal law completely, to become merely another medical procedure, and that all abortion laws be repealed to allow for a woman's right to choose.

Repeal of abortion laws would mean that adequate, government-financed facilities could be set up which would be capable of meeting the needs of all women seeking abortions and would mean that women's futures would no longer depend on whether they had the right contacts or knew the right doctor who could refer or perform an abortion. It is utopian to expect to be able to pass this sort of information on to the mass of women and thus render law change irrelevant. No matter how many cards advertising different referral services and information on how to get legal abortions are left on bus seats and in restaurants, it will still only be a drop in the ocean. Even if it were possible to inform all women that they could obtain an

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## CONTACT SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

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

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

## NSW Young Labor Conference

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

About 100 delegates attended the quarterly conference of the NSW Young Labor Council in Sydney on July 28. Although the conference was generally a low-key affair, nevertheless important issues were discussed.

The YLC's shift to the left earlier this year has in general continued, and was demonstrated in some of the motions passed.

The conference condemned the action of the Queensland ALP administration in proscribing socialists from the party. The conference supported the principle that all individuals and tendencies should be allowed to be members of a mass workers' party. Although right-wing delegates strongly objected, the motion was overwhelmingly carried.

A considerable amount of time was spent discussing the ALP's attitude to the black struggle. A motion was moved calling for the co-optation of blacks to the Land Rights Commission, freezing land subject to land-rights claims and recognising land-rights claims based on occupation of as well as tribal affinity with land. An amendment was moved with a socialist delegate calling for blacks to be elected to the commission from their own communities, unconditionally granting land-rights claims.

The mover rejected the second part of the amendment, on the grounds that under a "socialist" government (apparently meaning the Government in Canberra), land should not be alienable, which in effect allowed the Government the right to adjudicate land-rights claims. This argument was a negation of the land-rights struggle. Far from arrogating to themselves the "right" to decide, socialist governments unconditionally support the right of oppressed nations to self-determination.

The amendment was split into two parts.

## Gay Pride Week in Sept.

BY JEFF HAYLER

Gay Pride Week will run from September 8 to September 16 throughout New South Wales. Hopefully actions will also be taken in other States as well.

Gay Pride Week is intended to encourage homosexuals to come out and stand up against our oppression and join in the struggle to win our liberation.

The first part was carried, but the second part was lost.

Motions were later passed condemning the role of Labor aldermen on South Sydney Council for their negative attitude towards the establishment of a black community in Redfern. A motion moved by Ian Robertson, president of Northern Districts Young Labor Association, called for black people to be encouraged to join the ALP and YLAP and to form their own caucus inside the party. The motion also called for the ALP's policy committee on Aborigines to be composed solely of blacks who could if they wished co-opt whites in an advisory capacity.

Some of the right-wing and so-called "left" delegates opposed the motion, claiming that it was an "apartheid" measure. They ignored the fact that the Aboriginal affairs committee would invariably bring down patronising and white-biased policies as long as it was run by whites. However, such objections did not prevent the motion from being carried.

Towards the end of the conference the following motion was carried: "This Young Labor Council believes that all organisations in the world labor movement should have the democratic right to exist and organise their activities. In particular, this conference condemns the actions of the French Government in banning the Ligue Communiste and its goading of its leaders, Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset and calls on the Federal Labor Government to use its influence to get the ban lifted and Krivine and Rousset released."

The conference also decided to send a telegram of protest to the French Government. Conference also decided to endorse the public meeting on August 1 to protest the ban and to supply a speaker. YLC president Joan Evatt represented Young Labor at the meeting.

The text of the petition (to be presented to the French Government) is as follows: "We... note with concern the attacks by the French Government on the basic democratic rights of political organisation and activity through its outlawing of the Ligue Communiste and by its arrest of Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset. We demand that the French Government immediately lift the ban on the Ligue Communiste and release Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset."

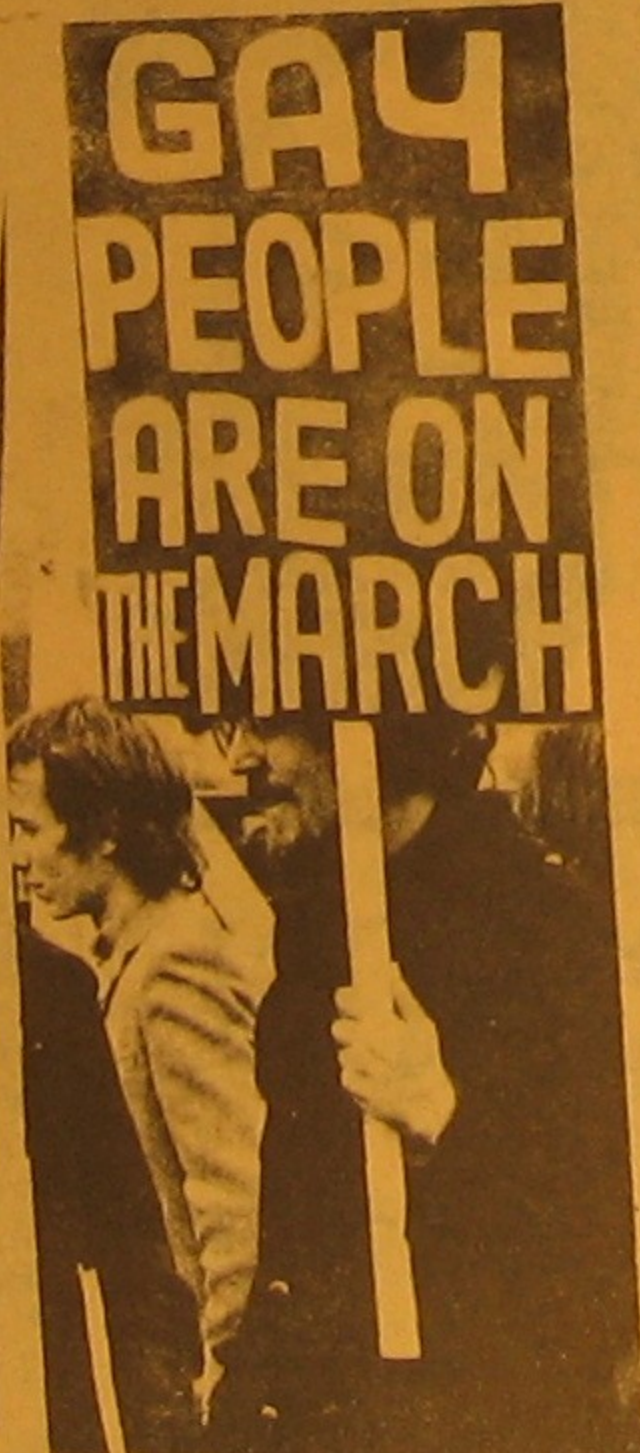
Already this petition has been endorsed by leaders of almost every political organisation to the left of the Labor Party, leaders of most of the major trade unions, leaders of several Labor youth organisations, prominent academic figures, activists in the various social protest movements, etc.

Three of the central figures in the Labor Party have signed the statement. These are: Dr Jim Cairns, Minister for Overseas Trade and Secondary Industry and the third most senior minister in Federal Cabinet; Dr Moss Cass, Minister for the Environment and Conservation in the Federal Government; and Bob Hawke, Federal president of the Labor Party and president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions. Other Labor MPs who have endorsed the petition are Senator A.J. Mulvihill (NSW) and George Petersen (MLA for Illawarra, NSW) and Horrie Garrick (MHR for Batman, Victoria).

Similar actions have recently been conducted internationally. In New Zealand a Gay Pride Week was held, culminating in a 300-strong demonstration in Auckland on June 29. There were also protests in Britain and Canada. All were planned to coincide with the annual Christopher Street Liberation Day march in New York on June 24. The Christopher Street Liberation Day actions have been held since 1969 to commemorate the Stonewall Inn - a bar on Christopher Street New York - fought back for the first time against a police raid.

Activities already planned are: Sat Sept 8: A gay speak-out, in which gays will give personal experiences of their oppression. Sun Sept 9: A gay festival in the Domain. Wed Sept 12: A public meeting in Paddington Town Hall to hear representatives of political parties, unions, churches etc. Sat Sept 15: A march and demonstration through Sydney streets in the morning. A dance/celebration that night. Sun Sept 16: A picnic in Centennial Park.

Planning and preparations for Gay Pride Week are done at Sydney Gay Liberation meetings on Fridays at 8 pm at 14 Colville St Camperdown. Finance is desperately needed. Donations can be sent to Sydney Gay Liberation, Box 1, P.O., Sydney South, 2000.



Meeting in Sydney protesting ban on Ligue Communiste. On the platform left to right: Denis Freney, CPA; Hall Greenland, International Group; Di Zetlin, CL; Tariq Ali (speaking); Dave Holmes, SWL; John Bechara, Friends of Palestine; Nita Kelg (chair); Bill Brown SPA; Jim Mulgrew, SLL; George Petersen MLA. Also speaking was Joan Evatt.

## Broad Defence Committee Organises Large Meeting in Sydney PROTEST LIGUE COMMUNISTE BAN

BY DAVE HOLMES.

The campaign in support of the democratic rights of the Ligue Communiste and its goaded leaders has gained considerable momentum in Australia. The defence effort so far has been conducted on two levels. A petition, initiated by the Socialist Workers League (SWL), the sympathising group of the Fourth International in Australia, is being circulated in the radical and labor movement, and on August 1 a mass meeting was held in Sydney in support of the Ligue Communiste.

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The following is a list of a few of the several hundred other signatories of the petition: Pat Clancy, president of the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), Federal secretary of the Building Workers Industrial Union, member of the ACTU interstate executive; John Senny, national president of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA); Joan Evatt, president of the NSW Young Labor Council; David Wilson, State president of the South Australian Young Labor Association; John Overall, Federal vice-president of Australian Young Labor; George Crawford, general secretary of the Plumbers Union; Ken Carr, Victorian State secretary of the Furnishing Trades Society; Bill Landeryou, Victorian State secretary of the Storemen and Packers Union; Bob Pringle, NSW president of the Builders Labourers' Federation; Tony Maron, editor of Palestine Forum; Neil McLean, president of the Australian Union of Students; Denis Wimpole, president of

Melbourne University Students Representative Council; Jeff Hayler, chairman of Macquarie University Students' Council; Merv Nixon, secretary South Coast Labor Council; Phil Drummond, president UNSW Students' Union.

The success of this petition drive to date shows the broad support among influential sections of the labor movement that exists for the Ligue's struggle for legality and the freedom of its leaders. It is to be hoped that in the next few weeks other prominent labor and union figures will sign the petition as well as other people interested in defending civil liberties in France.

On August 1 at the Sydney Trades Hall a mass meeting of some 230 people was held to protest the repression of the French Trotskyists. The sponsorship of the gathering was unprecedentedly broad. In fact, not for a long time in Australia has there been a meeting which has drawn together such a wide spectrum of left and labor forces, and in the defence of a revolutionary group in another country. The sponsors of the meeting were: the Communist League (CL), CPA, Friends of Palestine, International Group, Miners' Federation of NSW, Socialist Labour League (SLL), SPA, SWL and the Socialist Youth Alliance, University of NSW Students' Union Council, and the Young Labor Council (NSW).

The speakers on the platform well demonstrated the united and representative character of the night; Tariq Ali (for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International), Bill Brown (for the SPA), John Bechara (Friends of Palestine), Joan Evatt (NSW Young Labor Council), Denis Freney (CPA), Hall Greenland (International Group), Dave Holmes (SWL), Jim Mulgrew (SLL), George Petersen (MLA) and Diane Zetlin (CL).

The meeting was convened by the chairwoman Nita Kelg, managing editor of DIRECT ACTION, who stressed the significance of the occasion and the encouraging response to the meeting. Tariq Ali

spoke first. Ali analysed the situation in which the French ruling class finds itself and why it had banned the Ligue Communiste. He pointed out that the ruling class first begins with a small organisation and tests the response before embarking on further repressions. It is thus vital that the labor movement unite, whatever their political divergences, in defence of basic rights against the bourgeoisie.

Bill Brown's presence on the platform with representatives of the other left groups was a sign of the broadness of the meeting and a reflection in Australia of the stand of the Communist Party of France. Brown said: "The Socialist Party of Australia puts on record its strongest protest at the repressive acts being carried out by the French Government... We take our stand with the Communist Party of France which has protested against the reactionary attack on the Ligue Communiste." He went on to say that the SPA "takes the stand that an attack on this grouping, if left unchallenged, could open the way to wider and wider attacks on all sections of the left in France." Bill Brown felt obliged to give over much of his speech to attacks on and warnings against "left opportunism" and "ultra-leftism". Most of the audience were probably sympathetic to Trotskyism to one degree or another and gave no support to the Stalinist positions of Brown.

Joan Evatt explained to the meeting that the conference last week of the NSW Young Labor Council had passed, unopposed, a motion demanding the lifting of the ban on the Ligue Communiste and the freeing of its leaders. Evatt concluded: "I give you the full support of the Young Labor movement in this State."

Denis Freney conveyed the support of the CPA to the meeting: "... the Communist Party of Australia fully endorses the demands before this meeting: the lifting of the ban on the Communist League and the freeing of Krivine and Rousset."

Later on in the meeting, however, Freney became openly disruptive after a motion

he moved, calling for the groups involved to organise for defence of all political prisoners, was ruled out of order. Although the question of defending all political prisoners was something most people at the meeting would have agreed with, the motion exceeded the united charter around which the organising groups agreed to sponsor the meeting. That was specifically the defence of the Ligue Communiste.

Freney stormed out of the meeting and isolated himself from the individuals and organisations who came along to do something in relation to the Ligue Communiste ban. So much so that a member of the Sydney district committee of the CPA was forced to apologise to the meeting for Freney's actions.

After the official speakers had finished Frans Timmerman, an executive member of the University of NSW Student's Union Council, spoke from the floor outlining the stand taken by the council who at a meeting the night before had voted to sponsor the meeting. He was followed by Jeff Hayler, chairman of Macquarie University Students' Council, who said that at the next meeting of the council they would consider leading their support to the campaign and contributing to any defence fund that was set up.

To launch what will be a public appeal for money throughout Australia an appeal for funds was made during the meeting. The costs of the defence of the Ligue Communiste are extremely high and people attending the meeting were asked to contribute generously.

The meeting responded enthusiastically and just under \$350 was raised. One donation of \$100 was given by an Arab comrade. In addition to this the tour of Tariq Ali had raised some \$200 for the international defence fund.

The meeting ended by passing motions of support for the Ligue Communiste and Krivine and Rousset. A call was also made by the meeting for a demonstration in the next week (Friday August 10 at 5 pm, Australia Square) to continue the task of raising support for the French revolutionists and alerting labor and radical opinion to the situation in France.

Coming out of such an impressive solidarity meeting, the potential for such a demonstration to forcefully bring home the indignation of the Australian labor and radical movements to the French Government is extremely good. In addition another motion was passed which provided for a joint delegation of the sponsoring organisations to present the protest of the meeting to the French Consul.

Following the Sydney example a similar meeting has also been planned for Melbourne on Thursday August 16. This meeting is being organised by a broadly based committee of sponsoring organisations which includes virtually all left-wing and labor organisations in Melbourne. A number of trade-union leaders in Melbourne have also pledged their support for the meeting.

## PUBLIC MEETING To Protest Ban of Ligue Communiste

STOP THE REPRESSION IN FRANCE!  
LIFT THE BAN ON THE LIGUE COMMUNISTE  
FREE ALAIN KRIVINE AND PIERRE ROUSSET!  
MELBOURNE: Thursday August 16 Assembly Hall 8 pm

## Add Your Name to the Petition

I would like to add my name to the petition being circulated (text printed in article above) to protest the ban. Further, I would like to donate \$... to the fund which is being organised to raise money to assist the Ligue Communiste in its defence efforts.

NAME: .....

ADDRESS: .....

Please send receipt

Send c/- Dave Holmes P.O. Box 151 Glebe NSW 2037

# IN BRIEF:

## CONSPIRACY FOILED

Six marines stationed on a US base in Japan were arrested on July 4 for distributing "unauthorised pamphlets" on the base. The pamphlets in question consisted of excerpts from the US declaration of independence.

A spokesman at the base said that the pamphlets were "considered by the command to be advocating overthrow of the Government."

The six men have been released, but are still "under investigation". Presumably they will be indicted for participation in a "conspiracy" led by George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

## APARTHEID

According to a recent report in the Durban (South Africa) Daily Tribune thousands of black African farm laborers are living in serf-like conditions. Some are paid so little that they cannot afford blankets and some are paid nothing at all. The report also said that child labor was commonplace. Laborers were often beaten by employers and unwanted laborers are often forced to leave an area by having their huts destroyed by tractors or burned down.

## DUST POLLUTION

On July 27 two doctors from the NSW Public Health Department warned that an epidemic of the lung disease silicosis might not be far away, particularly among construction workers. Silicosis is caused by breathing dust. The doctors said that dust-control measures on NSW building sites were inadequate and that as a result of this, hundreds of construction workers were in the early stages of the disease. Silicosis is incurable. Since 1948 407 workers, that the NSW Health Department knows about, have contracted silicosis; of these, 235 died from the effects of the disease.

## SNEDDEN KNOWS THE ANSWER

Liberal Party leader Snedden recently attacked Labor's decision to cut import tariffs by 25 per cent. He says that that is no way to fight inflation, that what should be done is that the Government should attack the workers, driving their wages down and forcing some out of their jobs. Of course he didn't say it so openly, he merely pointed out how "healthy" the economy was under the Liberal Government late last year when unemployment was running at its highest level since the depression of the 1930s.

## MAINTAINING RESPECT FOR THE LAW

The fatal shooting on July 20 of an unarmed man following a supermarket robbery in Footscray (Melbourne) brought the Victorian police force's tally of shootings, for the past eighteen months, to thirteen people. Of the 13 shot by the cops, four have been killed, most were unarmed and some had not committed any crime. According to the forthrightly newspaper, The Digger, one of those killed was a vagrant whose crime was to have been unemployed and running away from a cop. He was shot in the head and killed.

## DEMONSTRATION AGAINST PAPADOPULOS' REPUBLIC

"What every democratic and rational person should keep in mind is:

- The so-called referendum is not free, it takes place under martial law.
- There is not the slightest opposition permitted.
- Papadopoulos seeks a seven-year term presidency, so it can appear that 'typically' he has been elected legally. Ultimately he is after a life presidency with absolute powers.
- As the London Observer and the Melbourne Age (July 4, 1973) wrote: Papadopoulos has always been a great believer in Hitler's 'new order'.
- During the German occupation in Greece (1941-1944) he served as a captain in the security battalions



Papadopoulos

raised by the Nazis to hold down British armed partisans of the resistance, during the war.

- Later he was trained in the USA by the CIA for a course in psychological warfare. Since 1960 he has been liaison officer between KYP and CIA. (KYP is the Greek equivalent for CIA)
- In 1965 he was found to put sugar in the military vehicles of his army unit in northern Greece, while he was making a sensational noise that it was a 'sabotage' of 'anti-national' elements. His aim was to undermine public confidence in Papadopoulos' centre Government which had only recently received 53 per cent of the popular vote.

The above was part of a leaflet circulated by the Greek Students and Graduates Association of Victoria at a demonstration held on July 29 in Melbourne to protest the running of a referendum in Greece concerning whether Greece should be proclaimed a republic. The demonstration protested the action of the military junta in rigging the referendum so as to return Papadopoulos to power as President of the new republic.

About 300 people took part in the demonstration which assembled at the Greek Consulate in Melbourne. They marched through the city chanting "okhi!" (not) and returned to the Consulate where a rally was held.

## LARRAKIA BLACKS FIGHT FOR LAND RIGHTS

Since 1971, the Larrakia Aborigines have been campaigning against attempts to sub-divide their land at Kulaluk near Darwin into building blocks. The struggle came to a head on July 6 with the arrest of three Larrakia following the fire-bombing of a truck belonging to one of the "developers".

The police have gone to extraordinary lengths to discredit the three defendants, who include Fred Fogarty, vice-president of the Gwala-Daraniik organisation leading the land-rights struggle. At the preliminary hearing (the case will be heard in September) the police prosecutor attempted to have them charged under the Mental Defectives(!) Ordinance, which is often used against blacks fighting for their rights.

Following the arrests, Fred Fogarty flew to Surfers Paradise to seek ALP support at the federal conference being held there. According to the July 17 issue of Tribune he received extremely discouraging replies from the Aboriginal Affairs Minister Gordon Bryant, the Minister for the Northern Territory Kep Enderby, and the Prime Minister Gough Whitlam. According to Fogarty, Whitlam told him, "You've been without your land for 203 years, another few more years won't hurt you."

## MARCOS CONTINUES WAR AGAINST MUSLEMS

According to a report in the Melbourne Herald of July 19 at least ten Philippine Government soldiers and "scores of rebels" were recently killed in several days of heavy fighting on the island of Basilan in the southern Philippines.

## REDFERN BLACK'S VICTORY OVER RACISM IN CLIFTON PUB

There are about 20,000 blacks in Sydney. A large number of these live in Redfern. Previous issues of DIRECT ACTION have reported on various examples of repression that Redfern black people have to contend with every day.

One of the most recent examples of this repression was the banning of black people from drinking at the Clifton Hotel in Redfern, by owner Jan Chepa. Chepa made the most outrageous public statements in defence of his racist action. He claimed that blacks were always getting drunk and were "rowdy".

A concerted campaign by the black people of Redfern, students and the Liquor Trades Union forced Chepa to lift the ban a few days later. The Liquor Trades Union threatened to suspend delivery to the Clifton Hotel unless the ban was lifted. This forced Chepa to sign a written assurance that he would not discriminate against blacks in the future.

Since the lifting of the ban, police have retaliated against the Redfern blacks with increased violent attacks. Shortly after the lifting of the ban police arrested 19 blacks at the Empress Hotel in Redfern.

## BRITONS OPPOSE OCCUPATION OF IRELAND

A report in the July 11 Christian Science Monitor reveals that more than 42,000 people recently signed a petition calling for immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. The petition was circulated by the mother of a British soldier serving in Ireland.

## PERFECT RIP OFF

The Guru Maharaj Ji, the perfect rip-off whose followers call themselves the Divine Light Mission, recently bought an \$80,000 house in Denver (USA). The house is no doubt intended to meet the spiritual needs of the Master, it has a swimming pool, five bathrooms and, among other things, a spacious garage for the Master's \$12,000 continental Mercedes Benz.

## ONLY HALF FULL

A report recently released by the Victorian Department of Fisheries and Wildlife says that Port Phillip Bay is in "pretty good shape" and there is no evidence to support the claim that the bay is a giant septic tank.



"It may not do the river much good but it brings up my whites a treat."

## FRANCE'S GLORIOUS ACHIEVEMENTS

Prime Minister Whitlam, speaking from Mexico City on July 26 said, speaking of the French nuclear tests: "Of all these incredible men who sailed into that unknown ocean (the Pacific) — the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English — none ventured more, as you would expect, from the bravest and most spirited of that brave and spirited nation than the French. How sad it is that France's glorious achievements of exploration in the Pacific should end as they have this week in her nuclear tests."

Whitlam is right, France has much to be proud of. It brought civilisation to the Pacific islands, murdering any Polynesians who stood in the way. In order to maintain the cultural standards of wealthy French merchants, the French Government took possession of many Pacific islands bringing to them a Pacific which is maintained even today. The French-run islands in the Pacific are ruled directly from Paris, where the islanders have token representation in the French Parliament.

Maybe Whitlam should think again. The brutal colonial regimes of the French and the other European powers in the Pacific may not seem so glorious to the thousands of young people who helped to put Labor in power last December. Many of these young people attained their present level of political understanding under the impact of the Vietnam war, and they know about the glorious role of French colonialism in that part of the world.

...STEVE PAINTER

# Tariffs: Why Labor Cut Them

BY SOL SALBY

The first official reaction to the Whitlam Government's tariff cuts by the union movement came from the NSW Trades and Labor Council. In a unanimous vote this right-wing dominated body which represents 800,000 workers voted to condemn the cuts. The president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Bob Hawke expressed his shock by withholding public comments for some hours. Following a phone conversation with Prime Minister Whitlam he released a statement to the press cautiously approving the cuts.

The reaction of individual unions depended very much on the industries in which their members are employed. The harshest criticisms came from the textile industry unions. Many of their members stand to lose their jobs as a result of the cuts.

The employers were less subtle. Representatives of textile, electronic equipment and other manufacturers moaned publicly about the disaster. They considered the cuts variously as a "panic reaction in the wrong direction", "an amateurish panic measure which indicates the start of a recession" and a host of other terms of endearment describing the socialist menace in Canberra.

Other employers whose industries use imported content were delighted. To them the Federal Government did not represent the socialist menace but the capitalist haven. They reacted by welcoming the measures. The Sydney Morning Herald, usually critical of Labor, called it "one of the boldest economic policy strokes of any Australian government since Federation... It is an act of considerable political courage". Other newspapers were no less complimentary.

An understanding of the tariff cuts can only be gained in the context of the total economic situation and the role the Labor Government is playing in Australian capitalism.

An analogy which can bring home the message is that of the dentist. No-one likes the pain involved in going to the dentist. Most people postpone the trip as long as possible. But what every-body realises is that the painful treatment is essential to one's well-being. Australian

capitalism has just suffered a painful dental operation with the tariff cuts. The pain may linger for some time but some benefit will result if it immediately and some in the long run.

The essence of the measures announced on July 18 by the Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, and the Minister for Overseas Trade and Secondary Industry Dr Jim Cairns was a cross-the-board slashing of all tariffs by 25 per cent. There are no exemptions or exceptions. The Government, however, has allocated \$25-million to compensate those who are likely to suffer from the cuts. The preliminary allocation gives \$10 million each to both employers and employees and \$5 million to regions which may be particularly seriously affected.

In its allocation to employees the Government has already indicated that it is prepared to pay no more than six-months salary to those workers who can prove that they lost their job as a result of this action. If this basis is considered then the Government's estimate is that no more than 4000 workers will lose their jobs.

This estimate contrasts sharply with an estimate produced by the Department of Labour which claims that up to 29,000 workers could lose their job. If this latter estimate is accurate then the Government is only going to allocate \$344.82 for every sacked worker instead of the promised \$2500.

As an anti-inflationary measure the tariff cuts are intended to cut the price of a \$3000 car by \$250. For most imported goods a similar cut of around 6 per cent is intended. The price cuts are dependent of course on importers actually passing their lower costs to the consumer — an unlikely occurrence.

The people who are left out of this analogy of the dentist are the Australian workers. Trade-union co-operation is of course essential to the success of the operation but in the main their reaction is expected to be favorable if any impact however minor is felt on inflation.

The two crucial factors which affected the Government's decision have been inflation and the employment situation. The pressure is mounting within the working class for serious action against inflation. With prices rising rapidly

and with the Prices Justification Tribunal, Labor's main hope of combatting inflation turning out to be absolutely ineffective, there was a need for some form of action.

The latest figures for the June quarter, released just before the announcement on tariffs, showed just how serious the situation is developing. Inflation reached the level of 3.3 per cent for the quarter, that is, 13, 2 per cent a year.

The high level of inflation is now combined with falling unemployment. While the June figures released by the Department of Labour actually showed a marginal rise in unemployment, more detailed analysis provided by the Bureau of Census and Statistics tends to show the opposite. The bureau's figures, which usually show the Labor Department figures to be underestimated, show on this occasion a tremendous rise in employment.

While the information available to the Government may indicate that the impact on unemployment may be minimal, a defence campaign against any possible retrenchment must be built now. It is not up to us to decide what manoeuvres in the management of capitalism a Labor government should take. It is not up to us to congratulate it for any of its manoeuvres or to condemn its ineptitude except in so far as they affect the standard of living and conditions of Australian workers. From that point of view we can only wait and see.

One factor exists however which we cannot ignore. We can't just pass over the question of nationalism. In condemning the tariff cuts many employers and trade unionists referred to Australian jobs going to foreigners and the threat of cheap Asian imports.

This is unacceptable. Reactionary nationalism and plain racism have no place in the labor movement. This kind of racism has been used to destroy working-class solidarity in the past. It is the basis of both Australia's high tariff walls and its racist immigration policy. Workers have absolutely nothing to gain from such kind of divisions.

What is worse, the chauvinism has not been confined to the right wing of the



Jim Cairns

labor movement. It has found its way to the people who call themselves Marxist and Trotskyist. The July 30 issue of Labour Press, newspaper of the Socialist Labor League (the Australian followers of Gerry Healy) carried an article on the subject by the league's national secretary Jim Mulgrew which condemned the tariff cuts without referring to the internationalist aspect of fighting chauvinism.

Not only is the SLL succumbing to this racist propaganda, it is also making a wrong analysis of the actual event. It is false to see the tariff reduction solely as an attack on the working class. What the Labor leadership is trying to do is avoid in this period any direct attack on the working class. The tariff reduction is as much a reflection of pressure from the working class to reduce inflation as pressure from the employing class to avoid a further revaluation of the Australian dollar.

Fundamentally the tariff cuts can be seen as a manoeuvre by the Labor Government to allow it more room for some reforms. Labor is trying to use the action forced on it by pressure from the American and other overseas capitalists to reduce the balance-of-payment surplus to allow it more flexibility in the Budget and time down some of the harsher measures it was planning that would cut into the workers' standard of living.

## AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL — LIFT THE BAN ON THE LIGUE COMMUNISTE

(Reprinted below is the speech given by Dave Holmes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers League, at the meeting in defence of the Ligue Communiste in Sydney on August 1).

While the repression of the Ligue Communiste may yet prove to have been a tactical blunder on the part of the French Government, this attack on basic freedoms in nominally "democratic" France does not surprise us. The context in which the ban occurs internationally is one of intensified competition between the leading capitalist countries. The individual capitalist classes are obliged to increase their profit rates and restore their competitiveness by attacking the conditions and rights of the labor movement. In attacking the Ligue Communiste the regime is striking at a fundamental freedom which is vital to the whole labor movement. Of course, the regime is also trying to smash a vanguard political group because it fears the power of its ideas and action in the present context in France.

Facing repression is not a new situation for the Trotskyist movement either in France or elsewhere. The JCR and the PCI, the predecessor groups of the Ligue, were outlawed after the revolt of May-June 1968. Our movement has faced an absolutely exceptional persecution in its fifty-year history. Facing attacks from both the Stalinists and the capitalists our movement has suffered many grave blows. But it has survived and has grown stronger. Today, in countries like Greece and Spain the Trotskyist movement is illegal as it is in much of Latin America and in Eastern Europe and China. Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International, is barred from entering the United States, West Germany, France and the previous Liberal Government barred him from Australia. (What the present situa-



Dave Holmes

tion remains to be seen).

As part of the world Trotskyist movement we take very seriously the defence of our comrades who are under attack. The help that can be given depends on the circumstances but some of the defence campaigns initiated by the International have achieved some success. The life of the Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco was saved in the 1960s by a broad campaign which enlisted the aid of many prominent radical figures internationally. An organisation which fails to defend its members is not worth very much.

Of course, we stand for the defence of all victims of capitalist or Stalinist repression. And it is not only the Trotskyist movement which is facing repression in many parts of the world. Tens of thousands of class-war victims (fill the goals of the capitalist world, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Whole mass movements are being repressed. Vietnam is the outstanding example and the Fourth International has to the best of its ability helped to initiate and build actions in support of Vietnam. The weakness of efforts of aid to individual victims of capitalist repression and the weakness of efforts of international support for the mass movement in Vietnam and elsewhere constitutes in our minds one of the most pressing arguments for the building of a revolutionary International. In its revolutionary period the Communist has organisations like the International Labor Defence but such organisations have long since been defunct.

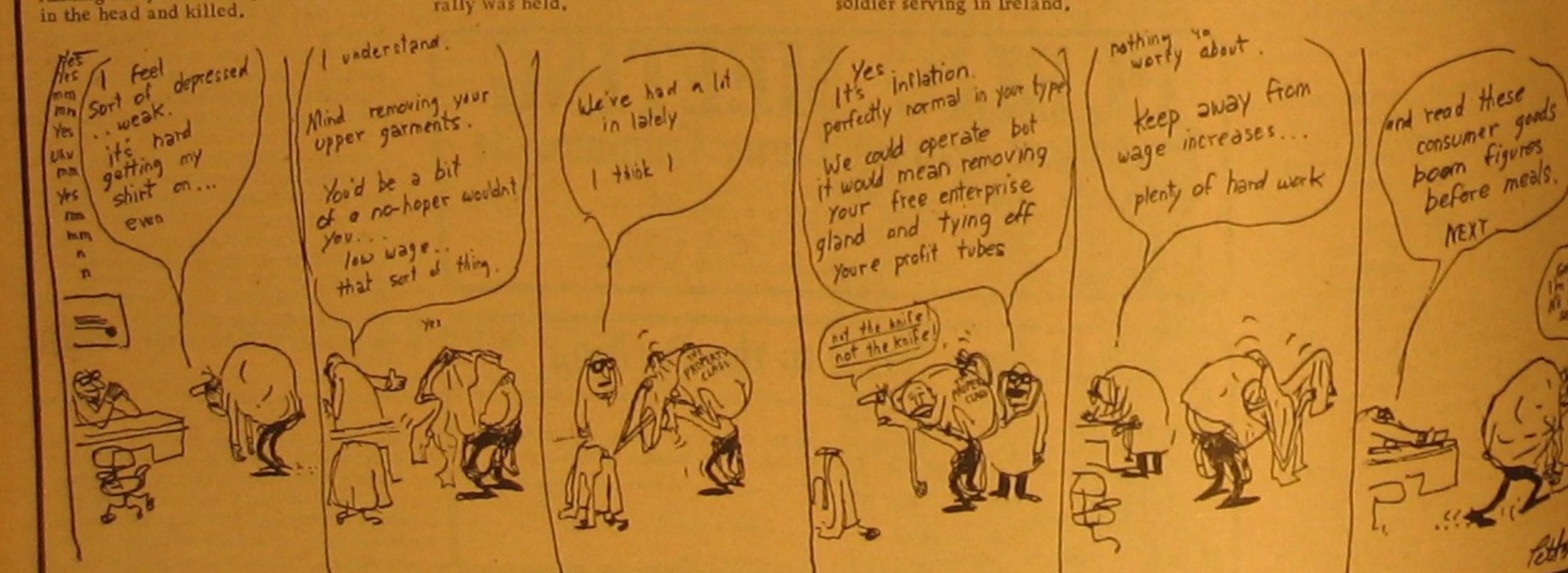
We reject the infantile idea held by some currents that the democratic rights which exist here, in France and elsewhere are of no consequence and that their erosion is inevitable, and that it is not important

regime to seriously try to stop the Ordre Nouveau. In fact they had their cops protect the racist June 21 meeting.

It is obligatory for socialist and labor organisations to defend all class-war victims whatever their particular political views. We reject the shortsighted sectarianism which puts the particular interests of a group above the broad interests of the mass movement. The old slogan of the Wobblies is absolutely correct — "An injury to one is an injury to all." The political differences within the labor movement must be settled there and not through the intervention of the bourgeois state.

The repression of the Ligue Communiste and the gaoling of its leaders is an assault on the entire French left and workers' movement. Rights vital to the whole class are at stake. If the Pompidou regime is successful in smashing the Ligue Communiste it may attack other sectors of the labor movement. The entire French left and union movement has come to its defence which was not the case after the 1968 bans. Thus there is a good possibility that the ban can be rescinded or made a dead letter.

International solidarity can play an important part in the defence of the Ligue Communiste. It is also necessary to educate radical and labor opinion on the events in France and their meaning. Tonight's meeting is a very encouraging development. I can't recall any event in recent years with such a broad formal sponsorship where so many different trends in the workers' movement have come together to stand by a group under bourgeois attack and in another country. Let's hope that this unity can be brought to bear on other — defence of the broad' — international labor



# NZ Women Hold Abortion Conference

BY NITA KEIG

Over the weekend of July 14-15 women from all over New Zealand attended the National Women's Abortion Action Conference in Wellington to discuss and plan for an ongoing national campaign to win repeal of the abortion laws. There were high school women, gay women, housewives, students, young mothers and grandmothers — all kinds of women who want to see an end to the laws which restrict their right to decide whether or not to end an unwanted pregnancy.

The public teach-in on Saturday, July 14 was attended by about 200 people, mostly women who heard talks by a wide range of speakers on different aspects of abortion and the fight to change the laws. There was enthusiasm for the prospect of building a women's campaign around this basic right. A high proportion of women came from feminist groups throughout the country and there were women from all major political parties. They came from Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Nelson, Christchurch and Dunedin. Only 11 people who registered for the teach-in claimed to be against abortion and 24 were undecided on the question of abortion law change.

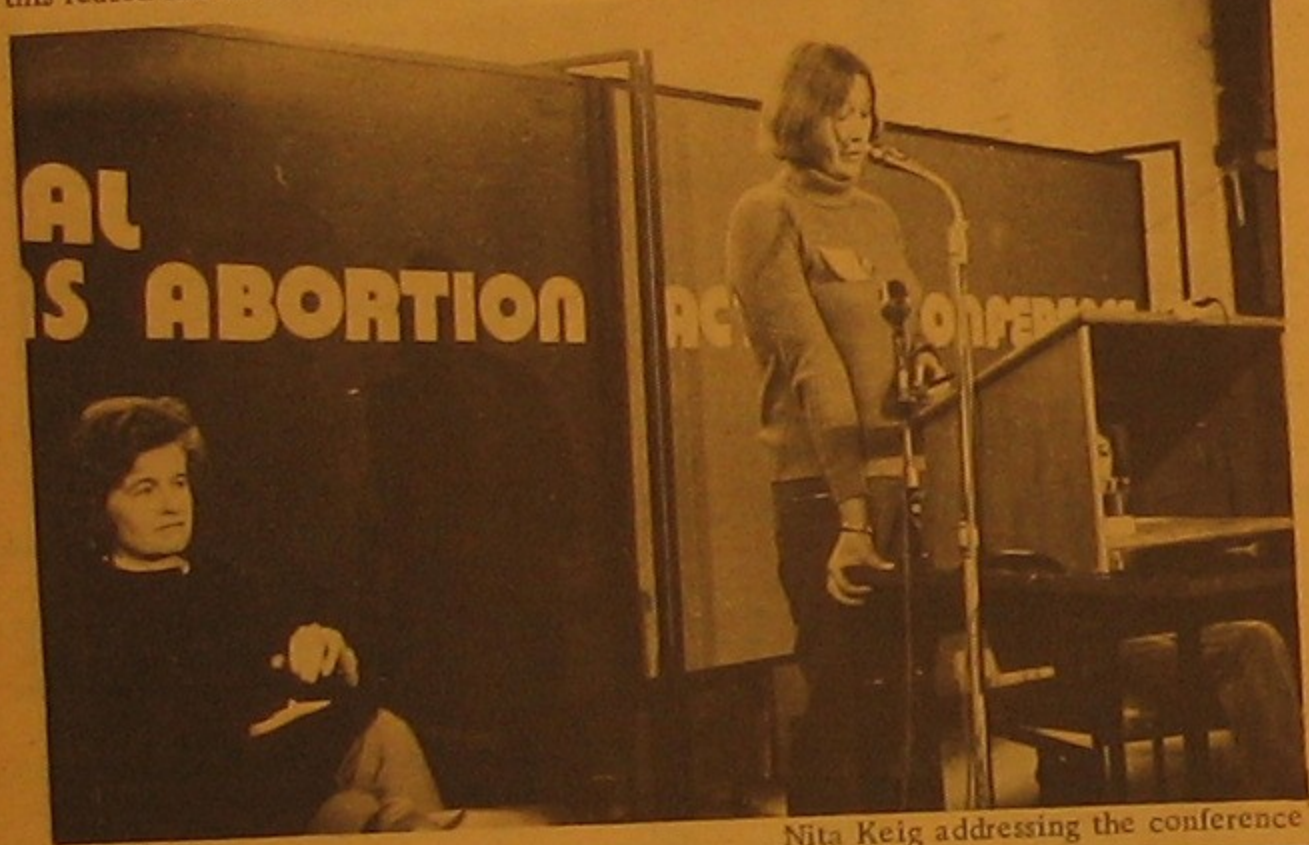
Throughout the teach-in, different ideas on strategy and aims were put forward. Isabel Stanton, representing the Abortion Law Reform Association of New Zealand (ALRANZ) claimed that abortion was not "a woman's issue" and said that her organisation stressed "the importance of family life." She said that it was better to try to get some reforms now than to aim for the ultimate goal of having anti-abortion laws repealed. She said that these reforms would not be won by women demonstrating but through influencing individual politicians. For this reason she felt it was essential to

have men in the abortion movement in order to convince the men who ran the country of the need for abortion law change. This view was not a new one; many people have claimed that women won the vote through the kindness of the male politicians, and not because of militant and massive campaigns waged by the women in the suffrage movement.

Nita Keig of the Sydney Women's Abortion Action Campaign stressed the need for a women's campaign which is active and visible and which can demonstrate to other women that the ideas of the Right to Life Association and similar organisations are not the ideas which prevail in society.

"To understand that we are not isolated in this fight, either geographically or historically, but are part of a worldwide movement for the expansion of human freedom and for the abolition of these archaic and oppressive laws is to have confidence in what we are doing and to be optimistic about our success," she said.

She said that the opponents of abortion had begun to realise the power of mass action when they fought against a private member's bill put to the Australian Federal Parliament on May 10. She disagreed with Isabel Stanton's views and said that the US Supreme Court's decision to allow abortion up to the 24th week of pregnancy had been made possible precisely because women had actively demanded their full right to abortion and not some half measure. "If you only ask for half of what you want, you invariably only get a quarter," she said. "The women's movement must fight to have laws on abortion completely removed from the realm of criminal law." Women would achieve some freedom from the clutches of the family institution if they had full control



Nita Keig addressing the conference



National Women's Abortion Action Conference held in Wellington

over their reproductive lives, she also said.

The afternoon session of the teach-in included excellent speeches by Dr Margaret Sparrow, Anne de Lacey Davidson of ALRANZ and Phillida Bunkle, a lecturer in history at Victoria University, Wellington.

There was a panel of three women from the National, Labour and Values parties giving their views on abortion and the attitudes of the parties of which they were members. A slide show of the history of the struggle for sex education, birth control and abortion in the United States concluded the teach-in, and was well received.

Between 70 and 80 women returned on Sunday for the main plenary session of the conference. There were workshop

## Portuguese Trade Mission

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

The Portuguese Consulate in Sydney has announced that a forty-member trade delegation from that country will visit Australia on September 16. The unstated aim of the visit is to strengthen ties between the Portuguese dictatorship and the Australian Government. Overseas Trade Minister Cairns announced on July 27 that the Labor Government would not interfere with the visit, although it would not support it.

The Federal Government's decision was in spite of representations made to it by the Alternative Rhodesian Information Centre (ARIC) to cancel the visit. ARIC has threatened demonstrations against the delegation when it arrives in Australia.

Such demonstrations will receive considerable support in the community in view of the recent disclosures of Portuguese atrocities at Wiyams in Mozambique on December 16 last year. These atrocities are characteristic of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique.

Australian ties with Portugal are quite considerable. A feature of this is the collaboration of the Australian Government with Portugal's colonial administration in Timor, to the north of Australia. Portuguese troops are flown to and from Timor by TAA. Australian exports total one million dollars. According to a report by Paul Webster in the July 13 issue of *The Australian*, the Federal Government is interested in oil-shale oil exploration rights.

Once more it seems that the so-called "progressive" nature of Whitlam's foreign policy has another blot on its copy-book.

that women are a real political force. The beginnings may well be small, but to give in to pessimism about our power or women can exert collectively to leave the field wide open to the backward, anti-woman forces of the past. Put across their views unchallenged is a significant way. Instead of trying to work out ways in which to join the struggle through the back door the struggle should be taken up in a confident and aggressive way, so that women can be heartened and inspired to join the fight.

By demanding the right to control their own bodies, women are rejecting the concept that their only role is to bear and care for children. This women are directly challenging the right of the Church and the state to wield control over to set up children. The efforts of women to set up clinics and to make available information on how to obtain contraception and abortion are ways in which the immediate sufferings of some women can be alleviated, and their existence can also help the broader struggle. But the fight must be to make abortion the right of every woman.

Rather than labelling the struggle for repeal of the abortion laws as irrelevant, feminists should be and will be helping to lead this campaign to victory, and raising with the many women who will support and work with this campaign the wider concept of women's oppression and women's liberation.

It is clear that an abortion will not be handed down without a struggle on the part of women which will combat the influence of the reactionary "Right to Life" movement and show

## Sexism Defeated on Adelaide Campus

BY PENNY JACKSON

On July 13 a general student meeting was called by Christian members of the Students' Association at Adelaide University over the issue of whether strippers and pornographic movies should be allowed at the Prosh ball. This meeting started the largest furor over any issue that Adelaide campus has seen since the anti-war mobilisations of 1970-1971.

Approximately 200 people attended the meeting on July 13 to vote on a motion put forward by the Christians and supported by women's liberationists that there be no strippers at the Prosh ball. The motion was passed 100-88. Having unexpectedly lost this motion, the Prosh directors unconstitutionally called a second general student meeting, hoping to stack it with their supporters. This meeting was held despite the fact that the central executive committee of the Students' Association stated that this meeting should not take place as the decision on the strippers had already been reached at the general student meeting. But it proceeded nevertheless.

The Tuesday meeting appeared at first to be heavily stacked with supporters of the newly formed society for the Total Elimination of Morals and other backward campus clubs and groups. The women who opposed the strippers were described by these people as "frustrated bitches", "pushy" and "puritan" but despite this campaign of insults, the vote of the meeting was a very decisive one with 400 voting in favor of the strippers and 900 against.

The accusation of puritanism was a common one but the Prosh directors and supporters, as one women's liberation

speaker pointed out, didn't realise that it was they who were conservative and supporting the status quo by perpetuating sexism and making profits from women's bodies. One man had described strippers as a "good draw card". The whole debate and decision of the meeting reflected an increasing awareness of sexual exploitation and women's oppression on Adelaide campus. The concept of "sexual revolution" was attacked as a misleading term to describe a phenomenon which still benefited males and exploited females.

It was pointed out in a women's liberationist that stripping is not sexual freedom, but only perpetuated male-orientated sexuality by objectifying women.

The Prosh directors now realise the influence women's liberation has on campus. The Prosh-ball posters had featured as attractions at the ball, not only strippers (male and female) and blue movies but also a "women's lib. demonstration". The posters also carried a small black square with the caption "For women's lib, to spray their cunt!" However, these posters were ripped down in large numbers by many people. One Prosh director interviewed by a local television channel said, when asked if he would be involved in Prosh next year "No, I never want anything more to do with strippers."

The whole issue served to demonstrate that women are no longer willing to sit back and accept the insults and provocations of people who think it is enlightened and sophisticated to organise functions such as the Prosh ball and make profits from the degradation of women.

## La Trobe Uni. SRC Under Attack

BY DAVE DEUTSCHMAN

Following the election of 14 left-wing candidates out of a total of 19 in the recent Students' Representative Council (SRC) elections at La Trobe university the right-wing forces on campus have launched an offensive against the new SRC.

The Democratic Club, the DLP student group at La Trobe, has recently attempted to discredit the new SRC and has issued threats of legal action. These threats have raised serious fears that the Democratic Club may initiate a Supreme Court injunction against the financial operations of the SRC.

Aware even before the election that they would suffer defeat the Democratic Club initiated attacks on left-wing candidates with a ferocity not even seen during the AUS controversy earlier in the year.

Just 10 days before the elections, Democratic Club secretary, Ian Blandhorn, took legal action against a leading left-wing figure, Fergus Robinson who is a member of the Worker-Student Alliance. Robinson, who was gaoled last year with two other La Trobe students as a result of student occupations of administration buildings, was charged with having kicked Blandhorn in September 1972. Two weeks prior to this the Democratic Club had alleged that two leading student activists had used to their own advantage an amount of \$5000 while members of a past SRC. The Democratic Club was determined to retain its control of the SRC which it had won last year.

The result of the 1973 elections at La Trobe can be seen as a ratification of the

vote of no confidence in right-wing controlled SRC made during the AUS referendum in term 1 of this year.

At the time the Democratic Club was attempting to disaffiliate La Trobe from the Australian Union of Students (AUS), the political battle which subsequently took place culminated in a referendum where more than 80 per cent students supported continued affiliation to the national student union.

The campaign also demonstrated that a marked change had taken place in the political orientation of the Maolist WSA — once the dominant left-wing force on campus. Previously characterised by ultra-leftism, they made a complete turn about and refused to fight around any socialist policies.

The Maoists, who this year disbanded the La Trobe branch of WSA to form a "broader" political organisation, the Radical Student Movement, formed themselves into a "Social Responsibility" ticket for the election. The most radical of the demands they projected during the campaign was for the establishment of a radio station on campus.

Those Maoists who gained a position on the new SRC have subsequently isolated themselves from all the other left-wing members.

Already the changed political nature of the La Trobe SRC has affected the political climate on that campus. One can detect a partial return to periods of heightened political activity which had been an ever present feature of the La Trobe campus since courses began in

## Women in Revolt



### PORTUGUESE FEMINISTS

The banning of the book *New Portuguese Letters* and the police action against the three women authors in June 1972 in Portugal has slowly become the focus of an international protest movement.

The women are faced with charges of committing "an outrage to public morals and good customs" by writing a book against the oppression of women in Portugal. The book has been confiscated by Portuguese police.

The women's case comes to trial next October and although the three writers face jail terms of some years, observers predict the court will impose only fines or suspended sentences due to pressure from international protests.

The writers Maria Velho da Costa and Maria Isabel Barreno both novelists and Maria Teresa Horta a poet are all mothers over 30. The work was inspired by the still widely-read 17th-century Letter of a Portuguese Nun, supposedly written to a French officer who had seduced and then deserted her.

Barreno said, "In the first Portuguese Letters it was a nun who was cloistered. In the new Letters, it is all women. The social role that shackles them is the role of mother. Society idealises the role, of course, but the idealisation masks the slavery of it." "The book has one great theme, and that is the liberation of women", Horta said.

The trial was originally set for July 3 but was postponed due to the ill health of Horta. Protests on the banning of the books have come from groups of writers in Portugal, America and Britain.

A national conference sponsored by the National Organisation for Women in the US voted to make the case the first international feminist case.

Demonstrations were staged on the date originally set for the trial in five US cities and seven cities in other countries.



Maria Barreno, one of the three on trial

### KHADDAFI LECTURES ON WOMEN'S "DEFECTS"

Libyan leader Colonel Khaddafi recently visited Egypt with hopes of forming a merger between the two countries. Khaddafi found that his glowing vision of union was not shared by the Egyptians. He engaged in heated arguments on nearly all aspects of unity.

Since Khaddafi has been in power all night clubs and bars in Libya have been closed (Khaddafi being a non-drinker and non-smoker) and the barbaric practice of amputations for thievery has been restored. Egyptians

would hardly wish to see measures of this nature introduced in their own country.

A stormy encounter took place between Khaddafi and 1000 prominent Egyptian women, who expressed fear that a merger may mean adopting the strict Islamic law relegating women to the degraded status Khaddafi has forced on Libyan women. Several Libyan women had been brought along to reassure their Egyptian sisters about the joys of subservience but this backfired on Khaddafi when the Libyan women pleaded with the Egyptians to help them change their status in Libya.

Khaddafi said "Because of biological defects, a woman's place is in the home." The reply to this statement was "These are not defects, Mr President!" Khaddafi replied "All right then nobody can complain if we ask pregnant women to make parachute jumps."

With Khaddafi's blatantly sexist attitude it's hardly surprising that Egyptian women feel extremely hostile towards the proposed merger.

FOOTNOTE: Khaddafi's extreme version of sexism was displayed again during the recent "long march" his followers organised from Libya to Egypt. The petitions to be presented there were written in blood — you guessed it, even though they are "biologically defective" only women's blood was "good enough" for the petitions.

### WOMEN'S TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

The Working Women's Project Group (from the women's liberation movement in Sydney) is holding a conference on Sunday September 2, at 232 Castlereagh Street Sydney.

There will be two sessions — in the morning discussion will be around "job discrimination" and "job opportunities" and in the afternoon discussion will be around "urgent social needs".

Session times will be 9.30 am — 12.30pm and 1.30 pm — 4.30 pm and child-care facilities will be available for the day. For further information ring Women's Liberation House 617325.

### PROTEST OVER HIGH SCHOOL QUEST

Activists from the Education Action Group in Victoria are organising a picket outside the Coburg Town Hall on August 23 to protest the holding of a "Miss Coburg High Quest". A mannequin parade will also be held with the quest.

Women from Women's Liberation will also be participating in the picket which is being held in an attempt to point out the sexism involved in such a competition. Among other things, the EAG is fighting against the way in which the present education system channels students into stereotyped sex roles within society and reinforces the sexual objectification of women.

High school women are becoming increasingly conscious of the many ways in which they are discriminated against in schools and the way in which their view of themselves is shaped. It is hoped that the picket outside this parade will help to expose one of the cruder methods by which women are humiliated and dehumanised.

... TINA HARSANYI

## ISSUES FACING ABORTION MOVEMENT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

abortion through this clinic or that doctor, there would not be the resources available to meet the demands placed on these meagre services. We cannot sidestep the laws if we are bent upon winning abortion for all women.

Repeal of the laws will also be necessary to lift the frightening cloak of illegality which surrounds abortion and which even now often drives women to backyard abortionists rather than their own doctors. Until quite recently abortion was a taboo subject and with many still is. The thousands of women who had illegal abortions, jeopardising their health and even their lives, suffered from tremendous guilt and shame, hiding it from even close friends and family.

It has largely been the women's liberation movement which has challenged this secrecy and fear and asserted that abortion is a woman's right. But unless women continue to assert this and unless abortion laws are repealed, women will continue to be treated and to consider themselves

Important too, in fighting for and winning repeal of the laws would be the confidence gained from successfully overturning these reactionary laws and the inspiration to continue the struggle against women's oppression on other fronts. The abortion struggle will draw into activity many women who will be participating for the first time in a fight for their rights as women and who will have their consciousness dramatically raised by this. It will be a struggle and a victory which will carry the feminist movement forward.

Some women reason that because it is the men in government who vote to change the laws, it is to these men that women should be addressing themselves in a campaign to change the abortion laws. This is not a new idea and has never yet been a shortcut in the struggle for social reforms. It invariably leads to a dependence on those who perpetuate oppression and inequality, and the making of compromises with them. Demands are watered down out of fear of offending and alienating. Activists who advocate and pursue independent action are accused of "rocking the boat" and jeopardising the good will of those in power. Women cannot depend on this method of achieving their

# New Watergate Crisis Over Nixon Tapes

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

The most striking aspect of the Watergate affair has been not simply what it has revealed of Nixon's Administration, but the light it sheds on US capitalism as a whole. The latest crisis looming over Nixon's refusal on July 8 to release tapes in his possession investigating Watergate is a striking illustration of this fact.

## THE TAPING OF AMERICA

For those who might think that Nixon's wire-tapping is something new, presidential wire-tapping of White House conversations has been a fact of life since the Roosevelt Administration, according to former White House aide Charles Butterfield, who revealed this to the Senate committee on July 18. Butterfield further divulged that the Kennedy and Johnson administrations had also "indulged".

Butterfield stated the significance of the Nixon tapes in the negative, according to him they could reveal Nixon's innocence! The White House confirmed this estimate — and promptly refused to submit them to the Senate committee.

One does not have to be a legal expert to surmise that Nixon's refusal to release the tapes is just the latest cover-up of his involvement in the Watergate conspiracy. Nixon did not exactly inspire a contrary view when he stated on July 24 that "They (the tapes) are the clearest possible example of why presidential tapes must be kept secret." Nixon's no fool!

This view was echoed by former White House aide Bob Haldeman, currently testifying before the Senate committee. Haldeman caused an uproar when he revealed that Nixon had allowed him access to the tapes around July 10 "in order to determine the facts of the Watergate matter without jeopardizing the confidentiality of the tapes," as the White House later explained.

Haldeman can be relied upon to achieve this objective. Newspaper reports have suggested that he may have doctored the tapes by deleting parts unfavorable to Nixon.

## DEFUSING WATERGATE

Following Nixon's initial refusal to release the tapes to the Watergate inquiry, the Senate committee subpoenaed them on July 23. Nixon refused. He was then ordered by Federal Judge Sirica to show cause for his action by August 7. Nixon has indicated that he will take the issue to the Supreme Court, a procedure which will necessitate a long hearing which could take months or even years.

While the explosive implications of such a legal showdown should not be underestimated, it should be realized that both sides have motives for fighting the issue in the courts. Nixon obviously hopes to delay the release of the tapes for as long as possible. But there is a second, perhaps more compelling reason why both he and the Senate committee should take this course of action — to defuse the tremendous radicalising effect of the Watergate disclosures on the American people by diverting it into the "proper channels", in this case the highest legal body in the land.

The Ervin committee has come under heavy fire from conservative politicians recently. These gentlemen have been increasingly disturbed by the nationwide televising of the hearings, a feature of which has been the attendance of radical youth, women, blacks, working people and other sections of the oppressed. The victims of Water-

gate have made it clear who they think is guilty, and their view is overwhelmingly represented in the sentiments of the American population as a whole. According to a Gallup Poll taken before the controversy over the Nixon tapes, three-quarters of the American people believe Nixon is guilty in Watergate.

"Responsible" capitalist politicians like Ervin, who have already revealed their partiality toward defending capitalism, exemplified in their failure to ask Dean about the specific nature of these conversations with Nixon, would not be averse to seeing the Watergate affair buck-passed in this way. After all, they're not in it for the publicity!

Ervin, for example, whom the bourgeois press holds up as a "constitutional expert" and fearless advocate of "civil liberties", emerges in a somewhat different light after scrutiny of his actual record. He opposed the Voting Act of

1970. According to a former air-force major these raids were reported as having taken place over South Vietnam.

For example, Erlichmann had to rehash the old "national security" argument to justify the break-in into the office of the psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg, which Erlichmann authorised, in order to find information to discredit Ellsberg. A noteworthy aspect of this is that, following the revelations of the Pentagon Papers and the My Lai massacre, no-one is taken in by arguments about "national security" any more.

Erlichmann also admitted conferring with Judge Byrne, who presided over Ellsberg's trial (which has been dismissed) with the object of offering Byrne the post of

1970. According to a former air-force major these raids were reported as having taken place over South Vietnam.

## ROSEMARY'S BABY

In the rush to "shred" incriminating evidence on the Watergate and related conspiracies, the Nixon Administration overlooked a vital document, a list of donations to the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP). The list ended up in the hands of Nixon's secretary Rose Mary Woods. The July 23 issue of Newsweek made some startling revelations.

The list includes some two thousand contributors, primarily from the upper echelons of the US ruling class. The total donations amount to well over \$US60 million, some \$10 million higher than any previous estimate. Naturally, the ruling class expects some return for its generosity. The following list of mutual "favours" exchanged between Nixon and the ruling class whose



interests he represents settle beyond doubt who runs America:

- 1) The Gulf Resources and Chemicals corporation donated \$US 100,000 to CREEP, \$US 90,000 of which was used to finance the Watergate bugging. Shortly after the donation was made the Senate environment committee dropped plans for a suit against Gulf corporations urging stricter pollution controls.
- 2) Businessman Dwayne Andreas donated \$US 116,000. \$25,000 of this was also used to finance Watergate. Shortly after he was granted a bank charter two days before the scheduled hearing for a rival application.
- 3) The US Dairy Board donated almost \$US 400,000 to CREEP. After \$US 60,000 of this had come in following a meeting between industry representatives and Nixon, Agricultural Secretary Clifford Hardin reversed an earlier decision and raised milk-price supports. The estimated cost of this to the US public was \$US 800 million according to Newsweek.

1966 which affirmed "civil liberties" for black people. And in 1968 he was a leading member of the committee which drafted the crime statute by which Nixon justified the wire-tapping activities of his Administration.

Nixon's defence of his refusal to release the tapes rests on shaky ground. He is particularly hard put to justify his action in view of the fact that in 1953, as a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee — the apparatus of the McCarthyite purges — he criticised President Truman for refusing to supply it with documents relevant to the Alger Hiss trial. And in the only other case of a US President being subpoenaed to give information to a judicial inquiry, President Jefferson Davis complied with the request.

## ERLICHMANN TOUGHS IT OUT

Former White House aide John Erlichmann, who as Nixon's top domestic adviser ranked only after Nixon and Haldeman in the administration hier-

archy, has just completed his testimony before the Senate committee. Erlichmann adopted a tough "I'm innocent" line, but so irrefutable are the Watergate disclosures that in many cases he was forced to simply rationalise palpable offenses against civil liberties by the Nixon Administration.

Erlichmann's denial of involvement in the Watergate cover-up has been flatly contradicted by other witnesses. Nixon's former lawyer Kalmbach has admitted that he organised a "defence fund" for the Watergate seven under orders from "the number two and three men on the White House staff" (Haldeman is "number two", Erlichmann "number three").

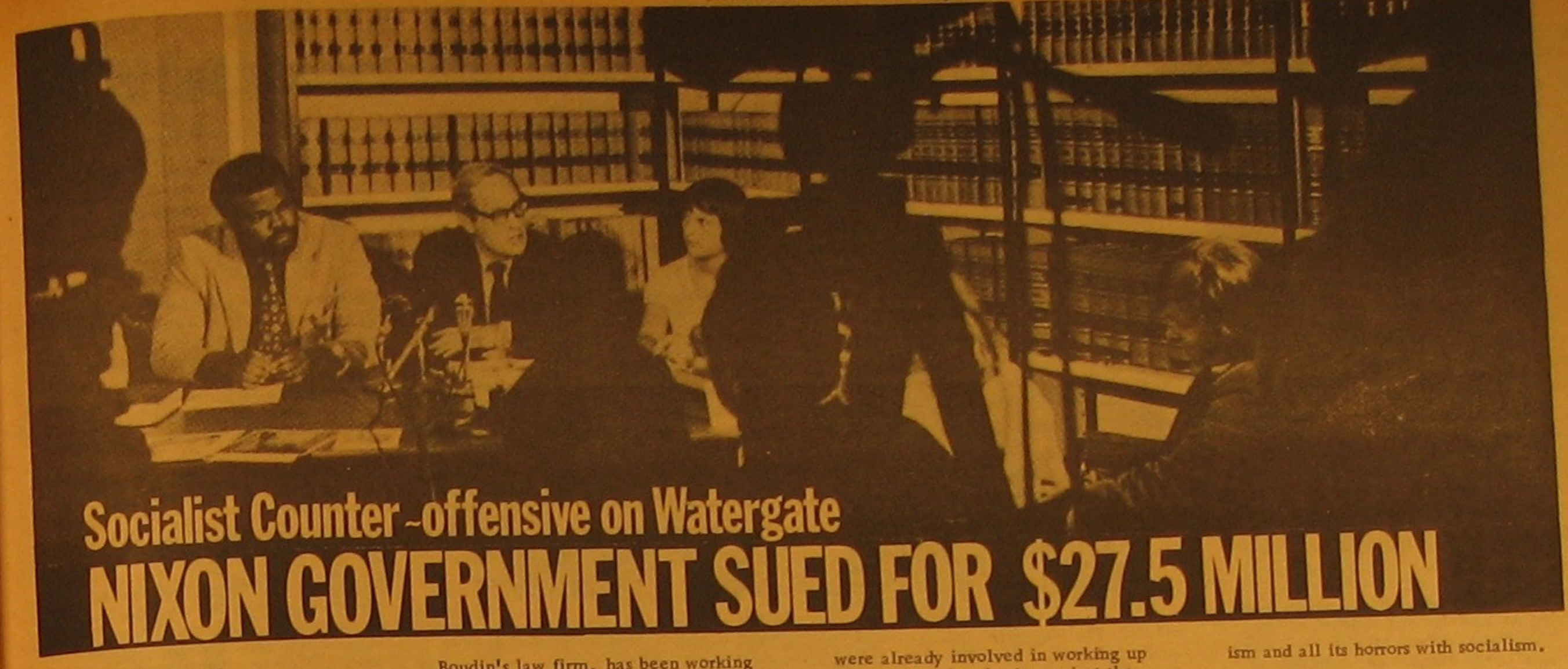
## CAMBODIA

The Senate has initiated an inquiry into the secret US bombing of Cambodia before 1970. The Administration has claimed that no bombing raids took place over Cambodia before that date.

This claim has been repudiated by the Pentagon, which admitted to the committee that at least 3630 bombing sorties took place over Cambodia before

Nixon's credibility is at an all-time low. A Harris Poll reported in the August 6 issue of Newsweek revealed that only 24 per cent of the population now approved of Nixon as President. This is a catastrophic drop from the 40 per cent approval which Nixon attained a month before.

Perhaps the most decisive assessment of the credibility of the Nixon Administration was made inadvertently by Democratic Senator Inouye of Hawaii. At the conclusion of Erlichmann's testimony to the Senate committee, Inouye, not realising his microphone was turned on, muttered, "God, what a liar!"



## Socialist Counter-offensive on Watergate NIXON GOVERNMENT SUED FOR \$27.5 MILLION

BY PETER SEIDMAN

On July 18, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance filed suit against President Richard Nixon, former Attorney-General John Mitchell, former White House aide John Ehrlichman, and many other officials of the US Government. The suit seeks a court injunction barring the Government from carrying out unconstitutional acts against the SWP and the YSA.

This law suit is part of a political offensive by the SWP and the YSA against the use by the ruling class of Watergate-style police-state measures against the union movement, black liberation activists, the socialist movement, and other struggles. The SWP and YSA will take advantage of this suit to expose these government attacks and to set an example of how they should be combatted and defeated.

The suit charges that government agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, carry out illegal wire-tapping, mail tampering, job discrimination, and harassment of SWP and YSA members and supporters. It also cites incidents of SWP campaign headquarters being firebombed, bombed, and burglarized.

Plaintiffs in the suit include Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the SWP, along with a number of other SWP candidates. They charge that their democratic rights, as well as those of their campaign supporters, have been violated by this government conspiracy.

The suit also attacks the constitutionality of the Attorney-General's list of "subversive" groups. Further, it seeks damages of more than \$US 27-million (\$AS 19-million).

The attorney for the suit is Leonard Boudin, one of the nation's most prominent constitutional lawyers. Boudin recently served as chief counsel in the successful defence effort of Daniel Ellsberg. Herbert Jordan, 35, a member of

Boudin's law firm, has been working with Boudin in preparing this suit.

Jordan explained how the case will proceed through the courts. "First, we deliver a summons and complaint for each defendant to the US marshals."

"The marshals' job is to serve these on each defendant. I discovered that these marshals actually have authority to form a posse. I doubt that will be come necessary. Imagine if we had to send a posse down to San Clemente!"

"Within 20 days for the private defendants, and 60 days for the government officials, after they actually get served, they have to answer."

"They will probably answer by moving to dismiss our complaint on a number of different legal grounds. Then we'll have to argue this out."

Jordan explained what the case could accomplish from a legal standpoint. "First," he said, "is the obvious impact of having a specific judgment upholding the SWP and YSA against specific acts of the Government."

"Second, once we get an injunction, if any government agents persist in illegal acts, we will have at our disposal the contempt power of court. These contempt powers include summary imprisonment and even money damages against government agents who violate the injunction."

"Third, the Government would have to prove that none of the evidence used in any criminal prosecution of the SWP or YSA or their supporters was either directly derived from or subsequently gained from actions in violation of the injunction."

Jordan noted that one of the aims of the suit is to make it easier for other victims of government Watergating to fight back. He said, "Our office has already received calls from five or six lawyers requesting copies of the complaint. In most, if not all cases, it was because they were either contemplating, or in some cases

were already involved in working up Watergate-related suits against the Government."

Leonard Boudin said that he hoped this case will pave the way for other suits by political parties and other groups who have been victimised by Watergate-style practices. "We learned in the Ellsberg and Berrigan cases," Boudin said, referring to his two most recent defence cases, "that the Government takes extraordinary measures against those it views as threats to its policies."

"What is involved here," he said, "is the fight for the survival of democracy and the electoral process, which is in serious need of protection against the very people who have been elected to office."

Boudin estimated that the pre-trial procedures of questioning and obtaining statements from the defendants would take about eight months. After that a Federal judge will hold a trial on the charges. In response to a reporter's question about whether or not he expected to succeed with the suit, Boudin replied: "This office never takes cases of this kind unless we believe we can win. And our record will show that we rarely lose. This case is winnable."

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley in an appeal for support in the form of an open letter published in the July 27 issue of The Militant which reflects the view of the SWP stated in part:

"The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have also been victimised by the police-state methods of the capitalist rulers of this country."

"The Socialist Workers Party makes no secret of its revolutionary Marxist views. The SWP is active in all areas of political life, fighting to end oppression and exploitation and furthering the struggle against racism, war, and sexism. Its stated goal is the education and the organisation of the vast majority of American working people to establish a workers government and replace capital-

ism and all its horrors with socialism. "In the past, persecution by witch-hunting secret police has led to mass movement of protest against these attacks. As people throughout the US became aware of the frame-ups, millions saw the need to fight back in order to resist the threat and to protect and extend everyone's democratic rights."

"The widespread outrage at the government operations that have come to light, and the overwhelming repudiation of Nixon's "national security" alibi as justification for abridging the rights of demonstrators and other political activists now provides the opportunity for mobilising broad forces to demand an end to these Watergate operations."

"This opportunity must be seized by all of us who have been victimised by — or are potential victims of — the government secret police, and by all those who value the constitutional protections of the right to political activity. We must be willing to unite in this struggle despite our disagreements on other issues."

"A massive expression of civil liberties support is needed to win this suit. We believe that the law and the Bill of Rights are completely on our side. But this is a political case, and we know that political issues are ultimately resolved not on the basis of legal arguments alone, but by the power and pressure of aroused and organised public opinion."

"The slogan originally made popular by the Industrial Workers of the World, 'An Injury to One Is an Injury to All,' has never been more timely and relevant. It perfectly expresses the need for a united movement to defend the rights of all those who face the danger of victimisation at the hands of the Watergate gangs."

"If we can win this law suit, as we believe we can, we will deal a powerful blow to secret police methods and practices. To win such a victory, we need and ask your support."

## SUIT DOCUMENTS LONG HISTORY OF GOVERNMENT VIOLENCE AND HARASSMENT

Early on a Wednesday afternoon in May 1970, a dozen Cuban exiles armed with automatic weapons, clubs, and whips forced their way into the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles.

They forced four SWP election campaign workers to lie face down on the floor, telling them, "You will die for Fidel," and "We'll kill you, you commies!" Meanwhile, they ransacked the offices and set the place on fire, leaving the four in what could have been a death trap. Fortunately, the campaign workers were able to escape through a fire door without injury.

This attack was the climax of a series of terrorist incidents against the SWP and other radical groups in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles cops, who admitted they had agents inside the Cuban exile groups, refused to conduct a serious investigation. However, political pressure forced them to arrest three men, who were eventually convicted.

In 1970, the SWP ran the first socialist candidates for office in Texas since the time of Eugene V. Debs. In 1971, the SWP launched a vigorous municipal campaign in Houston. The anti-union, anti-black Ku Klux Klan began an effort to

silence the socialist candidates. They had the complicity of local and Federal agents.

In a pre-dawn attack in March 1971, a fragmentation bomb was hurled through



Los Angeles SWP offices after armed Cuban exiles set headquarters ablaze

the window of the Houston SWP campaign headquarters. Mayor Louie Welch responded to the outcry that followed this terrorist attack by quoting approvingly at a city council meeting from J. Edgar Hoover's smear of the SWP. Hoover had charged that SWP election campaigns were only "covers" for "un-American" activities.

In the fall of 1971, the Detroit SWP campaign headquarters was burglarised. The burglars stole lists of campaign supporters, financial contributors, people who had expressed an interest in receiving campaign literature, and subscribers to The Militant the weekly socialist newspaper. The police were notified; when they arrived on the scene, one said, "It looks like an FBI job."

Several weeks later, another break-in occurred, this time at the apartment of the Michigan chairman of the SWP campaign committee. Ignoring items of value, the burglars made off with membership lists and other party records.



Senate committee casts vote authorising court action to secure presidential tapes and papers

# LABOR, AUS & UNI FEES

The Australian Labor Government is still refusing to pay the union fees of tertiary students in Australia. This refusal has jeopardised the independence of student government and unions. The campaign by the Australian Union of Students (AUS) to demand that the Labor Government pay the general service fee (which includes fee payments to individual SRCs and indirectly AUS) came to a head in various actions on July 5.

So far the question has failed to mobilise students on Australian campuses in a large way. The July 5 actions consisting of meetings or part-closure of student facilities, were not very successful.

The most militant action was held in Perth where a rally and march took place. Students from the West Australian Institute of Technology went by buses to the city where they were joined by students from the University of Western Australia to hold a rally and march.

In South Australia large meetings were held on Adelaide and Flinders universities. Flinders University closed its whole union down over the lunch break.

Due to the closeness to student elections at La Trobe University in Melbourne the meeting there failed to get a quorum. While the meeting at Melbourne University was large various factors reduced the effectiveness of the action. The ALP Club on campus was able to mobilise its forces in order to defend the Government's decision. Internal strife between the local SRC and the Union Council weakened the impact and co-ordination of the Melbourne University action.

In Canberra the Union at the Australian National University was totally closed. Similar actions at Tasmania, Queensland and New England universities were not as successful.

Only one university was not on holidays in Sydney, Sydney University, and only its SRC offices were closed for the day.

After the July 5 campaign DIRECT ACTION spoke to Neil McLean, president of AUS. McLean soon after left on an overseas trip and was prohibited from entering South Africa because of his role in the anti-apartheid movement.

In this interview McLean discusses and analyses the union fees campaign.

**DIRECT ACTION:** Were you pleased with the results of the campaign against the Labor Government's refusal to pay student union fees?

McLEAN: Yes, I was. Obviously, there were weak spots in the actions them-



Neil McLean

selves. The Victorian actions were somewhat weak. The only bad meeting took place in Victoria.

The defence of the government policy by the ALP Club at Melbourne University was interesting. In itself it is a very novel thing. It wouldn't have happened for a long time on campus. It's a new dimension in the way of campus politics. We may well see the growth of ALP clubs which are government organs in a sense.

The implications of the whole issue in the long run are probably quite serious and significant, but at the moment to most students it's a fairly peripheral issue.

To get the sort of co-ordinated action that we did, particularly this year when campuses have been so quiet, is something which we will have to be reasonably satisfied with.

It was of value, quite apart from the question of union fees, just to go through the exercise again of trying to organise something nationally like this. It was educative in many ways for the people involved.

**DIRECT ACTION:** Could you give a brief run-down on the basis of the campaign - why AUS considers it to be so important.

McLEAN: Primarily the campaign was motivated by a fear that present proposals put forward by Federal Government for the funding of student unions in the long run threaten the viability of student unions. It may plunge them into considerable chaos, both internally and in relation to other bodies. It may force them into undesirably subservient rela-



Kim Beazley

tionships with university administrations - whose power they will need to collect fees from students compulsorily.

In some ways it was a feeling of a subtle but possibly significant threat to the long-term future of organised student activity.

And also it was a general fear that unless something could be resolved this year that it may end up like the British situation where there was a long and very futile wrangle for 3 or 4 years about student unions which bogged down very badly any radical action on campus.

In pure terms of trying to protect members from having to pay the general service fee - now more than \$70 on most campuses - we had to act.

**DIRECT ACTION:** If the Government continues to refuse to pay these fees what is going to happen in 1974 to AUS?

McLEAN: I don't think it will unduly threaten us any more than it effects local campus unions. If the going gets tough with our constituent organisations they may feel that one area of finance they'll have to cut is their fees to AUS.

**DIRECT ACTION:** How does AUS plan to follow up the July 5 actions?

McLEAN: We don't at this stage have actions similar to July 5 planned. We may have to consider it if we don't get anywhere in the next month or so. When making that decision we have to decide how much real danger we think student unions are in at the moment.

**DIRECT ACTION:** What support for the campaign do you have within the Australian Labor Party itself?

# Interview With AUS President Neil McLean

McLEAN: That's difficult to ascertain. There are certainly a lot of people who feel that the Government ought to abolish all university fees - that it ought to maintain the policy which was set by the conservatives under the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme which included payment of union fees.

There are also forces within the ALP which feel that the Labor Government could be seriously embarrassed if the funding of student bodies may result in students taking radical action and so and that they will be under great pressure from certain areas of the community so this will undermine them electorally.

A similar view says that student unions are like trade unions, and the Labor Government doesn't pay trade union dues and therefore it shouldn't pay student union fees.

We've come to recognise that while there are similarities in objectives and activities between trade unions and student unions - they are, in the present state of society anyway, different in many ways.

**DIRECT ACTION:** Do you have any indication of just who in the Government is lobbying for the non-payment of student fees?

McLEAN: The attitude of the minister himself, Kim Beazley, is fairly difficult to discover really. We're led to believe that he personally favored payment of fees. It is very difficult to pinpoint where the opposition is coming from. It is almost certainly coming from his own department - who have had to bear the brunt of the criticism in the past about the funding of student unions under the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme. I think that is a pathetic attitude for a Labor government to take. If they're not prepared to stand up and fight those sorts of criticisms then they're not going to fight anything.

**DIRECT ACTION:** What do you think AUS should expect from a Labor government?

McLEAN: I don't think we make any claim to be treated in any special way. There's no longer any special relationship as there used to be between the National Union of Australian University Students (NUAUS) and the ALP. NUAUS was very much a sort of training ground really for ALP people. The private staff of the present Government are filled with ex-NUAUS officers. That sort of relationship has pretty well gone. The amount of any special link-up between AUS and the ALP is just about virtually non-existent.

All this is a reflection of the way the AUS leadership has changed. Today they're more concerned with work in mass movements and see this as being the way forward rather than parliamentary socialism - and it's quite clear that we don't even have parliamentary socialism at the moment.

As to what we expect from the Labor Government in general terms - I suppose we expect, as does the left, a greater humanity from the ALP in the way in which they govern. They have shown themselves to be more humane and committed to more desirable values than their predecessors were.

**DIRECT ACTION:** Do you present your demands in any different way to the approach you take towards a conservative government?

McLEAN: I don't think so. Basically they both administer the same systems. The terms of debate haven't really changed much in Australian politics and the change in government. There's the way in which you phrase your demands doesn't have to change much. That's a rather sad commentary on the situation.

The Labor Government is unfortunately isn't going to mean much of a change in the inequalities which exist. I don't think that there is a sufficient radical perspective winning the day in the Government. If you really did have socialist principles then you would have committed them in different terms.

# ACTION SET TO PROTEST CAMBODIA BOMBING

BY STEVE PAINTER

On Tuesday July 24, seventy people met in the Assembly Hall in Melbourne to discuss action against the United States bombing of Cambodia. The meeting resulted in the setting up of an organisation called Friends of Cambodia. The meeting also decided to hold a demonstration against the bombing of Cambodia, on August 10. It also passed a number of resolutions, one of which read: "That this meeting condemns US aggression against the people of Cambodia and demands total and unconditional withdrawal of all US troops, advisers, pilots and all other personnel plus complete withdrawal of all US economic, political and military aid to the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak - Son Ngoc Thanh - in Tam regime. We also demand that troops of the Thai and Saigon regimes be withdrawn forthwith."

# AUS Racism at Nimbin Festival



Gary Foley

BY GARY FOLEY

The Australian Union of Students who supplied the bulk of the finance for the desecration of sacred Aboriginal land at Nimbin, have a long history of contributing toward oppression of black Australians.

In 1970 AUS loaned \$600 to a group of Aborigines to go to the USA to attend a conference in Atlanta. The money was given on the basis that it be reimbursed by the conference and the conference had indicated that it would pay. However, the conference did not keep its word and repay AUS. Subsequently AUS hastily took out a supreme court writ to cover the money from the Aborigines involved, and so began a long harassment of these Aborigines. This harassment severely affected the operations of the Aborigines Advancement League. In fact AUS went so far as to secretly despatch one of their senior executive officers to confer with the widely disliked Director of Aboriginal Affairs in Victoria.

Cambodian war refugees, an American B-52 of the type being employed in that country, and President Lon Nol.



It is important that the August 10 demonstration is successful. Since the signing of the Paris accords on January 27 many people have thought that the war in Indo-China has ended, or that at least the United States intervention in that war has ended. That this is not the case however, is revealed by reports in the daily press that the bombing of the national liberation forces in Cambodia, by the United States, is among the heaviest in history. Whole villages have been obliterated by the US bombing.

The bombing of Cambodia is scheduled to end on August 15 when funds provided by the US Senate will expire. However only a fool would expect Nixon to accept the curtailment of funds for the bombing without a fight. On Wednesday July 25, according to a report in the Melbourne Age on the following day, US

Defence Secretary James Schlesinger said that it was possible that Nixon would seek an extension of the August 15 deadline for an end to the bombing.

Nixon has set himself the task of bombing the Cambodian liberation forces to the conference table in order to secure a treaty similar to the Paris accords. An indication of the thinking of the supporters of the Lon Nol regime was provided by the Melbourne Herald of July 25 which listed in a front page article three "grim possibilities" for Phnom Penh. The three "grim possibilities" were: "that the city will be captured by the insurgent army now at its door in a fight to the finish," "that Phnom Penh will be strangled in a siege and forced to surrender unconditionally" and "that talk will end the fighting, but replace

the anti-communist Government of President Lon Nol with a coalition comprised of at least 75 per cent communists."

It is important that the imperialists are given no room to manoeuvre; that the mass feeling against the war should continue to find expression through the international anti-war movement. The anti-war forces must demonstrate once again their opposition to the US intervention in Indo-China and, at this stage, particularly in Cambodia. In view of recent reports that the Pine Gap tracking station near Alice Springs has been used to assist in the raids against Cambodia, the demand for an end to Australian complicity in the war is important.

Demonstrate on Friday August 10, 5 pm, Melbourne City Square.

When one considers the amount involved, there is an obvious inconsistency in the action of AUS, and it is quite reasonable to assume that AUS's attitude is one of "White is right!"

In addition to that AUS over the past four years at their annual conferences have actively discouraged blacks from taking control of the position on the executive that is particularly relevant to blacks (formerly the national Abschol director and now race relations officer).

AUS has insisted that to be eligible one must have student status. They have maintained this pre-requisite knowing full well that most of the black activists, by virtue of their socio-economic background, have not been able to get to tertiary education standard and the few that have just don't have the time to be concerned with full-time positions with AUS.

On such occasions that non-student blacks have nominated, it has taken extended debate (sometimes for hours) merely for their nominations to be accepted. And if they did meet the high standards set by AUS it was later proven to be only a token acceptance as they were overwhelmingly voted against (in lieu of a white candidate) for the actual executive position. Once again it has not been unknown for senior AUS types to imitate their peers in utilising the old art of character assassination.

At the 1971 AUS annual conference (at which it was difficult to determine if in fact you really were at a student conference) and not a Liberal Party conference) stories were circulated that the black candidate (myself) was, of all things, a racist. I was, needless to say, soundly defeated by the white candidate.

Further evidence of the subtle racism within AUS can be seen in their priorities in expenditure over the past few years. The Abschol (now race relations) dept. has found that allocations to it have been diminishing rapidly. This apparently has

been because AUS sees that funds are more urgently needed for such huge social issues as the Aquarius festivals. Subsequently the race relations dept is now faced with a situation where it is impossible to be really effective in any programme it could want to implement.

Also on finance, it is interesting to compare the manner in which AUS acted on two particular issues. These were the Springbok tour and the Aboriginal Embassy.

Before, and during the Springbok tour AUS seemed to go berserk on expenditure. They paid out at least \$10,000 to bring to Australia two white "experts" namely Bishop Crowther and Peter Hain. They also threw the whole AUS machine behind producing leaflets etc. Compare that burst of enthusiasm with their actions concerning the Aboriginal Embassy.

Apparently they considered the Embassy unworthy of any real sustained effort on their behalf. The only real work done was by a few people in the organisation acting as individuals. Virtually no one from the AUS executive was present at the Embassy demonstrations and yet they were in abundance at the Springbok demos. The silence from the upper echelons of the AUS bureaucracy was deafening, and expenditure for buses to Canberra (paltry indeed when compared to the extravagance of the Springbok tour) just did not eventuate.

These facts speak for themselves. AUS apparently considers racial issues important as long as they aren't in their own back yard where they would have to admit that they are part of the system that oppresses black people.

It is my contention that AUS is a racist body and is guilty of a continuing programme to suppress black self-determination in Australia and does not deserve the support of students or anyone else, and I'm sure that in the future you will see mounting evidence to support this.

# Tariq Ali Makes Tour of Australia

BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

In the opening meeting of his two-week long Australian tour, nearly 200 people came to hear Tariq Ali in Sydney on July 24. Tariq Ali, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and a leader of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, spoke on the subject "Imperialism and Revolution in Asia".

The question of Indo-China figured prominently in the talk and led into a discussion on what was the meaning of the US detente with Moscow and Peking and what this meant for the revolution in Asia. He spoke also on the developing struggles in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Ceylon and India and pointed to the inherent explosiveness in all these areas.

When the meeting opened for discussion a debate started on the Stalinist nature of the Chinese and Vietnamese Communist Party leaderships and what significance this had for socialists - particularly as it concerned the struggle in Indo-China.

Whilst in Sydney he spoke to a meeting sponsored by the Students' Union Council at the University of New South Wales on the nature of the university and the student struggles which have erupted internationally in the past period. He

also addressed another meeting on August 5 presenting his opinion on the latest developments in the European political situation.

The next meeting in Melbourne on July 27 on "Imperialism and Revolution in Asia", was attended by approximately 250 people. Meetings were also conducted in Adelaide and Brisbane.

Perhaps the high-point of the tour was when Tariq Ali was able to speak, along

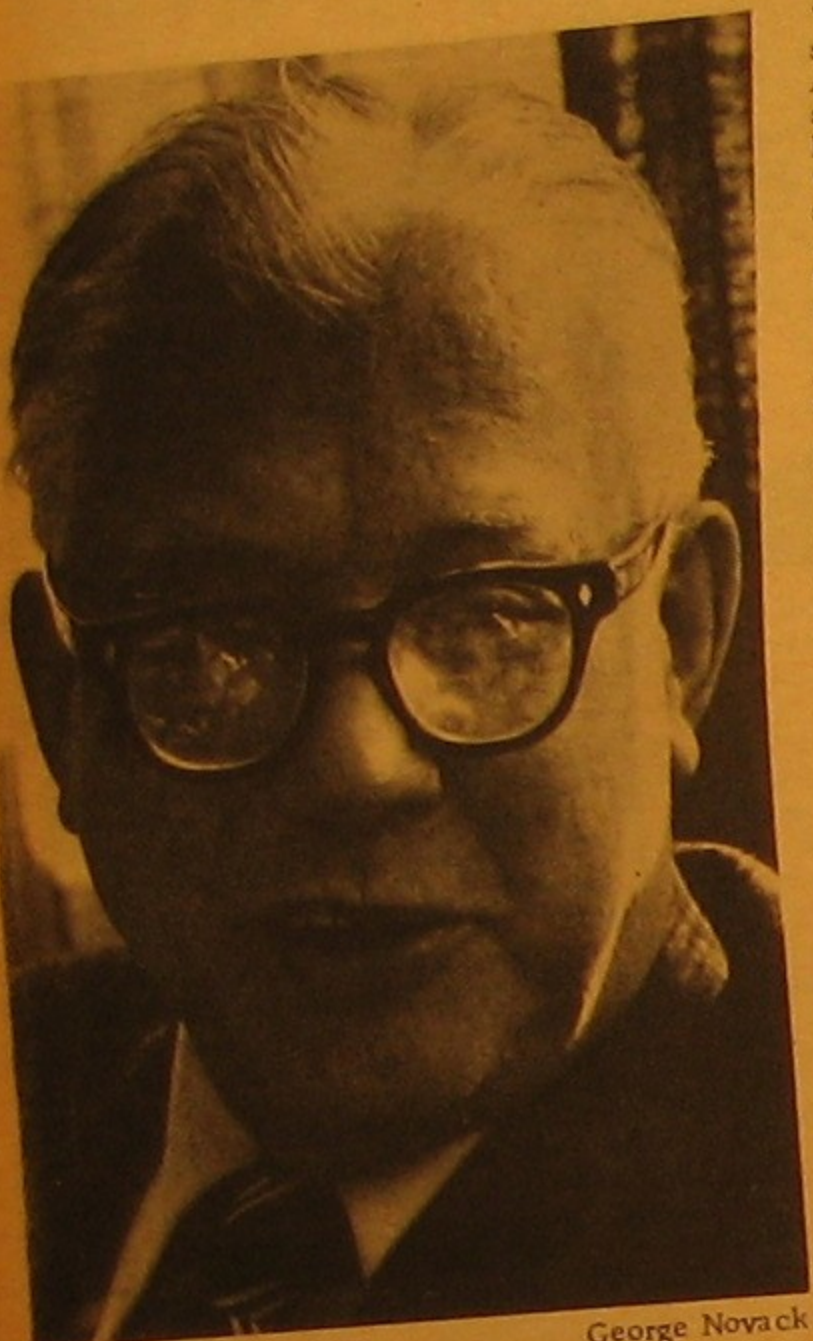
with representatives of various sponsoring groups, to the broadly based meeting in defence of the Ligue Communiste held on August 1 in Sydney. This meeting brought together all the left-wing organisations in joint action over this question. Considering that rousing support for the Ligue was an important part of his tour, this meeting provided Tariq Ali with the opportunity to pass on to those in France the message of active solidarity from the Australian labor and radical movement.



Tariq Ali addressing meeting in Sydney

# FACTS ARE STUBBORN THINGS

BY GEORGE NOVACK



George Novack

The Healyite organ, Labour Press, saluted my arrival on a speaking tour of Australia in May 1973 with a four-page special supplement headed *An Open Letter to George Novack*. In addition to the well-worn diatribes against the scarecrow of "Pabloism" and slanders against Trotskyist organisations from Ceylon to the United States, this salvo reared in on my philosophic works.

As they pursued this campaign during the discussion periods following my public talks in the principal cities, the Healyites put forward some opinions of their own. After my exposition of Marxism as a revolutionary materialist humanism, the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, Jim Mulgrew, asserted that Marxism had nothing to do with humanism of any kind.

This denial breaks with the teachings and traditions of scientific socialism and places these sectarians in the same camp as the Maoists and the French communist philosopher Althusser, who contend in similar ways that Marxism is anti-humanistic.

Mulgrew also insisted that dialectical materialism cannot be twisted in a sectarian manner; only opportunistic revisionist adaptations to non-Marxist currents of philosophy exist (Lenin dixit). If your trousers are caught on a hook, try to extricate yourself by denying that any hook exists.

The Healyites conveniently overlook the precedent set by the brand of dialectical materialism sponsored by the Stalinists. Theirs was a falsified, dogmatic — extremely sectarian — perversion of Marxist thought. This deformation and degradation in philosophy corresponded to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution and was an integral ideological component of it.

Stalin's "Red Professors" screened from the history of philosophy innovative contributions to thought that did not conform to the arbitrary criteria of a straight and narrow road of materialist development from the Milesians to the mastermind in the Kremlin. In 1947, at Stalin's behest, his watchdog on the cultural front, Zhdanov, indicted the History of Western European Philosophy by the unlucky G. F. Alexandrov, who saw something good in the works of Kant, Hegel, and Fourier.

Stalin himself expunged the law of the negation of the negation from his presentation of dialectical materialism. Throughout the Soviet bloc the slightest manifestations of independent thinking in this field were suspect or suppressed. Anyone who did not parrot the formulas sanctioned by the official doctrinaires was condemned out of hand as a dangerous "revisionist".

Although the Healyite approach to the dialectical method has a different basis, it exhibits certain traits of dogmatic rigidity characteristic of the Stalinist mode of philosophising. Like children in a classroom under a strict teacher, the Healyites monotonously intone the same points in the same stereotyped phrases from individual to individual and from one country to another, without making the least effort to exercise critical thought about the material data and problems under consideration.

Like the Stalinist school, they demand unconditional and unquestioning submission to their peculiar misinterpretations and misapplications of Marxist philosophy. Whoever doubts or denies these shibboleths is subject to excommunication from the chapel and to the curses of the band of true believers. Thus, for their doubts and denials Healy broke with his erstwhile French partners in the International Committee.

Sectarianism in philosophy or politics is marked by disregard of objective realities. This was strikingly evidenced in the Australian "Open Letter" assailing my views.

Its signatory, Adrian Falk, presented in an introduction to the Open Letter the following pearls of wisdom on Cuba. "On the basis of a completely empiricist evaluation of the 'facts' of the Cuban revolution (Nationalisation of industries, etc), the SWP concluded that Cuba had become a workers' state.

"The point at issue is not what are the facts, but the method with which 'facts' are approached and grasped. The empiricist takes the so-called facts as an ultimate court of appeal, and sees them as having some fixed significance which they impose on consciousness. Marxists, on the contrary, see facts as partial abstractions, to be comprehended only in the practical struggle to change the world.

"Thus in the case of Cuba, the point is not to contemplatively enumerate abstract criteria of a workers' state, but to understand the political developments there through grappling with problems which can only be confronted in the struggle to lead the working class against every form of petty bourgeois opportunism (including Castroism)."

To begin with, what are the "abstract criteria of a workers' state" that Trotsky enumerated many times in his writings from 1923 to 1940, and most forcefully in the 1939-40 polemic against Burnham and Shachtman reprinted in *In Defence of Marxism*? The most decisive are nationalisation of the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade, and a planned economy.

What are the facts in this case? All three of these requisites have been instituted and developed in Cuba as the result of its socialist revolution.

Regardless of their attitude toward them, a host of other forces in the world, from the US imperialists to the Cuban people, along with most tendencies on the left, have recognised these basic facts about the revolutionary reconstruction of Cuban society. Everyone — except these pseudo-Trotskyists — The Healyites acknowledge that the USSR under Brezhnev, the Chinese People's Republic under Mao, and even Albania conform to "the abstract criteria" of a workers' state. Yet they adamantly insist that Cuba is capitalist and stands in the same socio-economic category as Australia and New Zealand.

That is what Falk, who is a tutor in sociology at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, teaches us. He certainly didn't learn this kind of sociology in the school of Trotskyism.

What is the worth of a group that pretends to lead the world revolutionary vanguard but is incapable of recognising a socialist overturn and assessing its results correctly when it actually happens? And thereafter sticks to its dogmatic error despite a decade of accumulated facts?

Falk has a theoretical justification for this purlindness. This Healyite wise man informs us that facts are not "the point at issue" in judging the state of affairs in Cuba. He makes the crude mistake of confusing materialism with empiricism because both take their point of departure from the facts. On this score any empiricist who is at least concerned about the facts is closer to materialism than our critic. Indeed, the Healyite dismissal of the importance of facts makes them less realistic than anyone guided by plain common sense!

According to Falk, "the so-called facts" (aren't there any real facts?) cannot be taken "as an ultimate court of appeal." He fails to inform us what in his view the ultimate arbiter of the truth of any idea or proposition is. Marxism teaches that objective reality, which is made up of facts in their development, is decisive in determining what is and what is not the case in all questions from the physical nature of universe to the sociological nature of a given country like Cuba. This has been a cardinal principle of all materialisms from ancient times

to the present and serves as a direction to its method. However, Falk does not acknowledge this elementary truth of dialectical materialism any more than he does the particular facts in regard to Cuba.

When he nonchalantly remarks that there have no "fixed significance which they impose on consciousness," he is assuming that this viewpoint is the breeding ground of subjectivism and idealism, methods that are contrary to materialism as well as to scientific procedures. To hold the facts of capitalism impose no fixed significance on the consciousness of the subjects would, for one thing, destroy the foundation of the Marxist explanation of the genesis and development of the consciousness of its constituent classes.

In connection with this problem, let me cite an example from the history of astronomy that is so simple that even the mind of a pupil of Healy's might grasp it. People once believed that the sun went around the earth, which was the centre of the universe. Since Copernicus, whose five-hundredth anniversary was commemorated this year, we know that the earth moves around the sun. What imposed this scientific truth upon the consciousness of humanity and exposed the earlier misconception as false? Was it not the objectively existing structural relations among the bodies of our solar system, that is, the discovery of the physical facts about them?

In the body of the Open Letter itself Falk takes exception to a passage from my article *A Malignant Case of Sectarianism* that reads: "The lifeforce of materialist dialectics flows from its indissoluble merging with the facts of the real world. This is the source of the

knowledge and the developing world. This is to be found in the essential unity between what we know and what objectively exists. However, according to Falk, "starting from the primacy of the facts" has nothing to do with materialism or dialectics but is the procedure of pragmatism!

Engels long ago pointed out in *Anti-Dühring* that the dialectical character of knowledge and its development is derived from the dialectical characteristics of matter in motion, including the contradictory course of human history and the dialectics of nature. Thus the dialectics of knowledge is rooted in the objective facts of society and nature as these are disclosed through practice by scientific knowledge of them.

"Dialectics," as Trotsky wrote, "cannot be imposed upon facts; it has to be deduced from facts, from their nature and development." (*Problems of Everyday Life*, Pathfinder Press, p. 233).

In a personal encounter with me after I spoke at the university where he teaches, Falk contended that facts are nothing but "appearances". Actually facts are pieces of the objective world that have essential structural properties as well as apparent characteristics. In defining what a fact is in fact, our subjectivist leaves out of account its material objectivity in time and space that exists apart from human beings — unless the facts pertain to our species.

Falk writes in the Open Letter, are so more than "partial abstractions." To be sure, no single fact exists by and for itself. Taken as such in everyday life or in the process of inquiry, the fact acquires a more abstract quality than is warranted by its actual embedding in the

is a more abstract statement about the same factual entity, in which a particular individual is included in a general class.

The assertion "All humans originate from primate stock" is a much more abstract and generalised statement.

Not so, argues Falk. These are all nothing but "partial abstractions", that they are statements of fact is irrelevant and immaterial.

Facts, however, are stubborn things. Order them out the door and they come creeping in through the basement or windows. No sectarian sophistry can banish them from reality or deprive them of their role as the ultimate determinant of the truth or the worth of all assertions and abstractions. That is primordial in the materialist theory of knowledge.

We now come to the most unexpected aspect of the position of our critic. Because I stand by the facts, he accuses me of being an empiricist who follows "the pragmatism of William James".

The doctrines of James were highly influential during the 1920s at Harvard, where I received my initial education in philosophy. There I learned from his professional associates what the pragmatic theory of knowledge was all about. Upon becoming a Marxist after the stock market crash of 1929, I consciously rejected its premises and conclusions along with the liberalism it rationalised.

This is more than my uninformed adversary in Australia has managed to do. What is the essential opposition between the Marxist and pragmatic theories of knowledge? Dialectical materialism regards truth as the corres-

pondence of ideas to humans defines the truth, which is brought to birth through their acting upon this or that idea. In Marxist theory the usefulness of ideas is derived from their correct reflections of the external world. The true or false content of our mental abstractions is brought to light and tested by our actions.

These two conceptions of truth are incompatible. One of them strives to report the relations, properties, and processes of objective reality as accurately and fully as possible. The other is content with the purely instrumental functions of ideas that presumably satisfy human needs (other than the urge to know what the foundations of truth really are!). Pragmatism does not insist that our ideas really harmonise with the facts.

Now hearken to the Healyite. "Far from being 'indissolubly merged' with the real world (as I had maintained), our concepts are brought into unity with objective reality only in the practical struggle to change this reality." Such a one-sided version of the interaction between reality and our concepts leaves out their pre-existing material unity and makes knowledge depend, not upon the content common to ideas and facts, but only upon the practical activities that disclose and demonstrate the truth or non-truth of our ideas. It is not I but my critic who follows in the track of the pioneer pragmatist William James!

Falk goes on to argue: "Your undialectical approach to the Marxist method leads you into the empiricist (!) view that concepts are meaningful in virtue of some static relationship to 'the facts'." Let us set aside the adjective "static", which is dragged in to obscure the issue. Whether facts are in motion or at rest,

Falk pejoratively describes me as "a middle class intellectual" trained in philosophy and exhortates me for betraying the task Trotsky entrusted to me in 1940 of defending and disseminating the logical method of Marxism. When I challenged several Healyites to name one other person in the English-speaking countries who has written more and worked harder to popularise the doctrines of dialectical materialism in the decades since Trotsky's death, they could only cite Cliff Slaughter, Healy's penman.

Since not only Novack, but Slaughter and Falk, happen to be middle-class intellectuals by origin, there can be no purely sociological distinction between us. On the political and theoretical levels the quantity of my philosophical production considerably outweighs that of my two opponents. To my knowledge Falk has written little else than his assigned attack upon my views; and Slaughter's output over the past fifteen years consists of a few pamphlets. I am willing to leave any judgment about the quality of our works to unprejudiced readers.

Thereby hangs a tale that deserves to be told. During the late fifties, when we were still political collaborators, Gery Healy held a different estimate of my merits as a Marxist theoretician. During a meeting with him at Toronto he talked to me with some anxiety about the intellectuals such as Slaughter and others in England who had been won over to Trotskyism from the CP after Khrushchev's revelations and after the Kremlin had put down the proletarian uprising in Hungary.

Healy urged me to write a series of articles on Marxist method to help counteract the theoretical miseducation they had received under Stalinist auspices. He wanted to ensure that they would be guided by Marxist principles, not by shortsighted empirical considerations.

I agreed to fulfill the request and Healy subsequently published several early chapters of my book on *Empiricism and Its Evolution* in his theoretical magazine, *Labour Review*. At that time he had no inkling that I had departed from dialectical materialism or let Trotsky down. (I didn't even let him down!) He discovered these heinous faults in me only after he disagreed with the SWP on the necessity for reunifying the divided forces of the Fourth International.

Every sect must have its pontiff (Healy), its fetish (his peculiar distortion of the dialectical method), and villainous iconoclasts who refuse to accept its dogmas and must be defamed at all costs. Heading Healy's list are Joseph Hansen as a political analyst, Ernest Mandel as an economist, and myself as a philosopher. But the real target of the Healyite frenzy and fury is the genuine teachings of Trotskyism as these are implemented by the Fourth International. They resort to the most flagrant falsifications in pursuit of this unworthy aim.

Sectarians know no restraint. They compensate for their disdain of reality by being spiteful and vindictive toward their revolutionary opponents. These are bad traits in politics. Such subjectivism violates the objectivity demanded by Marxist materialism.

According to Lenin, "objectivity of consideration" is the first requirement of the dialectical method. (See *Selected Works*, Vol. 38, *Philosophical Notebooks*, p. 221). The Healyite disregard for the facts flouts this injunction at every step. Their ultra-factionalism, exemplified afresh by the Australian Open Letter, precludes any objective and accurate examination by them of the real situation in economics, politics or philosophy. These bragbats about dialectics cannot employ its method in any truthful or productive way.



Mass rally in Havana celebrating the anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.

Ability to recognise a revolution when it happens is surely a basic requirement for a revolutionary organisation. Will persists in the belief that Cuba is a capitalist state.

concrete content that makes the meaningful and the method follow.

He tries to refute this as follows: "This is a pragmatist formalism that attempts to smooth over the clash between knowledge and the developing world. By starting the primacy of the facts and denying its significance of dialectics from the you actually deny the dialectical character of knowledge and its development.

Before dealing with "the essential difference between knowledge and the real world, i.e., the unavoidable difference between ideas and reality, a pragmatist has first to recognise and account for the correspondence between our

rest of reality. Nonetheless, this role in the knowing process does not deprive any fact of its concrete existence as an objective entity. In itself, and not for us, any given fact is essentially, substantively, a part or particle, a finite fragment, of the material world.

Our fumbling epistemologist does not comprehend or properly present either the difference between the concrete and the abstract or the relation of these correlative terms to objective reality.

The assertion "This man is George Novack" is a statement of concrete fact — unless a mistaken identity is involved.

The assertion "George Novack is a man"

pondence, and error as the lack of correspondence, between an idea, a judgment, or a theory and the reality which they refer. This objective linkage or absence of linkage, constitutes the basis of the materialist epistemology. The practical activities of human beings do not create this correlation between them; things and any statements about them; they disclose and verify, i.e., substantiate it.

The pragmatism of William James (Dewey's instrumentalism is a different variant) contends that practical usefulness does more than ascertain the occurrence or non-occurrence of knowledge and truth. Practice creates what is true or not true for us. For pragmatism the

whether they are undergoing more change or less, concepts — even the most imaginary — have meaning only by virtue of some relationship to facts.

What other source could the meaning of ideas have, from the point of view of a materialist? Falk does not bother to tell us.

Despite his pretensions, the Healyite reasoner is really neither materialist nor dialectical in his approach to all problems of philosophy and politics. His erroneous objections to my views inexorably land him in the company of the pragmatists and idealists. Such is the ironic dialectical outcome of the debate between us.

# ON THE PICKET LINE



## Victorian Teachers Unite

BY JIM McILROY

The Victorian Secondary Teachers Union (VSTA) and the Technical Teachers Association of Victoria (TTAV) have formed a federation to represent the unions in common policy matters. These well include teacher dismissals, tribunal reform, teacher conditions and teacher housing.

The different views of the leadership of the two unions are expressed by the two union presidents. VSTA president Geoff Reid said that the federation would promote unity among teachers.

"But it will in no way interfere with the autonomy of either the VSTA or the TTAV."

TTAV president George Lees was more enthusiastic. The federation was a "milestone" in the history of teacher organisation in Victoria, he said. The different degrees of enthusiasm perhaps reflect the fear of the VSTA leadership of being overcome by TTAV radicalism.

At the present stage, with unity being expressed by means of a joint executive drawn from the committees of the two unions plus the two presidents, actual fusion of the unions remains far off.

But this beginning of a very necessary process opens the way to co-operation on a whole number of levels. Teacher Action, a rank-and-file group in the VSTA is calling for joint membership meetings at the regional level. So too is the Inner Suburban Group of the VSTA. These joint initiatives will be very important in paving the way for a real and complete fusion, breaking down prejudices between the two sectors of teachers. Joint tickets for general representative to the Teachers Tribunal and other questions are important in the short term. But only complete unity of the unions can build the strength necessary for teachers to win battles against an intransigent Liberal State Government and Education Department.

## Migrant Workers Conference Called

A conference to discuss the problems of migrant workers has been called for the weekend of November 3-4. Among the initial sponsors of the conference are the Builders Labourers Federation, the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union, the NSW Teachers Federation, the Painters and Dockers Union, the South Coast Trades and Labor Council, the Newcastle Trades and Labor Council and the Inner-city Education Alliance.

The topics, agenda, and other details of the conference are yet to be decided. A tentative suggested list of topics has already been produced. The list includes the following topics:

- \* Migrant Workers and Unions - the role of migrant committees in unions, the need for unions to fight for special needs of migrants.
- \* Migrant Workers and Social Security: The health, social services, and unemployment problems peculiar to migrants.
- \* Migrant Workers and Australian Politics: The role of migrants in Australian society and political bodies, the relation of migrants with local, State and Federal governments.
- \* Migrants and Education: This is divided into two sub-topics; the education of migrant children and the process of learning English by adults.

The first meeting of sponsors will be held on Saturday August 20 at the

Sydney Trades Hall. The organisers of the conference welcome suggestions. Further information can be obtained from Migrants Conference, c/- Viri Pires, 25 Gordon St, Burwood, NSW 2135.

## Ford Strike Defeated

BY DOUG JORDAN

After nine weeks the strike at Ford's Broadmeadows car-assembly plant has ended in a defeat for the strikers.

The strike was one of the longest in recent years in the car industry. The company had deliberately chosen this strike as an attempt to smash the growing militancy shown by workers currently facing rapid erosion of wages due to high inflation.

The strike was not defeated simply on the basis of Ford's better organisation and resources, but as part of a process of a sell-out by the leadership of the Vehicle Builders Employees' Union and the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union together with ACTU president Bob Hawke's interventions to "settle" the strike.

Despite the tremendous amount of popular support, the strikers were literally starved into submission by the employers. The support came from widely differing sectors of the community, including militant workers,



Workers demonstrate outside Ford plant at Broadmeadows during strike

radical students and migrant communities.

Money flowed into the strike fund from collections on job sites and campuses. Broadmeadows City Council voted to give \$1000 to the strikers living in its area. But the strike fund could only provide each worker with \$20 a week. The Ford employees, particularly the new migrants, were just unable to survive on that small amount for such a long time.

There was little action taken by the union leadership to consolidate and broaden the strike. They also failed to respond to Ford's escalation of the dispute. The company used the strike as an excuse for laying off about 1600 workers at its Geelong plant. There was no real response to this from the union leadership.

The end of the strike came at a mass meeting of 1000 strikers at Broadmead-

ows Town Hall on July 23. They met to take a decision on a recommendation from the president of the Arbitration Commission, Judge Moore, who said he would decide on their wage claims if they returned to work. Bob Hawke also urged the workers to put their faith in the bosses' court.

Although the union officials recommended a rejection of this offer, the damage had already been done. Most of the strikers had lost faith in the union and voted by a two-thirds majority to return to work.

## Ironworkers Strike

BY SOL SALBY

The long campaign for a minimum over award payment by BHP workers has ended with the company's offer being accepted.

The company's offer of \$9.50 over award payment and a productivity payment fell short of the \$18.50 for which the workers campaigned. The attitude of the Broken Hill Pty Co Ltd has been characterised by extreme intransigence. BHP threatened to de-register the various unions and union branches involved in the strike. All together 11 unions were named in BHP's application for de-registration to the NSW State Industrial Commission.

The tactics used by the unions to achieve their aims was that of the rolling strike. During the weeks in

Australian Financial Review. The curtailment of production was not due solely to the efforts of the strikers. It was also affected by power cuts ordered by the NSW Government.

The rolling strike campaign wasn't carried out consistently, with BHP being granted a reprieve of a fortnight under the threats made to the union officials with regard to the de-registration.

Even if the rolling strikes campaign had been carried out consistently and thoroughly it would have still most likely still lacked the necessary unity. Furthermore, a rolling strike takes a lot longer to affect the employers and, under some circumstances, it may not affect them at all. At a time when the demand for steel is on the rise a complete shut-down may have had a much stronger impact and forced BHP to concede to the workers' demands.

The compromise offer suggested by the NSW Industrial Commission of \$9.50 represents a serious failure of the campaign. The offer is not a new increase. It is a replacement of the old bonus system, a system which has been used as a weapon against the workers.

The responsibility for the decision must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the union officials and the industrial officer of the NSW Trades and Labor Council, John MacBean, who set out to confuse the workers. After the Sydney workers voted in favor of accepting the BHP offer and the workers in Wollongong rejected it overwhelmingly, these officials threw confusion into the ranks by informing the capitalist press that they did not know where the workers stood, even though a majority of strikers decided to continue the campaign.

During meetings in the following week when demoralisation set in, the vote to end the 3-months-old campaign took place.

## Miscellaneous Workers Fight For Wage Rise

BY DAVID NIZOZ

Members of the NSW branch of the Federated Miscellaneous Workers Union have initiated a campaign for an \$18 a week wage rise.

The union private-sector division covers 16,000 cleaners, care-takers, lift drivers and night watchmen. On July 20 members of the union went on a 24-hour strike in response to the employers' refusal to grant a wage claim.

About 1200 members attended a mass meeting at Redfern Oval on that day. They heard two long-winded reports. The first was given by the union's Federal secretary, Ray Gietzelt. Gietzelt's report was described by a subsequent speaker as resembling a computer print-out. He listed the terms of the various awards and agreements with every single employer. A second report outlined some individual cases of stubborn employers and their attempts to use scab labor.

The official resolution gave the employers extra time till July 25 to respond with a new offer.

An amendment by rank-and-file militant John Edwards called for the continuation of the stoppage till July 25. The Gietzelt leadership combined with its right-wing opposition in order to defeat this proposition.

Since then the union leadership has opted for the divisive tactic of having different jobs out on different days, preventing any united action taking place.

# THE OTHER ISRAEL

REVIEWED BY SOL SALBY



Hawke with Histadrut official

*The Other Israel*, edited by Arie Bober, Doubleday, New York 1972. 264 pp; paperback, \$2.75. (This review is reprinted by permission from Palestine Forum).

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the State of Israel the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, addressed a celebration meeting in the Sydney Town Hall. Whitlam told the assembled Zionist supporters that the Labor Government supported unconditionally Israel's right to exist.

There was nothing new about Whitlam's defence of Israel. The Australian Labor Party, along with social-democratic parties elsewhere, has been among the



Arab prisoners in Israel

staunchest supporters of the Zionist cause. One only has to remember the role played by Labor leader H.V. Evatt at the United Nations. Evatt was the president of the General Assembly of the UN when the decision to divide Palestine into two states took place. The helpful role played by him has been gratefully acknowledged by the Zionists on many occasions.

The ALP is not an exception internationally. Social-democratic and labor parties have traditionally accepted the myth of a "socialist" Israel.

In this light the appearance of *The Other Israel* - the Radical Case Against Zionism is most welcome. This book edited by Israeli revolutionary Arie Bober is a collection of statements issued by the Israeli Socialist Organisation and articles written by its members during the past five years. The militants of the Israeli Socialist Organisation, better known by the title of its publication *Matpen* (compass), have been the only people in Israel to present a socialist analysis of the Zionist state.

The Israeli Socialist Organisation was founded in 1961 by four dissident members of the Maki (Miflaga Kommunistit Israelit - the Communist Party of Israel) who disagreed with the party's "peaceful transition to socialism" view. They were joined by other independent revolutionaries and members of the old Trotskyist group.

## ZIONISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM

One of the main notions put forward in *The Other Israel* is the one concerning the political spectrum in Israel. The division isn't between left and right but between Zionist and anti-Zionist. Despite all their tactical differences the Zionist "left" and the Zionist "right" are fundamentally in agreement. Neither questions the existence of a colonial settler state in the Middle East. Neither the left nor the right sees anything wrong with the expulsion of the Palestinian people out of their country. Their disagreements are limited to the question of efficiency i.e. what is the best way of oppressing the Palestinians.

The concrete experience of the ISO has confirmed this view. More than any other organisation the ISO and the several split-offs from it have been made the target of victimisation and persecution since their formation.

"The Zionist establishment has been united in its attack upon the ISO beginning immediately after the six-day war of June 1967 when the ISO called for immediate withdrawal from the occupied territories. Since the war, however, opposition to Zionist policies has grown within the country and more people are drawn into a radical position. Aware of this development Matpen's opponents have conducted a campaign of misrepresentation, misquotation and character assassination in the media, the Knesset (Israel's Parliament) and even in the streets. The label 'Matpen' has been applied to anyone who voices even mild criticism of Israeli policy and is usually linked with the word 'defeatist', 'self-hater' and 'traitor'. M. Bar-On, head of the youth department of the Jewish Agency and former chief educational officer of the Israeli army, declared in the March 31 1971 issue of *Yediot Aharonot*

'Matpen is nothing more than a gang of traitors... Matpen is the same as Fateh... they are the real initiators and planners of poisonous Fateh propaganda against Israel (that is distributed in Britain and Europe... Matpen doesn't want peace... they are traitors and self-haters and their only wish is to destroy Israel and their people and to raise their name from under the sun.'

"Vigilante groups have been formed - especially in the universities - which

are sworn to 'cleanse the nation' of 'defeatists'. ISO members are harassed in their jobs and have often lost them. People passing out leaflets or hawking *Matpen* in the universities and on the streets were regularly attacked, and the material has sometimes been burned in ceremonial auto-de-fo. The organisation has been forced to defend its meetings against physical attacks from organised goons..."

## A SOCIALIST ISRAEL?

But, *The Other Israel* is more than a listing of repression and victimisation. The whole Palestine-Israeli question is put in an historical perspective. Zionist society is being analysed in the context of a colonial settler state. The book is particularly severe in demolishing so many of the popular myths about Israel.

From the point of view of Australia's Labor leaders the most damaging chapters concern Israel's trade unions and Zionism's other red flags, the kibbutzim movement, the national-owned sector of the economy, and the Labor ideology.

The Israeli Labor Party is quite a different kind of party than either its Australian, New Zealand and British namesakes. In fact the only things they share are the name and membership of the Socialist International, an historical relic of the Second International.

Neither the composition, origin, nor the programme of the Israel Labor Party are working class. It is a party of the Zionist establishment not the working people. The groups which formed the Labor party itself are members of the Jewish Agency. They share this membership with the extreme right-wing parties of Zionism. The Jewish Agency is the organisational backbone of Zionism. It is the body which dispenses the finances misred overseas. This large amount of money is not disclosed but it is in the range of hundreds of millions. (Over \$4 million are collected annually in Australia alone which has a very small Jewish population). In the period since June 1967 the Labor party participated in a government of national unity, sharing the Cabinet with members of Herut, a party which openly declared itself to be fascist and was responsible for the massacre at Deir Yassin.

The role played by the parties and organisations of the Zionist left is a deliberate one. They have to entice the leaders and membership of left-wing organisations abroad into considering Israel to be the workers' "socialist paradise". As the members of the Israeli Socialist Organisation pointed out a long time ago, this has been a common trick of the Zionists. Even before the foundation of the State of Israel the Jewish Agency made sure that its emissaries to the United States were right-wing Jews with strong capitalist backgrounds. To the USSR they usually sent members of the Mapam (extreme left-wing party of Zionism). Today the Israelis send left-wing ideologues to Cuba. They have even sent dark skinned Jews to Africa.

Thus the Zionist "left" has managed successfully to hoodwink many labor supporters into believing their propaganda. There are two main instruments they use: the myth of the workers' economy and the "ideology of labor".

In discussing the class nature of Israeli society and in particular discussing the public sector of the economy *The Other Israel* exposes the lies behind the myths.

Around a quarter of Israel's Net National Product is accounted for by the Histadrut, Israel's labor federation. This gives many people the impression that Israel's economy is owned by the working class. In a chapter entitled *The Histadrut: Union and Boss* this myth is exposed.

The Histadrut, whose full name used to be Ha-Histadrut Ha-Klalit shel Ha-Ovdim Ha-Ivryim Be-Eretz Israel (The General Federation of Hebrew Workers in the Land of Israel) is a national trade union. In 1966 the Histadrut still refused to accept Arab workers from the occupied territories into its ranks. The Histadrut always put national interests before workers' interests. Its capitalist interest has been exemplified by the activity of its construction company Solel Boneh in helping build luxury hotels in Africa and US bases in Turkey.

The Histadrut's role in Israeli society is wider than just construction and industrial production. The bureaucracy run by the Histadrut includes a full time staff of 30,000. All finances for local union activities are provided from the centre. There is no collection of union dues directly from the membership. As the Histadrut is the biggest employer in the country its role as boss means that strikes against itself are impossible. Even strikes against other employers are limited by the meagre size of the strike fund.

The part played by the myths of workers' control and ownership does not exist in a vacuum. They exist in the atmosphere of Israel's great labor ideology, in particular the ideology developed by the left-wing Zionist Ben Borochov. It is in the analysis of left Zionism that *The Other Israel* provides its most valuable contribution.

One of the most convincing indications of the reactionary nature of left Zionism is given in a quote from David Hacohen, a Labor party leader, who addressed a party conference several years ago:

"...I had to fight my friends on the issue of Jewish socialism, to defend the fact that I would not accept Arabs in my trade union, the Histadrut; to defend preaching to housewives that they not buy at Arab stores; to defend the fact that we stood guards at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting a job there... To pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes; to attack Jewish housewives in the markets and smash the Arab eggs they had bought; to praise to the skies the Kevan Kaymet (the Jewish National Fund) that sent Hankin to Beirut to buy land from the absentee effendi (landlords) and to throw the fallahin (peasants) off the land - to buy dozens of dunams (about one quarter of an acre) from an Arab is permitted, but to sell, God forbid, one Jewish dunam to an Arab is prohibited; to take Rothschild, the incarnation of capitalism, as a socialist and to name him the 'benefactor' - to do all that was not easy. And despite the fact that we did it - maybe we had no choice - I wasn't 'happy about it'."

There are many other exposures of the Zionist mythology in *The Other Israel* of high interest. The interest is not limited to the labor movement. This is a valuable book in exposing the total Zionist propaganda not just a part of it.

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# The World Revolution

## Crisis for Allende Regime in Chile

BY MIKE JONES

From April 15 to July 1 this year workers at the El Teniente copper mines in Chile were on strike over a demand for a 45 per cent increase in wages. The strike was only one manifestation of the acute crisis facing the Government of Salvador Allende and the people of Chile.

The Government had branded the strikers "fascists" and "traitors" because, supposedly, the Unidad Popular coalition which has ruled Chile since September 1970 represents the interests of the workers — and if the workers don't like it they can lump it.

The Government's accusations had stirred up a certain amount of public opinion against the strike, so in mid-June the strikers decided to march to the capital, Santiago, to put their case. When the column of 4000 to 5000 workers reached the border of Santiago province on June 14, they came up against a battalion of national police. The Argentine revolutionary socialist newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*, reported the event in its June 27 edition:



Striking workers in Santiago

"In order to reinforce their claims, the miners marched from Rancagua to Santiago and were stopped by the security forces who were obeying the orders of Allende's Government to stop them reaching the capital. Those who managed to get through occupied a section of O'Higgins Avenue, right in the middle of the city, set up barricades and were removed by the carabinieri during a violent attack which left three wounded by gunshots and obliged the workers to seek refuge in the headquarters of the Christian Democratic Party.

"The presence of the miners convulsed the Chilean capital. On the 16th there was a clash between left and right-wing demonstrators in the centre of Santiago resulting in one death, 74 wounded and 37 arrests. On the 19th, an anti-Government rally was organised in which about 2000 miners took part with the Christian Democrats and the rightists of the Nationalist Party accusing the Unidad Popular of anti-worker treason in as much as they circulated a leaflet which said that Mr Allende has ceased to be the constitutional President of Chile and spoke of the possibility of a constitutional charge being laid against the President in Congress."

The El Teniente situation is not an

isolated incident. Strikes and demonstrations of a political as well as an economic nature have been prevalent in Chile for the past two and a half years since the UP came to power. One unique occurrence was the "bosses strike" last year in which capitalists in the private sector of the economy, mainly the trucking industry, went on strike against the Government's policy of nationalisation.

The right — i.e. the "moderates" of the Christian Democratic and Nationalist parties and the "extremists" of the Patria y Libertad, a para-military neo-fascist group — has attempted to make capital from the workers' struggles. The Christian Democrats and the Nationalists were active in the El Teniente affair, but by no means provided the political stimulus for it.

The lack of understanding of Chile's unique political situation has tended to obscure the real nature of the El Teniente strike. The *New York Times* of June 25 exemplified the misunderstanding of the political system in Chile which has caused a lot of confusion both inside and outside the country:

"It was Marxist managers, not Yankee oppressors, who fired men for striking and brought strikebreakers to El Teniente. And it was a Marxist-led Government that ordered police to use tear gas and water cannons to break up a march on Santiago by 4000 miners determined to

press their case for a wage boost. To add to the irony, the 'bourgeois' opposition has impeached the Marxist ministers of Mining and Labor for violating the constitutional rights of the miners to strike."

The point is that, while the reactionary forces are "supporting" the strike, the "Marxists" are busy protecting the interests of the capitalist system — for Chile is a capitalist country and the mining industry, even though it is nationalised, is thoroughly integrated into the national and international capitalist system. When this defence is carried out in the name of Marxism and when the Chilean Communist Party organises demonstrations against the striking workers, it constitutes a thoroughly perfidious act.

It should not be assumed, however, that since the Government is acting to save the capitalist system from working-class attack, the right-wing forces, in "supporting" the strike are acting in defence of socialism! The Nationalist

and Christian Democratic parties are merely utilising the anti-government aspect of the strike to discredit the Unidad Popular. This position is the one taken up by *The New York Times*.

The only reason the rightists are able to follow the course they have been following is that the working class in Chile lacks a genuine revolutionary leadership. The miners, disillusioned with the "Marxists" in the Government, have nowhere to turn but to the rightists — the only people who appear willing to support them. Even the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario* (MIR — Movement of the Revolutionary Left), the largest group to the left of the UP, has come in behind the Government, only criticising the violent methods used to put down the demonstrations.

The only group on the left which has taken a consistent, principled stand in support of the strikers is the *Partido Socialista Revolucionario* (PSR — Revolutionary Socialist Party, Chilean section of the Fourth International). Unfortunately, the PSR's influence is not strong enough to counter the force of the right-wing's red-baiting tactics. Without the help of other tendencies in Chile, the PSR's warnings will go unheeded.

On July 16, *La Fiamma*, an Australian Italian-language newspaper, reported: "The Christian Democrat presidents of the two houses (of Parliament), the ex-president of the republic Eduardo Frei for the Senate and Luis Paredo for the Chamber of Deputies, in the course of an unusual press conference read a document published jointly by the Christian Democratic and Nationalist parties containing a series of violent criticisms of the Government."

"The document points out that 'the crisis has reached its extreme limit'; and that 'a minority has attempted to impose an ideological schema and a programme that the majority of the country has repudiated'; that 'inflation has increased to intolerable proportions; that 'the monetary system is tottering dramatically.'"

Right-wing reaction came to a head on June 29 when about 100 members of the second army regiment staged an abortive coup which resulted in five leaders of Patria y Libertad seeking asylum in the Ecuadorian embassy in Santiago.

On June 30 Allende requested Congress to extend the already existing state of

emergency into a state of siege. This would have given the Government extraordinary powers of arrest, search and censorship. However, his request was refused by the Chamber of Deputies on July 2 by a vote of 81 to 52. In response, Allende issued a statement in which he warned that "every citizen should be aware that the nation is on the border of a new civil war, which the Government is pledged to avoid."

On July 1, a government offer was accepted by the El Teniente miners giving them a bonus payment of \$A 160 and a wage increase of \$A 10.50 a month. However, 60 workers who occupied a radio station in Rancagua are still under sanctions and the Government has insisted on a commission to try them.

On July 3, the 15-person Cabinet resigned, giving Allende room to appoint a new one to deal with the crisis situation. It was strongly rumored that anything up to nine portfolios would be given to military figures. General Carlos Prats Gonzales, commander-in-chief of the armed forces was strongly tipped for an important position. Prats had been instrumental in putting down the June 29 coup.

However, despite major reshuffles, the new Cabinet was composed entirely of civilians. Four portfolios were given to the Socialists, four to the Radicals, three to the Communists and the remainder to independents and members of smaller parties. This maintained the same distribution as previously.

*Intercontinental Press*, a weekly newspaper reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism, reported on July 16:

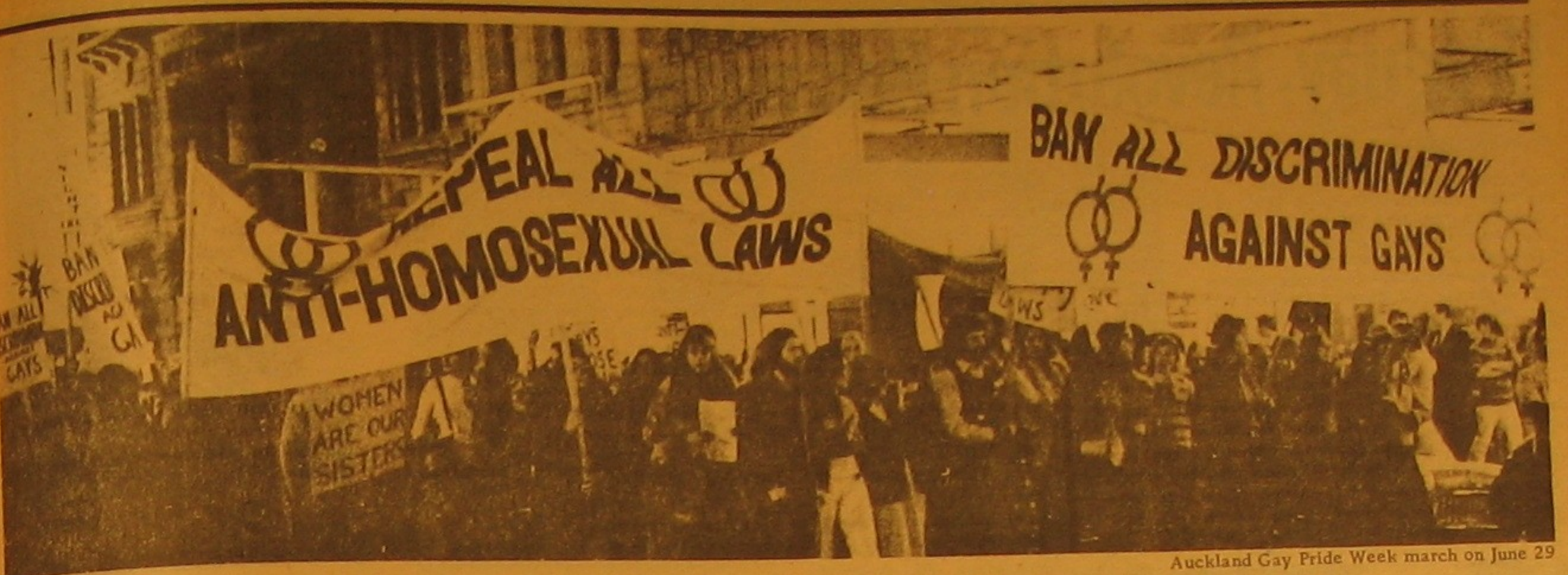
"The first task of the new Cabinet, Allende announced July 6, will be to implement, within a month, a new 'emergency plan' that 'will require great sacrifice and effort, which we all have an obligation to make!'"

A UPI dispatch on July 8 said the plan will include:

- "Strengthening of the authority of the executive branch in economic, political and administrative matters.
- "Economic austerity in order to confront the inflationary spiral, which reached 163 per cent last year.
- "Better distribution of consumer items, with state control over the market for essential goods."



El Teniente copper mine



Auckland Gay Pride Week march on June 29

## 300 March in NZ Gay Pride Demonstration

BY MALCOLM McALLISTER

"Say it loud, gay is proud!" was the message chanted by 300 demonstrators as they marched through Auckland, New Zealand on June 29 behind banners reading "Repeal All Anti-homosexual Laws" and "Ban All Discrimination Against Gays".

The spirits of the marchers were high as they proclaimed their new-found pride to the generally surprised, but not hostile, Friday night shoppers. Slogans such as "2-4-6-8, Gay is just as good as Straight" and "Ban all discrimination, we demand our liberation!" were chanted over and over. Placards read, "Love knoweth no laws!", "Out of the closets and into the streets!" and "No legislation of morality!". Members of Auckland Women's Liberation held placards reading "We support our gay sisters" and "Gay women are our sisters". Many gays and straight supporters left the pavement and joined the march on the way.

"Tonight a lot of bitterness and anger has come to the surface and that's where it belongs. For too long we've been scared and ashamed. But tonight it's different. Tonight we're fighting back," said Nigel Baumber, (president of University Gay Liberation) in opening the rally at the end of the march. Baumber's words were continually greeted by loud cheers and clenched-fist salutes. "For

the first time we gays, the most forgotten and despised minority in this country, are demanding our rights. Not begging and pleading but demanding from a position of pride and strength. We know we're not sick or inferior, and that all the authorities in this society from our parents right up to the psychiatrists and the priests and the MPs are going to learn it fast. We are declaring war on our oppressors. We've been victims for too long."

After giving a run-down of the legal and social persecution gays face Baumber went on: "Well we're finished with this sort of social persecution. We're through with it. And we're marching tonight to make sure the Government gets the message loud and clear... We're going to do whatever is necessary against this rotten society until we get our rights. Because gay is proud and there's nothing we can't do when we're united."

The next speaker was Janet Roth from Young Socialists who said:

"This society oppresses us because we challenge the whole sexual morality which props up the status quo. We say that it is society, not us, that must change. For too long we have been told that it is we who are at fault. As a socialist I feel our oppression is due not merely to ignorance and superstition, but to the interests of the people in

power, and that it's going to take a major shake-up, a revolution, before we'll begin to be free." This was greeted with loud cheers and more raised fist salutes.

Rosemary Ronalds from Auckland Women's Liberation then spoke on the double oppression gay women face, and how gay and women's liberation were closely intertwined because they both attacked sexism.

The march was in solidarity with the Christopher Street Liberation Day march held each year since 1969, commemorating the Stonewall Riots when gays in the Stonewall Inn — a gay bar on Christopher Street New York — fought back for the first time against a police raid. A telegram from the organisers of the Christopher Street march expressing solidarity and best wishes was read at the rally, and an enthusiastic response greeted the news that the New York march had drawn 25,000 people.

There was wide sponsorship for the march, ranging from sections of the Labour Party to the Values Party, the Polynesian Panthers, university lecturers, prominent student leaders, social workers and psychiatrists, and all the Auckland women's liberation groups. Some leading trade unionists also joined the march. Although the march was organised primarily by University

Gay Liberation, only a minority of the participants were students.

The march and rally was the most high-spirited and militant the city had seen since the big anti-war mobilisation last year. It not only helped bring the taboo subject of homosexuality out into the open, but also showed the gays on the march that they all held their oppression in common and that public, united, and militant action was the best way to combat it.

The march was the culminating point of Gay Pride Week, a week of seminars, teach-ins and forums which was aimed at fostering gay pride and finding out "more about gays and gayness and this society, in which gays, like women and Polynesians, are treated as pariahs and inferiors" as the leaflet advertising the ten main events of the week explained. Each event drew on the average thirty to forty people — included in the programme was a successful Socialist Forum on "Gay Liberation and Socialism".

There were Gay Pride Week activities in other centres. On July 1 Christchurch gay liberation held an educational forum and social, and leaflets were handed out in city streets. In Wellington, on June 28, the university gay liberation group held its inaugural meeting and there was a social function in the evening.

## British Protests Against Portuguese Dictator

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

Five thousand angry demonstrators greeted Portugal's Premier Marcello Caetano in London on July 15. The demonstrators were protesting the visit by this dictator whose regime is responsible for the barbaric war against the liberation fighters in the Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

Portugal maintains about 175,000 troops in its colonies in order to suppress the popular independence organisations which now control large areas of these colonies.

The crowd of protesters, which included several prominent Labour Party members, marched from Hyde Park to the Portuguese embassy, chanting slogans on the way. The next day, several hundred people demonstrated outside an official dinner honoring Caetano at the Royal Naval College.

Recent revelations of Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique have turned his visit into a focus of public outrage. Major London newspapers carried headlines like "This Man is Not Welcome and Don't Let This Dictator into Britain."

The Liberal and Labour parties passed motions that the Conservative Government cancel the visit, but Prime Minister Heath refused.

Reports in the press around the world have revealed several massacres carried out by the Portuguese. The information comes mainly from Spanish and Portuguese priests in Mozambique. For many years, reports of atrocities have also



A Portuguese patrol on operations in northern Mozambique

come from the liberation organisations but have received very little publicity.

According to the May 24 *Los Angeles Times*, Reverend Joaquim Teles Sampaio, rector of Macurti Parish Church in Beira, Mozambique, said "We know from eyewitnesses that in November 1971, a group of forty commandos arrived in Mucumbura region, burning and wiping out everything in their path; more than fifty huts were burned down. We know that on November 4 in the

same area, sixteen women and five children (whose names we have) were herded into a hut and burned alive by the so-called forces of peace and order..."

Early in July this year, another massacre was exposed in the *London Press*. This time the source was Father Adrian Hastings, a British Roman Catholic priest who is a lecturer on African affairs at the College of the Arcension in Birmingham. The account

is based on a report he had received in June from the Spanish Missionary Society of Burgos.

The report alleges that Portuguese soldiers and security police shot, burned, beat and mutilated more than 400 villagers on December 16, 1972 at Wiriyamu in Mozambique. The villagers were suspected of sympathising with Frelimo, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique.

Hastings listed the names of 133 of the victims and said that survivors slipped away from the village after dark and gave their story to the Burgos missionaries.

Two of the Burgos priests, Martin Hernandez and Alfonso Valverde, who supported the allegations, have been imprisoned by the Portuguese authorities in Lourenco Marques on unspecified charges "relating to the security of the state." In fact, they had attempted to report other atrocities in the colony.

Along with military aid from South Africa and the Smith regime in Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonialists receive hundreds of millions of dollars in military and economic aid from the United States. The entire system of genocidal warfare developed in Vietnam has been brought to Africa with this US aid — napalm, defoliation, "strategic hamlets", and My Lai-style massacres.

These revelations emphasise the need for opponents of imperialist complicity with Portuguese colonialism to continue the campaign to expose and end colonialism and imperialist intervention in southern Africa.

# Uruguay: Revolution Betrayed

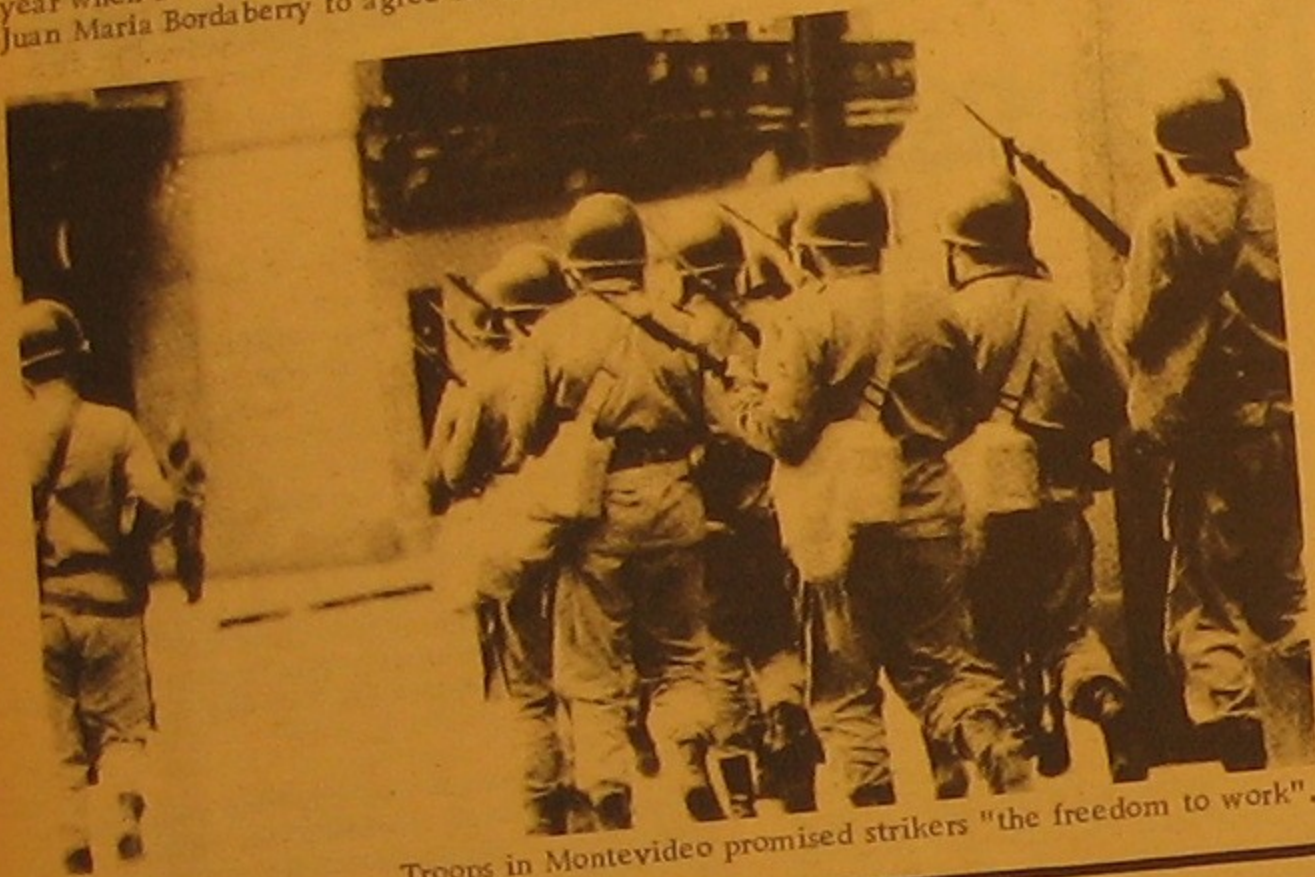
BY MIKE JONES

Parliament dissolved, all nineteen municipal councils abolished, the Convención Nacional del Trabajo (CNT - National Congress of Labor) and its leaders in gaol or in outlawed a general strike involving one fifth of the population and a military junta in power. Such was the situation in Uruguay at the end of June following a military coup which sparked an embryonic workers' revolution involving a larger percentage of the population than the successful Russian Revolution of October 1917.

The first 'legal' expression of military power in Uruguay came in February this year when a 'minicoup' forced President Juan María Bordaberry to agree to the

establishment of a "national security council" comprised of military leaders whose job was to oversee the operations of the civilian Government. Bordaberry's action in this case was opposed by the opposition Partido Blanco, led by Fernando Aldunate, and sectors of his own Partido Colorado (the name means Red Party) but its political position is at the opposite end of the spectrum from most other groups calling themselves 'red'.

The coup, which left Bordaberry in the presidency but placed ultimate power in the hands of a "council of state" of military, was sparked by the refusal of Parliament to lift the immunity it had placed on Senator Enrique Erró. The military wanted Erró brought to trial for supposedly helping the Tupamaros, an urban-guerrilla organisation. At the



Troops in Montevideo promised strikers "the freedom to work".

time, Erró was away in Argentina where, for obvious reasons, he has decided to stay. On June 27, Bordaberry announced the dissolution of Parliament and the accession to power of the council of state. Immediately afterwards, the CNT called a general strike which went into effect the following day. The strike involved 500,000 workers, 20 per cent of the population of the country. It quickly developed into a series of large scale occupations of all industries, cutting off light, gas, petrol and foodstuffs in Montevideo.

The strike naturally represented a threat to the stability of the new Government. On June 30, Bordaberry outlawed the CNT and began rounding up its leaders. Simultaneously, an attempt was made to use military force to expel the workers from occupied factories. This attempt was not successful in breaking the strike as most factories were reoccupied as soon as the tanks had left. On July 3, the Government tried a different strategy. A wage increase of 31.45 per cent for workers in the private sector and 25 per cent for public servants was announced by the Ministry of Labor. At the same time, however, substantial increases in the prices of basic items were announced. The workers immediately rejected the wage offer, which amounted to less than one third of the increase demanded by the CNT earlier this year.

Despite the fact that a fifth of the population was actively participating in a politically motivated general strike, the ruling class managed to emerge from the struggle still in control of the country. The reasons for this were outlined in the July 4 edition of the Argentine revolution-ary socialist weekly, *Avanzada Socialista*.

"Let no Peronist or communist leader now say that the Uruguayan workers lost because they were not 'mature' enough to cause the Uruguayan workers' revolution. If the Uruguayan workers' revolution did not triumph, there were very precise reasons: all that was needed was a network of activists organised in pickets connecting the different factories who would have kept in touch with the movements of the forces of repression; who would have gone from factory to factory with inflammatory materials and confronted the capitalists with the dilemma of repression meaning the destruction of the factory; who would have spoken to 40,000 Uruguayan soldiers receiving starvation wages in the same terms as people began to speak to the troops in the Cordobazo: 'soldier, brother, don't shoot', so that the Uruguayan workers' revolution would have had a good chance of triumphing.



Bordaberry

"If that did not happen and the occupiers are now extinguishing themselves in failure, it is not because the workers are 'immature', but because for 50 years the communists and Peronists of Uruguay - Erró, Mechelini (another leftist leader now residing in Buenos Aires), Seregnin and Co. - have said the workers must 'not rule' and because, even now, they are impeding organisation and the clear formulation of the taking of power in the only terms possible: 'Away with Bordaberry and the military, power to the CNT'.

"For this reason we say that the revolution in Uruguay was a revolution betrayed.

The role played by the traditional leaders of the Uruguayan workers, the Communist Party, the Frente Amplio (Broad Front) of Liber Seregnin and the leaders of the CNT was anything but honorable. The Communist Party refused to allow the students who had taken over the university to enter the factories in solidarity with the workers while Seregnin and the Frente Amplio signed a declaration with the Partido Blanco, a party strongly supported by the landowners, calling for a national accord between sectors of the military, the bourgeoisie and the Communist Party.

Bordaberry's position at the moment is anything but stable. The military is divided into four sections, ranging from the right-wing who organized the coup to those officers involved directly with the Frente Amplio. In between stand those elements who favor a military takeover more or less along the lines of the 'left-wing' regime in Peru. As Bordaberry now depends entirely on the support of the military, his future as President is extremely shaky.

# The Elections in Northern Ireland

BY GERRY POLEY

"The results of the election for a new Northern Ireland Assembly provide modest hopes for moving the bitterly divided province toward workable government and peace," the *New York Times* wrote in a July 2 editorial on the elections for the new local assembly in Northern Ireland. What inspired these "modest hopes" on the part of this organ of American imperialism was the British success of the "moderate" bourgeois parties in the June 28 vote in the British imperialist enclave of Northern Ireland. "Altogether, the political forces willing to bury old differences and share power on a proportional basis across sectarian lines will control more than two-thirds of the seats in the 78-member Assembly."

The official Unionists, the section of the traditional pro-imperialist party that continues to operate more or less within the mainstream of British Tory politics, won 25 seats.

The alliance of demagogic reactionaries led by the Belfast Government's former Minister of the Interior William Craig and the Bible-pounding preacher Ian Paisley won 18 seats. Both reactionary leaders favor more desperate and risky means of preserving the Protestant imperialist ascendancy than the official party, but at present they advance different tactics. Craig threatens the British Government with a Rhodesian-type declaration of independence if it continues to make concessions to the Catholics at the expense of the Protestant ascendancy. Paisley on the other hand sees the best way of maintaining the Protestant caste as total integration into Britain.

In addition to the official Unionists and the extremist bloc, seven independent Unionists were elected.

The Social Democratic and Labour Party, an amalgamation of the old anti-partitionist parties, including some modern Catholic bourgeois figures who won their reputations in the civil-rights movement, swept the nationalist vote, winning 19 seats. The Northern Ireland Labour Party won one seat. The Liberal Unionists of the Alliance Party won eight.

The SDLP's share of the popular vote was 23 per cent as against a total of 62 per cent for all the right-wing Unionists. The Catholic, or nationalist, community represents somewhat more than a third of the Northern Irish population but has a higher percentage of youth under voting age.

Nonetheless, the vote totals indicate that the Alliance Party, which was created as an instrument for reconciling the Catholic and Protestant bourgeoisies within the framework of "modern Unionism," won the majority of its votes from Catholics.

Public opinion polls over the last few years have indicated that a section of the Catholic population was looking toward a solution to communal strife within the framework of union with Britain. This is the inevitable result of the pressure of imperialism and the powerful Protestant community on the nationalist minority and its weak, capitulationist bourgeoisie. Pressures for "reconciliation" are weaker in the dominant community.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of the Catholic community voted for the SDLP, which although a bourgeois party is identified with rejection of the partition, indicates that the nationalist-minded people are not ready to surrender to Unionism. The main prospects for leading the nationalist community into a reconciliation with British rule thus lie in a slow, careful sellout by the SDLP. The *New York Times* editorial put it in these terms:

"Everything now depends on the ability of the official Unionists and the SDLP to surmount traditional suspicions and collaborate in the 12-member Executive Council that will be organised from the Assembly to govern the province under British supervision. Though it won only eight seats, the interdenominational Alliance Party will make its own positive contribution to the coalition as well as help to build bridges between the two large sectarian forces."

However, if the election results did not show that the nationalist community is



Fitt (SDLP), Paisley, Craig and Faulkner (Protestant Unionists)

quite ready for "peace at any price," they did indicate that the militant anti-imperialists have become isolated from the large majority of the oppressed population.

"What the election demonstrates above all is the overwhelming desire of a vast majority in Northern Ireland for an end to violence," the *New York Times* editorial said. "The turnout was an impressive 72 per cent. The drive of the militant IRA Provisionals to get Catholics to spoil their ballots failed spectacularly. The Official IRA entered 10 candidates and failed to elect a single one of them."

A large poll was favored by the new proportional representation system that encouraged Catholics to vote in Protestant areas where heretofore, being in such a small minority, they would not have bothered. However, the vote does indicate that the struggle in the North is in a defensive phase and that the overwhelming majority of the oppressed population are looking, at least for the moment, toward parliamentary solutions.



Apart from the election, another side of British attempts to stabilise Northern Ireland

# Torture in Turkey

Torture is once again a major issue in Turkey. According to the June 19 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, one of the fifty-seven accused in the so-called "bombs" trial, Numan Ekin, declared before the judges of the Istanbul military tribunal that he had been tortured by the police.

Two ex-officers implicated in the same trial, Talat Turhan and Hasan Yalçinkaya, also stated that they had been tortured during questioning. At the tribunal's request, martial-law authorities in Istanbul sent the three to the military hospital at Haydarpaşa, where the doctors reported no trace of maltreatment. This led Ekin to challenge the competence of these doctors, "bound by their military obligations." Another defendant, Atamer Erol, presented the judges one of his teeth, broken during his interrogation by the police departments.

The military judges, while taking note of the allegations of torture, expressed the opinion that these allegations were in fact a defence method aimed at influencing public opinion. On the other hand, two former officers of the May 1960 junta, Kamil Karavelioglu and Suphi Karaman, reacted sharply. In a telegram addressed to the Istanbul military commander, General Fikri Turun, Karavelioglu expressed his indignation at the practice of torture, which, he said, is aimed at finding "false culprits" while those genuinely responsible remain at liberty. Karaman took the floor at a stormy session of the Senate to demand an official inquiry into the torture allegations and to call for penalties, if necessary, against the torturers.

In Ankara, *Le Monde* reported, several university students known for their progressive ideas were arrested recently. Some of them are still being held, while others have been jailed, accused of belonging to a clandestine organisation.

On June 20, more than a thousand prisoners in an Ankara jail began a campaign of passive resistance in protest against the National Assembly's decision to strike off its agenda a draft bill for a general amnesty. Implementation of the amnesty was projected for the October festivities planned to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the republic. The June 22 issue of *Le Monde* reported that the prisoners are refusing meals, and that those who are

presently on trial are boycotting the tribunal.

The amnesty bill was submitted to the National Assembly by the Republican People's party, the major opposition grouping. The sharp controversy over the bill has been stimulated by the presence in the prisons of nearly 400 leftists, arrested under the state of emergency. The (majority) Justice Party would prefer that no decision be taken on this matter before the general elections scheduled for October 14, suggests *Le Monde*.

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does not as yet have a mass political following among any major section of the Irish population. The strong presence of the Officials in a few scattered neighborhoods, as well as the historic reputation of the IRA, has tended to obscure this reality.

The Official republican movement is essentially a small, left, propaganda party. The extent that it will be able to consolidate gains from its electoral campaigns depends on its assessing its real position very clearly. In the first place, if the Official activists think that their organisation can immediately become a major factor in parliamentary politics, they are bound to become demoralised.

By their nature, bourgeois elections lag far behind the real relationship of forces in the community. The weight of the older, more conservative layers of the population is exaggerated. Voting tends to follow ingrained traditional patterns. The mass of voters not involved in direct campaigns against at least one aspect or another of bourgeois society are in essence politically passive and subject to manipulation by the capitalist media and political machines. Furthermore, consciousness tends to lag behind action. Remaining essentially under the influence of bourgeois political concepts, many persons willing to follow the leadership of the republicans in direct action will still not consider them a "serious alternative" in the parliamentary field.

Secondly, a misunderstanding of the real tasks of a propaganda party would lead the Official republicans into throwing away opportunities for political ally educating their ranks and for getting out key political ideas to a widening circle of the population in return for really quite insignificant vote gains.

The essential purpose of a revolutionary party participating in capitalist elections is to put a revolutionary programme before the masses of the people and seem as reasonable as possible; otherwise, it is easy for the capitalist politicians to dismiss the revolutionists' campaign as "unserious" and deny them legal rights and facilities. But they have to offer a clear, fundamental alternative to the system.

In Ireland in particular, there is little perspective for gradually building up a strong "left" party on the basis of piecemeal practical demands a little more radical than the most generous of the bourgeois or reformist parties. The political situation in Ireland tends to shift rapidly from explosive to conservative; the mood of the masses swings from wild hopes to profound demoralisation and back again.

The main purpose of revolutionary election campaigns, particularly in periods of temporary ebb or retreat in the mass struggle, is to prepare the way politically for explosive crises of the system that will enable revolutionists to mobilise and lead the masses. In their campaign in the Southern general elections at the end of February, the Official republicans failed to follow this principle. While it may have gained them a few more votes than a clearly revolutionary campaign would have won (but not enough to mean very much), the centrist campaign that they ran did little to consolidate a revolutionary party or project a clear revolutionary alternative.

The results of the Northern campaign are not yet clear. But it seems likely that a centrist approach could be especially damaging to the Officials in this area. It would not appeal to the most alienated section of the oppressed community, particularly the youth too young to vote, who will be in the centre of future revolutionary battles. At the same time, disappointment at a small vote would send all those who still think in the fundamentally opportunistic terms inculcated by bourgeois society, both ultra-leftists and reformists, in search of new gimmicks for quick success that could be particularly disorienting and dangerous in the difficult context of the North.

In any case, the three electoral campaigns run by the Officials in this spring and early summer represent an important attempt by an experienced cadre of revolutionary-minded activists to build an effective political leadership for the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland.

# THE LABOR GOVERNMENT AND THE UNION MOVEMENT

BY SOL SALBY

One of the most outspoken comments by any Labor minister was made by the Minister for Labour, Clyde Cameron recently. In response to a question in a television interview regarding "violence" during the Ford dispute, he said police should make arrests if they could find the persons responsible for the violence.

He went on: "They might have to go into the board room and arrest the managing director.

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

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

Cameron continued by launching into a by-now familiar nationalist tirade attacking the Ford management for being "foreigners" rather than being capitalist exploiters. Finally he lashed out at the Opposition majority in the Senate for blocking out Labor's important legislation on industrial relations.

The militant comments and the anti-American statements had a significant purpose. They were meant to provide a suitable backdrop for some of the major planks in Labor's platform in regard to industrial relations.

One of the main ways the Labor leadership hopes to reduce strikes and workers' militancy is by diverting any such struggles from an anti-capitalist direction into an anti-American or anti-foreign direction. This aspect of Labor's official policy has been quite well documented and commented upon. What has been ignored has been the central thrust of Labor's industrial policy: the co-optation of the working class and the reduction of militancy through a completely new framework.

It is in this sphere that Labor policy differs most with its Liberal predecessors. Economic nationalism has been fostered by certain sections of the Liberal-Country Party coalition before. The group around John Gorton ("an Australian to his boot heels") being the most well-known example. But a conscious effort to co-opt is unique to Labor. Certain sections of the employers, whose best public organ is the Melbourne Age, have come out in support of the Labor co-optation approach (with some reservations). The fundamental fact remains that vast differences exist between Labor and the Liberals on this issue.

## What is Labor's Policy

Labor policy as expressed in its platform before the elections and which was decided upon at the 1971 Federal conference is couched in the following terms:

"Labor's industrial policy places human rights and values first and provides for the development of full human dignity in the industrial sphere. It emphasises the right of full employment. . . Wage and salary standards must grow in relation to technological advance and increased productivity." (My emphasis S, 5.)

The platform then lists some of the reforms planned by Labor. Some of them concerning proposed amendments to the Constitution, as well as legislation concerning unions, Commonwealth employees, etc. Undoubtedly the most significant of these proposals concerns the Conciliation and Arbitration Act. These particular proposals have already been drafted as a bill and passed through the House of Representatives. They contain some positive parts. Among them are included the repeal of all penalties for strikes and lockouts against arbitrary decisions of the commission or a conciliation committee; full protection against victimisation of union officials, job representatives and union members; right of entry to accredited officials during working hours and several other measures.

What comes clearly out of the Labor platform is the emphasis the current leadership of the party is putting on the Arbitration Commission and the pressure from the rank and file and the unions which must have forced the old industrial committee of the ALP to introduce some of the more progressive measures into the platform.

But the real limitations of the Labor approach are also clearly visible in the

platform. Wages are being tied to productivity and presumably productivity to deals. The Labor leadership is limiting its action to increasing productivity and giving workers a part of it. The question of the erosion of the workers share during the 23 years of Liberal rule is not being considered, let alone the question of increasing the workers share.

## The Record So Far

Until now the Labor Government hasn't taken any significant action in its relations with the labor movement. Its inactivity and inertia. The only measure it has undertaken so far has been the passage of the amendments to the bill through the House of Representatives. Another measure, to take over some of the States powers, has been blocked by opposition from the States.

For the first few months of Labor rule it seemed as if some of the election propaganda may have had some validity. An example of the propaganda referred to here was in the nationally distributed leaflet Economics: It's time. "A Labor government will bring another boost. Strikes have much less effect on production than do unemployment and industrial accidents. Nevertheless, because Labor will have the confidence of the union movement, it will be able to reduce the incidence of strikes by removing many of the causes before they begin."

The key concept in the process of co-optation is the one mentioned in the leaflet. Labor does have the confidence of the union movement. As the workers see it as their party, the ALP can use this to force the workers to cut back their standard of living.

It appeared to be that the incidence of strikes and other industrial actions was falling. But the euphoria did not last long. It didn't take too long for the working people to discover that no changes have been made to the system. In fact on the score of inflation the situation was actually worse. Further many unions held back on claiming their just demands in case it would jeopardise Labor's electoral chances. Now that Labor is in office they have started raising their demands again.

So, in the space of the last few months a whole new wave of militant strikes have been launched in all industries in the States. As well as the Ford strike which lasted for eight weeks there were strikes in the power industry, building industry, Comalco, BHP, etc.

There has been virtually no response from the Labor Government so far. Cameron's statement wasn't followed by any kind of action. This was an admission on the Liberals whose notorious record should not be forgotten. Under similar circumstances they would have threatened the use of the penal clause, cut unemployment pay from all members of unions whose members went on strike and other such repressive measures.

Similarly in the building industry the Minister for Housing, Les Johnson, offered striking members of the Builders' Labourers' Federation some support in their struggle for permanency. The BLs were able to obtain an inquiry into the industry which may grant them permanency they have been fighting for.

On the other hand Labor didn't offer any kind of active help to the strikers. Ford workers were thus allowed to be starved slowly into submission. The trade union movement with strong opposition from some of the migrant communities could not muster more than \$20 a week strike pay. Government help on this occasion could have probably won their strike.

The failure to help any workers' struggle can easily be seen as one of the Labor Government's worst shortcomings. In all the powers of the Australian Government in its hands, Labor has not proposed any form of special assistance for workers. Special financial or physical help. The moral, financial or physical help that the Broadmeadows City Council has offered more finance to Ford strikers. No employer was threatened with any kind of action for their intrusion into a strike with a large number of options ranging from the cancellation of contracts to complete nationalisation with or without compensation. The Labor leaders were idle and did not offer to help their supporters and constituents in the trade-union movement.

## A Dual Nature

The dual nature of the ALP, that of



Top left: Ford workers strike; top middle: insurance workers mass meeting; above: trainee teachers demonstration; far left: builders laborers' mass meeting; left: picketing during ICI strike.

being working-class based and having a pro-capitalist programme was reflected in the industrial relations committee report of the last two Federal conferences of the ALP.

The 29th Federal conference in 1971 came under intense pressure from the ALP rank and file and the union movement. The subject matter on that occasion was the so-called Cameron Proposals. The proposals named after the industrial committee chairman concerned industrial agreements. In their most vicious form they involved daily fines and the threat of gaol for workers who break an industrial agreement.

The tremendous union opposition caused the Australian Financial Review to headline its report "Unions Keep the ALP". Labor demonstrated that while its leadership was prepared to undertake the most thorough-going campaign to attack the workers right to strike, their ability to do so was rather limited by the class nature of the ALP. Opposition from unions and rank-and-file members was enough to curtail the Cameron proposals.

By contrast the 1973 Federal conference was a much more sedate affair. This reflected the general nature of the last Federal conference rather than any backing down by the industrial committee or any reduction in the needs of the employing class. The need to curtail militant action hasn't changed.

The change in the tone of the industrial committee report was not a reflection of the changing roles of some of its members. Of the old members Jack Sweeney QC has been appointed to the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission as a presidential member, Clyde Cameron is of course the Minister for Labour and Bob Hawke is the newly elected Federal president of the ALP.

The new proposals put at the last Federal conference were far less controversial. Beside the usual attack on multi-national corporations there was very little new or significant in them. The only exception concerned a plan for a new amendment to the Arbitration Act. The plan is to amend the act to "force companies to open their books in justification of any claims in wage hearing that they are unable to pay the rates and working conditions sought." (The Australian Financial Review July 9)

## Industrial and Political Labor

The relations between the industrial and political wings of the Australian labor movement have in recent years been characterized by a harmonious relationship. The Whitlam leadership of the

ALP has been attempting to wrest the control of the party away from the unions. Its ultimate aim is to change the character of the ALP and to obliterate any union presence. In the mean time however, Gough Whitlam and that other architect of change in Labor structure, former Federal secretary Mick Young, have more modest aims.

Their plans at the moment involve the reduction of the influence of the unions and on a more fundamental basis, changing the ALP into a trendy liberal party concerned mainly with such issues as urban development and the environment. The leadership of the Australian Council of Trade Unions is not particularly perturbed at any of the changes at this stage. As long as their basic interests are not threatened they tend to acquiesce.

Further, the ACTU president Bob Hawke has probably more in common with Whitlam and Young than with some fellow unionists. Just like them he is an outsider in the union movement. His background as a Rhodes scholar and academic places him in the same category as Whitlam.

The changes in leadership in both the ALP and ACTU took place side by side. The Whitlam-Young forces took over the leadership of the ALP and became the dominant force in the ALP at the 1967 Federal conference in Adelaide. Two years later the forces of the "left" around the then ACTU advocate Bob Hawke had a similar success in the ACTU congress in Sydney.

While the Whitlam-Young leadership is conventionally regarded as right-wing and the Hawke forces are regarded as left-wing they both represent similar social forces. In a way they both represent a break with the old-style right and left.

Both "new-deal-type" forces advocate new directions in their areas, directions which on the surface at least, appear to be radical. Whitlam has advocated greater government involvement in education and housing etc., and initiated several reforms in other spheres. The new ACTU executive, on which Hawke supporters have a majority, has moved into the retail and tourism spheres. The partial acquisition of Bourke's — the ACTU store and the new tourist ventures are promised to be only the first steps.

On a more political level Hawke has initiated actions against South African teams, organised activity against resale price maintenance and succeeded in getting the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to take joint industrial action against French nuclear tests as well as leading a walk-out from

the International Labor Organisation.

## A Response to the Radicalisation

The similarity of the directions of both types of new politics is quite striking. What they have in common over and above everything else is the radical packaging. The leaders of both the industrial and political wings of the Australian Labor movement have discovered the need for a "radical" outfit.

Both Hawke and Whitlam are a response to the radicalisation which is taking place. Industrially the bureaucracy knew that it was suicidal to continue with leaders like Albert Monk who are openly and outwardly conservative. Nor could Labor win office with political leaders like Whitlam.

But, the response to the radicalisation is only a superficial one. Radical rhetoric is not being accompanied by radical action. Whitlam's foreign policy is no different in essence than the Liberals'. Hawke's ventures into new areas only serve to integrate the working class further into the capitalist system. They do not provide an alternative to the capitalist system. Setting up a department store which operates in a purely capitalist manner is not going to provide a way forward for working people.

The idyllic relationship between the two wings of the labor movement is not going to last. Already there have been some clashes, with the conservative NSW Trades and Labor Council voting against Whitlam's tariff cuts. On the same topic Bob Hawke himself took an exceptionally long time to comment on the move. His support for the Government's action was couched in vague and indeed indefinite terms.

This is only the beginning. National chauvinism and fear of unemployment have put the unions on this occasion on the more conservative side. But it is an exception for the political wing of the labor movement to take a more progressive stance than the industrial wing.

One does not have to resort to any kind of "worshipping" of the working class to accept this historical conclusion. There are very few exceptions in which the industrial wing which tends to dominate the ALP machine was less progressive than the political wing.

The simple fact is that trade union officials have to rely much more on their members continual support in order to survive. Politicians on the other hand are much further away from the average workers. They also are much more under the control and

influence of the employing class. Whitlam, Young and their associates are not going to forget the considerable electoral help they were given by representatives of the ruling class like newspaper magnate Rupert Murdoch. Now will they forget the financial help to the ALP which came mainly from non-union sources.

## Coming Confrontation

Despite the common interests of the union bureaucrats and the politicians, a confrontation, which so far has been avoided, looms large in the future. The union leaders are going to come under increasingly strong pressure to stand up to the Labor Government.

A confrontation between the ACTU and the ALP is not going to be stopped just because Bob Hawke is now the president of both. Even he has already been forced to state that his prime loyalty is to the unions and the ACTU, not the ALP.

Some early indication of the differences between the Labor Government and the trade unions was given in Whitlam's address to the ALP Federal conference when he warned unions to avoid irresponsibility. According to The Australian of July 11 he said: "I don't intend to control the unions any more than I intend to control business."

"Nevertheless unions, especially significant affiliated unions, should, in any action they take weigh the possible consequences of those actions."

"I am not asking them to go soft on their demands. I do ask them to consider the alternative — in terms of repression, penal clauses, in terms of another government's ability to create hatred and fear against the whole trade-union movement."

Whitlam's use of the Liberals as the big stick to hit the unions appears to be only a first step. What can follow is a much more vicious confrontation.

Any confrontation between the unions and the ALP can come either in response to a specific strike, as was the case in the miners' strike and the Chifley Labor Government in 1949, or as a result of a deliberate and calculated attempt by the Government to introduce a wage freeze. The experience of the Wilson Labor Government in Britain has shown how such a struggle can develop.

Regardless of the vested interests of the union bureaucrats and politicians the working class can only defend itself by fighting for its interests, by fighting to preserve its standard of living, by refusing to be diverted into an anti-foreigner campaign.



Whitlam and Hawke

# INTERVIEW WITH KAY GOODGER THE ABORTION STRUGGLE IN NEW ZEALAND

This interview was obtained for DIRECT ACTION by Nita Keig, managing editor of DA, while in New Zealand as a guest speaker at the National Women's Abortion Action Conference held in Wellington.

**DIRECT ACTION:** Kay, you were one of the main organisers of the recent National Women's Abortion Action Conference held in Wellington. How would you assess the significance of this conference?

**GOODGER:** I think the conference was significant for two reasons. Firstly, it brought together women from all over the country, from a wide number of organisations and united them around an ongoing women's abortion action campaign, and secondly it was able to demonstrate that there is wide support for total repeal of the abortion laws, that there is wide support for an action-based campaign and that this campaign should be a women's campaign. These were the main points which were agreed upon.

**DIRECT ACTION:** How long have the Women's Abortion Action Committees been in existence in cities throughout New Zealand?

**GOODGER:** Early in 1972 there was a call issued to women's groups internationally by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the United States to organise activities internationally during Abortion Action Week, May 1-6, and some people from the local women's liberation group in Wellington met and called a meeting with people from the Abortion Law Reform Association of New Zealand and we set up an ad hoc committee to organise for Abortion Action Week and this committee was called the May Abortion Action Committee. Following a march on May 5, we decided that this committee had some value on its own so we dropped off the "May" and just called it the Abortion Action Committee. Then there was a similar committee set up in Auckland with women from women's liberation and people who supported the Abortion Law Reform Association, and the same thing happened in Christchurch. These committees called for a further march on July 28 and then this year all three committees changed their names to Women's Abortion Action Committees as the importance of an all women's campaign was recognised.

**DIRECT ACTION:** What other organisations are working for a change in the existing laws?

**GOODGER:** The main organisation other than the Women's Abortion Action Committees is the Abortion Law Reform Association of New Zealand (ALARZ) which was formed in 1970 shortly after the main anti-abortion organisation was formed, and its policy has been to work for the repeal of the abortion laws rather than to work through influencing individual members of Parliament rather than aiming the campaign towards women and making it an action campaign.

Also, all women's liberation groups in the country support changes in the law with the exception of the national body of the National Organisation for Women (NOW) which has not made its stand clear largely because its president, Connie Purdue is opposed to abortion. However, a majority of NOW members support abortion law change but they have yet to make a policy decision on it.

**DIRECT ACTION:** Are there any

members of Parliament who openly support reform or repeal of the existing abortion laws? What position does the Labour Government have on this issue?

**GOODGER:** Before the election of the Labour Government, about half a dozen or so Labour candidates stated that they supported change in the abortion laws and a "liberalisation" of them, including the present Minister for Justice who was quite openly in support of change. However, since the Labour Government has been elected we have heard almost nothing from these same people who said they supported abortion law change. The situation now is that the Labour Party has said that if the issue arises in the form of a private members bill then all Labour members will be able to exercise a "free vote" according to their own conscience, but that the Labour Party itself has no official policy on abortion. The National Party, which was only formed last year was the only party during the election period which had a policy in favor of liberalised abortion laws. It stated policy was for reform of the abortion laws along the lines of the policy of the Abortion Law Reform Association but many of its members in fact supported repeal and still speak in favor of repeal of the abortion laws.

**DIRECT ACTION:** Who and how active are the forces opposing abortion and what have their activities been to date?

**GOODGER:** The main organisation opposing abortion was formed in 1970 mainly because of the change in Britain. The reforms there alarmed them and they could see changes taking place all around the world so it spurred them into setting up their own organisation in New Zealand called the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC) and they have been able to launch a substantial campaign, holding public meetings throughout the country and signing up people as members. For the first eighteen months of their existence there wasn't really anyone to counter-act them.

Since the Women's Abortion Action Committees have raised the slogan of "a woman's right to choose" and organised an action campaign with three national demonstrations the anti-abortion forces have lost some of their former prominence due to their formerly unchallenged position. Although SPUC itself has not been as active lately what has happened is that the younger Catholic students, especially on the campuses, have been becoming more active in countering the women's campaign on the campuses and they have learnt to organise counter-marches and have tried to reduce the effect of the Women's Abortion Action Committees wherever possible. In Auckland recently on July 13 a march of almost 2500 was held by opponents of abortion and this was largely organised by students and supported by SPUC. But it has been pretty obvious everywhere that the Catholic church hierarchy has been the mainstay of the campaign and a big section of those who come out on these actions have had their instructions from the pulpit.

**DIRECT ACTION:** How do women go about trying to obtain abortion in New Zealand at the moment?

**GOODGER:** Many women who are unable to obtain an abortion through their doctor, try to get to Australia for one. There is a lot of misunderstanding about the laws and the situation in Australia. Many

widely available to New Zealand women) think that women are able to get abortions in Australia with no trouble at all but that isn't the case of course although it is easier than in New Zealand. Those who are interested in establishing referral services are trying to help women who want to travel to Australia by compiling lists of doctors to whom women can be referred, but most of the women who get abortions in New Zealand get them through their family doctors. It is estimated that approximately 11,000 women request abortions through their doctor each year and only 6500 are successful. With an estimated 20 women travelling to Australia each month for abortions there are still a lot of women who manage to obtain abortions in New Zealand in some way. It is difficult to ascertain the



Kay Goodger

situation with backstreet abortions. Obviously these are taking place and every now and then people are prosecuted for performing abortions illegally. Some of these cases have been quite horrifying in terms of what they have done to some women who have been so desperate that they have had to turn to backstreet abortionists.

**DIRECT ACTION:** What is the situation with Maori and Polynesian women trying to obtain abortions? Is there any different standard applied to them?

**GOODGER:** As far as we know it is no easier for a Maori or Polynesian woman to get an abortion than it is for a Pakeha New Zealander and there is a lot of conjecture now that the abortion issue is becoming more of a national issue about the attitude of Maori and Polynesian people to abortion. There are a lot of claims being made that it is alien to their way of life because of the way in which they accept all children whether their parents are married or not, their love for children and wider family group etc. In fact it's been shown there is no real difference, proportionally, in the number of Maori and Polynesian women who have abortions compared to the number of white Pakeha women having abortions.

**DIRECT ACTION:** Are contraceptives and information about contraceptives

**GOODGER:** There is a real problem in that there is very little sex education of any use in schools. Useful sex education is something we are calling for. There is also the problem that contraceptives are not free and it is often difficult to get contraceptives such as the pill that need prescriptions and a lot of women are deterred by the expense and bother, particularly if they are turned back because they are not married and so forth. There is the added problem also of women who are under sixteen years old not even being allowed access to information on how to use contraceptives or to be able to obtain contraceptives and this is another thing that we are calling for — that the law preventing under sixteen-year-olds from using contraceptives be repealed and that all contraceptives should be freely available to all women who want them.

**DIRECT ACTION:** Kay, you were saying before that the rise of the women's liberation movement had given an impetus to the struggle of women to abortion. What do you think the impact of the feminist movement has been in New Zealand so far? What is being done and what has been achieved to date?

**GOODGER:** The growth of the women's liberation movement in New Zealand hasn't been very rapid, but has had rather a slow development. There are now women's liberation groups in eight different cities, most of them university cities, as well as other women's liberation groups involving older women, housewives and working women. Most of these groups spend much of their time in consciousness-raising activities but most of them have organised activities to protest discrimination in various areas so they have been mostly action and consciousness-raising groups. The impact of the women's liberation movement has become such that if women's liberationists complain about some area of discrimination or prejudice they get much more of a serious hearing than say a couple of years ago. In fact some things have been changed such as the removal of sexist advertisements and that type of thing.

In September over the weekend of 15-16 there is going to be a United Women's Convention in Auckland to celebrate the eightieth anniversary of women winning the vote in New Zealand. The anniversary is on September 19. This convention is expected to attract about 2000 women and not only specifically feminist organisations are building towards it but all women's organisations in the country have been invited to send representatives. There are going to be overseas speakers attending and there will be discussion on a wide range of topics at the convention which will be really a significant event in the growth of the movement here. The amount of support and enthusiasm from a very wide section of women from this United Women's Convention and the convention itself will show that the movement is growing and is becoming a real and effective force in New Zealand society. It is not something temporary but is growing stronger and the convention will demonstrate that.

On September 19 itself, the Women's Abortion Action Committees will be holding a national demonstration in Wellington to call for the repeal of the abortion laws and presenting our claims to the Minister for Justice. We are stressing the continuity of the struggle for suffrage and the struggle of women to full control over our bodies.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## LABOR "LEFT"

To the Editor,

I appreciated your sympathetic reportage of my contribution to the mass meeting of supporters of the New South Wales ALP steering committee on June 28, dealing with the right-wing imposed new method of pre-selecting senators and legislative councillors.

You are, of course, correct in pointing out that the specific experience of the Builders Labourers' Federation in ridding the union of right-wing thugs is an eloquent rebuttal of the argument that unions are hopelessly in the clutches of the right.

Consequently, any argument that unions should be deprived of influence in the party because of present right-wing control of their unions overlooks the possibility of change when workers demand radical leadership.

It was interesting to note too your report of Senator Murphy's call for us to stand up and fight for principles and your cynical comments about the importance of principles when one's job is at stake.

In the past not all Senator Murphy's actions have enjoyed the support of the left. Whilst his raid on ASIO gave considerable heart to his supporters, the abolition of ASIO would now be party policy if he had voted for Bob Gould's motion on the subject at the 1971 Federal conference.

It was also disheartening, to say the least, to note that he seconded Don Dunstan's motion at the 1973 Federal conference to retain existing policies on abortion and argued persuasively in support of them. He also voted against the left motion for abortion on request as party policy.

It was also surprising that he voted for Gough Whitlam's unsuccessful motion to discharge the Victorian resolution condemning the Omega base and then abstained from voting on the resolution itself. Similarly he also abstained from voting on the Wheelton-Roy motion for recognising the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

It may be argued that Tom Uren, as the steering committee Federal conference delegate voted the socialist way on these issues, whilst Jack Heffernan of the Socialist Objective group voted with the right on abortion and recognition of the PRG.

George Petersen,  
MLA

## PRaise FROM CEYLON

Dear Comrade,

I am sorry that a lot of time has elapsed since my last letter. The new 24-page DA is superb. On the Picket Line brings every reader closer to the Australian workers and their problems. The World Revolution pages are very good and your middle-page articles are very educative. (It's the best page!)

I know the difficulties in bringing out a paper, especially a paper which stands for all the oppressed and the world revolution. (Congrats for new and large look). I have so far received DAs up to No. 41. (39,40,41 came together).

By the article Bureaucrats Ousted at Sydney May Day I presume that May Day is celebrated by all the labor, (left) parties in having one procession and holding a meeting in one place. Am I correct? Don't the different socialist associations hold a separate rally?

I would also like to know if — by supporting the Labor Party in Australia you are trying to establish a co-existence with the capitalist class. I understand by reading DA that because Labor was built on the working class and today most of the workers are with them you are supporting (critical) it? I also understand that you know Labor will never lead the working class towards a class struggle.

So you are trying to get the workers (politically educated) to push the party towards class struggle. Am I right? If so I think your strategy is wrong, because we should build an alternative party.

As in Ceylon after the LSSP's betrayal (1964) no true Trotskyist tried to push the LSSP because it had 90 per cent of the working class behind it.

As I am yet a student in Marxism and Trotskyism I might be wrong. But I hope you will clear up my doubts. Sorry again for the trouble. I will eagerly await your reply and following DIRECT ACTIONS.

Thanking you  
Yours comradely  
R. K. (Ceylon)

# DA GETS AROUND

There is more to DIRECT ACTION than just writing, editing and producing it. Capitalist newspapers have vast resources and an efficient distribution machinery. They have their own transport and a large network of newsagents. The socialist press possesses no such machinery. We have to organise our own selling.

But DIRECT ACTION does get around. It's being sold on campus, on the streets, at stop-work meetings and left gatherings not to mention our large number of subscriptions.

Our sales are not even limited to Australia. As the letter above indicates our paper is being appreciated in Ceylon. DIRECT ACTION reaches subscribers in 30 different countries. We have readers in North America and Mexico; Britain, France and the rest of Western Europe; Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru and Venezuela in Latin America; and Japan, Bangladesh, India, America, and the Philippines, Lebanon and Israel in Asia.

Singapore, Ceylon, the Philippines, Lebanon and Israel in Asia.

Sales in Australia can be quite pleasing too. In a recent mass meeting of the Miscellaneous Workers Union three comrades sold forty copies of DIRECT ACTION to approximately 1200 strikers.

The extensive coverage of the Palestinian and Arab revolution by DIRECT ACTION means that its reception in the local Arab community is extremely warm. Recently some of our comrades were dining out in an Arab restaurant when the cook came out and congratulated them on producing "a very good newspaper." Needless to say he wants to receive every single issue.

If you like DIRECT ACTION, why don't you help us get it around. We don't just want to send you a bundle of each issue that you can sell at work, at school or university, or on the streets.

I would like to subscribe to DIRECT ACTION at 15 issues for \$1  
I would like to take a bundle of DIRECT ACTION at 1/3 discount to sell  
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Send to DIRECT ACTION, 139 St Johns Rd., Glebe, Sydney 2037.

# DIRECT ACTION FORUMS

## Sydney

at 139 ST JOHNS ROAD, GLEBE.

Friday, August 17, 8.00 pm  
"BEHIND THE WATERGATE SCANDAL" Chris Graham speaks on the implications of the Watergate revelations for capitalist politics in the US.

Friday, August 31, 8.00 pm  
"THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION AND THE ARAB EAST" Sol Salby, Israeli-born socialist analyses the impact that the Palestinian revolution has had on the whole Arab East.

## Melb

at 140 QUEENSBERRY STREET, CARLTON.

Thursday, August 16, 8.00 pm  
"WORKERS CONTROL" Peter Conrick discusses various concepts of workers control and its revolutionary application.

Thursday, August 30, 8.00 pm  
"LABOR'S FOREIGN POLICY" Just how different is Labor's foreign policy from that of the Liberals? Has there been a radical break with the past? Speakers from the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Left will discuss the development of Labor's foreign policy.

# JOIN US!

The Socialist Youth Alliance is a revolutionary organisation of high-school, university and working class youth. Our goal is socialism. We aim to establish a society where the resources and industries are owned and democratically controlled by those who use them instead of by a tiny handful of profiteers. A planned economy can translate the world's resources and technology into a decent life for every human being.

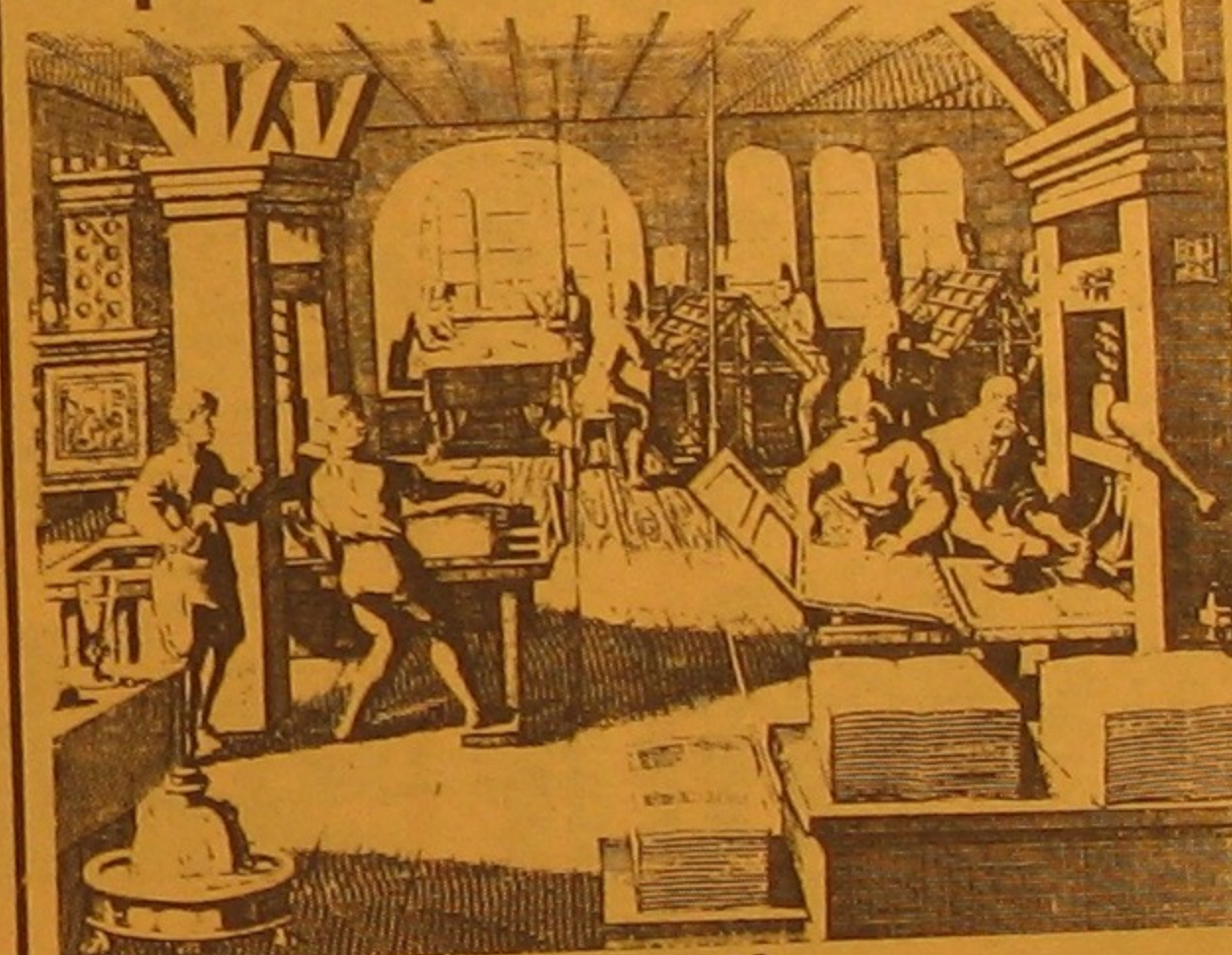
SYA is on the side of the Indo-Chinese, Palestinians and Irish and all other oppressed people fighting for their liberation.

SYA supports the struggles for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China.

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## Help us keep the Presses running!



## Support the DIRECT ACTION Fund Drive!

Most of our readers will have read by now about the fund drive we are running for \$5000. A supporter has offered to match, dollar for dollar all we can raise up to \$2500. We intend to make the best of this offer!

more frequent and regular as well. The acquisition of time and labor-saving equipment is necessary for this. In immediate terms we need a headliner and a new typesetter.

The object of this fund drive is to purchase equipment which will improve the appearance of DIRECT ACTION and streamline its production. We want to make DIRECT ACTION the best possible weapon in the struggle to get our ideas about socialism across to people.

Over the past few weeks, we have received some big donations (like the \$250 from Western Australia a few weeks ago) but the bulk of the money has come in the form of smaller donations, usually from our subscribers. If you want some way to express your approval of DIRECT ACTION and to ensure its continued growth and improvement send a donation to the fund drive today and see something for your money.

It is already the most widely-read radical newspaper. We want to make it  
I donate \$50 . . . \$20 . . . \$15 . . . \$10 . . . \$5 . . . \$2 . . . \$1 . . .  
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Auckland march for repeal of all abortion laws

# DIRECT ACTION

# What is Labor's Foreign Policy? Which Side Are We On? WHITLAM'S DIPLOMACY ON TOUR

BY JIM McILROY

Prime Minister Gough Whitlam has wasted no time in developing his concept of an "independent diplomacy" for the Australian Government. Following his recent trips overseas, his latest 23-day-long tour, which commenced on July 24, takes in Latin and North America, including the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in Ottawa.

The visit to Washington is the key event of the trip. Whitlam finally received the nod from the White House for an official invitation after a period of jockeying for position between himself and President Nixon. Richard Nixon dislikes it intensely when the leader of a "faithful ally" and junior imperialist partner like Australia engages in criticism (even if "privately") of his actions, as Whitlam did over the bombing of Vietnam at the end of last year. Nixon insists on complete fidelity, especially from a country with a record of total subservience to the US warmakers, as Australia had under a Liberal administration.

At the same time, Whitlam was very anxious to receive presidential blessing. He was very willing to give every assurance of his Government's faith in the US-Australia alliance. This has been a consistent threat of the Labor Government's foreign policy all along. Whitlam's stance in foreign affairs is guided basically by the search for a new manoeuvrability for Australian diplomacy and capital in the international arena.

International relationships have been undergoing significant changes in recent years. The essential development has been the turn by US imperialism towards detente with the Chinese workers' state, and toward closer economic and political contact with the rulers of the Soviet Union. As a result of Vietnam, the US ruling class no longer are able to accept responsibility as world policeman for capitalism. At the same time, the rise of new challenges to US hegemony in the economic sphere by the European powers and Japan have opened up a new period of intensive inter-imperialist rivalry.

Australian capital seeks a place in the sun in this new international situation. As a minor imperialist power, but a growing one, Australian capitalism has its own independent role to play, its own interests to pursue. Hence the new aggressive moves in international trade and investment in SE Asia and elsewhere. Hence, the readiness for Australian business to seek out trading opportunities with China. This resulted in the spectacle of big capitalists like Kenneth

Myer and Ian McLennan fraternising with the Chinese leaders earlier in the year. All this activity culminated in the signing by Dr Jim Cairns, Minister for Overseas Trade, and Pao Hsiang-kuo, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Trade, on July 24 of a long term trade agreement between China and Australia.

In the new open-go situation in the world economic situation, Gough Whitlam and his Government are determined to ensure that Australian interests get a healthy piece of the action. Thus, on the very first stop of his present tour, in the world's major exporters of natural resources, particularly minerals, to "gang up" with Australia to control the rate of supply and prices on the world market. By this means the smaller capitalist powers could swing a bit of weight against the major imperialist countries which do most of the importing of raw materials. Australian capitalism has a lot to gain from such a situation, as a relatively highly developed industrial state, with a large sector of mining and other natural resources for export.

This idea of the small and medium size capitalist states banding together against the imperialist giants has been a consistent theme of Whitlam foreign policy. This was reflected in his idea of a regional pact in Asia, excluding the big powers. Once again, Whitlam has taken an initiative which has struck a responsive chord amongst his chosen constituency. Mexico's President Echeverria welcomed the scheme, as reported in the Melbourne Herald of July 27.

The Prime Minister was less successful in getting the Mexican President to back his campaign against French nuclear tests in the Pacific. Echeverria refused to condemn France. The Labor Government's strong attacks on French Government policy have now culminated in an appeal to the UN to condemn France. This has been a popular issue in Australia, and Labor's stand has been a reflection of the strong public feeling on this issue. At the same time, the reliance on diplomatic methods (World Court, United Nations) and grandstanding (a naval ship in support of the NZ vessel which was sent into the nuclear blast zone) will not really pressurise the French Government very much. No real international prestige as a statesman is lost, however, for Whitlam. This issue provides another quite painless outlet for a new "independent foreign policy".

As far as the Nixon regime is concerned it is gradually coming to accept the new facts of life as far as the Australian Labor Government is concerned. The new, trouble-shooting US ambassador to Australia

Marshall Green recently stated at a press conference after an American businessmen's luncheon, that Australian-American relations were now "very good indeed" (The Age July 19). He continued: "I don't think we should always be in lockstep. It's desirable to have resilience and flexibility in a relationship. "As I see it", he said, "we are condemned to getting along with each other."

"So let's use our wits to get along in the most constructive and fruitful way we can. If we have differences, let's talk them out like the old friends we are."

He went on in answer to a question on Watergate: "No, I don't think America is burning. It has been through the very difficult experience of having taken on global responsibilities."

"I do believe we could ever be responsible for everyone's affairs. It must be on a collective basis."

In other words what this CIA-agent-ambassador, who has been present at the death of more than one government of which the US rulers disapproved means is that the Nixon regime now recognises the reality of a Labor Government in Australia, and that this only underlines the necessity for more co-operation in counter-revolution between the different capitalist powers. The US burnt its fingers badly in Indo-China and is now calling on other capitalist nations to take on a more responsible role in maintaining international social peace. An Australian Labor Government can have a very special role to play in this.

In his willingness to accommodate Nixon, Whitlam was prepared to go back on any promise to the Australian people. It seems the Australian Government is not now going to withdraw from Seato (despite pulling out from Seato naval exercises in October this year). This was a clear concession to Nixon's concern about Whitlam's attitude. As the Age reports it (July 26), "President Nixon's advisers fear that if Australia withdrew from Seato the treaty would collapse." Whitlam merely insists that Seato take up a less hostile position towards China. In the period of the developing US-Peking detente, this is quite possible.

His conciliatory approach over Seato is aimed at reassuring Nixon of his basic support, albeit in the context of a desire to "breathe new life into it."

The Age and The Australian of August 1 carried articles entitled "Whitlam Heals US Breach" and "Labor not anti-American Whitlam Assures Nixon" just to emphasise the point.

And although there was some threat expressed over Whitlam's initiative to shake up Seato, others like Secretary William Fullbright were quick to add their praise.

At the same time, the Whitlam Government is seeking out new initiatives in Asian diplomacy. Most important and dangerous is the report that the Australian Government may play "a mediating role in Cambodia" (The Age July 25). The Cambodian people don't need mediation from an Australian Labor Government of any shape or form. What they need is strong political support, especially a total denunciation of US policy in Cambodia (and Indo-China) as a withdrawal of all US forces from the region. Any "mediation" can only help the reactionary forces in Cambodia.

Furthermore, it has been announced that the Deputy Foreign Minister of Thailand Major-General Chatchai Chobruang is to visit Australia in September as a guest of the Australian Government (The Australian July 26). This representation of the vicious dictatorship which has recently brutally attacked students demonstrating against US bases in Thailand, and has been carrying out a campaign of mass terror against dissidents in the North, apart from its role as a major abettor of US war policies in Indo-China, should never be permitted to visit this country. The Labor Government denounces the real pro-capitalist nature of its policies by permitting such a visit. A large campaign must be initiated to prevent this visit, and if this should succeed, massive demonstrations must be built to greet this agent of a puppet regime.

The new Whitlam diplomacy is a reflection of the position of Australian capitalism today in a changing world situation. Liberal Party spokesmen soundly denounce Whitlam's policies. Billy Snedden, the Leader of the Opposition was pretty right (most certainly for the wrong reasons) in saying that: "The Labor Government is attempting to convert capitalism into a loud and distracting imperialism." (The Australian July 26). Snedden and Malcolm Fraser expressed the view that Labor had damaged our relations with other nations, particularly Asian states, as well as the US and Britain. But the fact remains that a significant section of the Australian capitalist class supported a Whitlam Government, and rejected the Liberal Government for the very type of policies the Government is now pursuing. Until an effective challenge is mounted for the leadership of the Labor Party by a broad-based militant left wing, policies such as this will continue to hold sway in the

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Whitlam with US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Hubert Humphrey, Australian Ambassador to the US, Sir James Plin

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