



FIRST STRIKE

FOR NUCLEAR

DISARMAMENT

FIGHTING
THE
SYSTEM

no. 4 feb 84



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FIRST STRIKE is the magazine of the Left Tendency for Nuclear Disarmament.

FIRST STRIKE welcomes your involvement with letters, articles, production help, criticism, etc.

CONTRIBUTIONS may be sent to First Strike

c/- C.R.A.C.

Monash University

Clayton. 3168

THE NEXT MEETING of the P.N.D. Left Tendency will be held on Tuesday, February 28th, 7.00 pm at the Unemployed Workers Union, 301 St. Georges Road, North Fitzroy.



The
Voice
of
the
Angry
Dove

We are going to spoil your picnics.
Because if we don't spoil them the missiles will.

Ronald Reagan will be re-elected next November, and the chances of nuclear war will become even more certain. Yet PND continues its attempts at winning the hearts and minds of the Kremlin and the Pentagon by showing them that millions of people are scared shitless of the coming nuclear war.

The job of the generals is to keep people scared. A terrorised and passive population is precisely what keeps the government criminals (at least guilty of premeditating mass murder) in power.

The Chileans fear the secret police. We fear the nukes.

But the bombs are not going to disappear simply by having us tell Reagan we don't like them. Everyone knows the Chileans people dislike their cops. They still have them.

The only thing that will eliminate the nukes is if we start fighting for this goal. The governments know we are against them, now is the time to make them feel it.

Time is on their side. It may be too late to stop the last world war. But we have to try.

Palm Sunday picnics to increase the already enormous PND support group will not scare or pressure Reagan into eliminating the Cruise and Pershing II.

We will have to stop the picnics and try demonstrations, as a first step in a long struggle to devise new methods that will let us win.

First Strike is a publication which will discuss such new strategies. *First Strike* is produced by the left tendency of the nuclear disarmament movement. A section of the movement which is not afraid to propose new actions apart from the yearly ritual of begging for peace with a million voices. A section which is not afraid to initiate new actions.

Our aim is to win this fight against the superpowers, and we must use realistic tough policies to do it. These are socialist policies developed in the knowledge that our present condition is a struggle, and that we are the underdogs.

Hopefully the movement will be successful. We will do our best in *First Strike* and through our actions, to improve the ability of the movement to fight back.

This means that *First Strike* will be published, and will reach the movement and beyond on a regular basis (every month). It also means we will be at the next Palm Sunday PND picnic and will make the left presence felt.

Sexism and Disarmament

On many previous occasions the issue of sexism has been raised within the disarmament movement, every time by women. I've heard it said that the nuclear threat doesn't affect men and women in any different way - both men and women are equally vulnerable because a nuclear weapon doesn't distinguish its victims. Despite the bomb being a great equalizer when incinerating millions, the threat of nuclear war is very directly linked with the oppression of women.

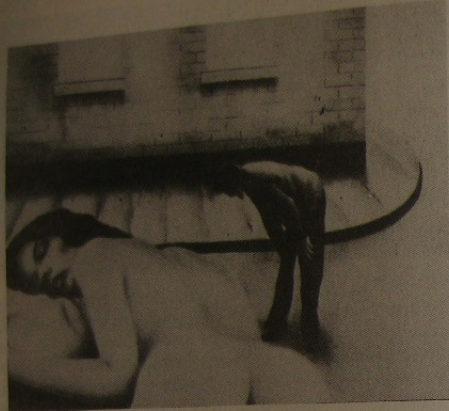
Although many women are involved in the world-wide disarmament movement and the contributions they make immensely valuable to its cause, the links that many of these women make between the nature of patriarchy and the nuclear madness have neither been recognised nor understood. Women are not only exposing the sexism rampant within the disarmament movement, but the fundamental connections between the oppression that women suffer in patriarchal society and the threat of nuclear war that results from the nuclear arms build up. These connections mean that women have a particular interest, as women, in the success of the disarmament movement.

Women argue that the rise of the nuclear industry is a logical extension of male thought and male values. Dorothy Green wrote in the "Age" last year, "A handful of powerful men, destitute of any moral sense, took it upon themselves to decide the fate of humankind, and other powerful men have been arguing about these decisions ever since, without any reference at all to more than half the world's population". The nuclear



arms race from its very beginnings, stems from a particular attitude towards competition, technology, territory, militarism, war, aggression and destruction. These are the characteristics which patriarchy holds in high esteem - they are attributed as natural to men and through socialization determine the values not only held individually, but collectively by the men that control both society as a whole and the nuclear industry.





Nuclear war embodies violence on a massive scale, but violence is not something foreign to male thought or action. In a paper presented to the Symposium "The Consequences of Nuclear War for Australia and its Region" held at ANU in May 1983, Nancy Shelley claimed that:

"The issue is . . . the structure of men's thinking and the dominance of white male culture . . . In our society it is men who have developed science and technology whose ultimate products are nuclear weapons. It is women who have been made invisible by the dominance of male thinking, who sometimes have been defined out of existence, and who are constantly objects of violence."

SEXISM AND MILITARISM

Betty Reardon, in "Militarism and Sexism: Influences on Education for War," explains that:

"Militarism and sexism complement, reinforce and help to perpetuate each. They also constitute major obstacles to overcoming war, largely as they affect the education and formation of generation after generation," also.

"Militarism has been a significant aspect of the socialisation and education of boys and largely determines what comprises socially desirable masculine attributes. These attitudes

actions challenge the glorification of war that militarism is based on. It was considered a "defilement" of the memory of the "brave men" who died to save us. Nancy Shelley, in the paper referred to above, notes that:

"We are familiar too with the denigration, and often open violence that accompanies attacks on those who would define these concepts (the values of militarism) otherwise. The most significant of these in Australia in recent times has been the reaction to the marches of the Women Against Rape at Anzac Day Parades. Those women seek to remember All Women Raped in All Wars - thus introducing a part of the remembrance of war which is not to be countenanced. The women's action brings such strong reaction because it touches the nerve of so much latent militarism within our society. It dares to reveal something of the accompanying aspects of war - things which are constantly dismissed as irrelevant and unimportant - and it lays bare the contempt with which women are held, and in the eyes of militarism, necessarily held."

tend to be qualities deemed necessary for military service such as bravery, aggressiveness, endurance discipline and the repression of "softer" human sentiments. Boys are urged to strive towards the development of these intrinsic parts of their masculine identity."

If peace means the absence of violence then women are in a situation of perpetual war. Rape is an accepted characteristic of war. If this is so, then the war against women never stops.

Not only are the values of militarism inculcated in men as the basis of their much treasured masculinity, militarism either ignores the existence of women at all, or views them only as deriving any value from the provisions of services for men, either domestic, clerical or sexual. Women are treated as they are by patriarchy in general - obviously as militarism stems from patriarchy itself. A woman's role is either that of cook, cleaner, typist, etc. when employed by the military, or as providing recreation for men on leave. Women are expected to be invisible when not serving these functions.

When women break out of these traditional, accepted roles, all hell breaks loose. No better example can be found than the outcry over attempts by women to commemorate women raped in war on Anzac Day. These

Another aspect that needs to be considered is that men and women have differing attitudes towards war, based on their quite distinct and differing experiences. Men have experience as combatants of "mateship" - a comradeship between men based on their shared life and death struggle. In many senses male experience of war is desensitising, violence and destruction form a necessary part. Women, however are the victims of war. Husbands and sons, for many women their life's work, provide the fodder for the cannons. Women are the prizes of war for men!

They are captured, raped, sold and stolen. Men receive the glory for war, they plan and fight wars, they receive the rewards. Men instigate and "control" wars - women suffer the consequences.

Men and women also experience and participate in violence from different sides both during war and "peacetime". Violence is inflicted by men on other men and women. Women are the victims of violence and pornography - they are raped, abused, beaten, derided, ignored, exploited at all times. If peace means the absence of violence then women are in a situation of perpetual war. Rape is an accepted characteristic of war. If this is so, then the war against women never stops.

Women are beginning to demand that the peace movement take up these issues, or else it leaves itself open to the attack that it is only concerned with war of violence as it affects men. My argument is that the disarmament movement will fail to achieve its potential while it ignores these demands. It cannot succeed without altering the conditions which make it thinkable to contemplate nuclear war. These conditions include not only the development of the technology, but the ideology that makes war acceptable. A

militarist ideology, an acceptance of violence and destruction on any level is a precondition to the development of a nuclear ideology. The removal of one cannot happen without the other.

The answer to those sceptics who argue that it is pointless to dismantle the bombs when we have the technology and knowledge to reproduce them is that they are right. It is futile to believe that disarmament will be successful in preventing nuclear war unless we remove the drive for war and dominance. This involves a broad range of fundamental changes, most basically those which eliminate war and violence in all its forms - and the war and violence inflicted upon over half the population is the most basic of all. To quote further from Nancy Shelley: "There are two points to be made here: first, women link the increase in violence towards them with a growing attitude within our society which will tolerate war, i.e. as part of a process which brings citizens to accept that total violence when

the "leaders" of the world decide the time is right for them to initiate it. If the peace movement therefore ignores this, failing to see the symptoms of a malaise, it will be inept in its attempts to prevent war, and in particular, nuclear war.

Secondly, men who are genuinely and passionately desiring to stop the madness will be less capable of bringing about their intentions if they fail to understand the extent to which they are personally predisposed to violence by the socialisation they have been subjected to.

What is clear is that it is totally absurd, and structurally impossible to bring about world peace when aggression and conquest are considered with manliness and masculinity."

And, I would add, when such men are in positions of power and control.

Many people may argue, however, that it is wrong to bring up all this business about sexism. The disarmament movement should be concerned only with nuclear bombs and their direct consequences and if it becomes involved in other issues it will lose the "middle ground". To these people I say you are wrong. To ignore the other issues is to fail. A movement cannot succeed unless it is able to reach the very foundations of the problem. To argue that the bombs themselves are the problem is to complain about the nature of uranium atoms and their tendency to result in such a massive amount of energy when they are split. The root of the problem is not the power of the elements but the men who have controlled them. To those who would say that to view the struggle along male vs. female lines is divisive, and we should concentrate on maintaining our unity, I say that to ignore that which is so fundamental is to do ourselves and our aims a disservice. It is only by confronting and overcoming the preconditions that have allowed our society to reach its present state of doom, that we have a chance to successfully develop a truly human society not bent on annihilation.



Making Peace Sell

It is simply a fact that the revolutionary left has very little weight in the western liberal democracies these days.

While it is still noticed, very little is achieved by its input into political life. Politics today seems to be played by quite conservative social democrats (such as our own ALP) against reactionary forces that are becoming daily more aggressive, bigoted and dangerous.

The state of the nuclear disarmament movement is another example of the deep problems the left is encountering.

Today the anti-war, antinuclear movements are growing enormously. But their strategies, policies and goals are nothing to be happy about from a left point of view. The movement is quite obviously dominated by middle class members and values. Unavoidably this has translated into very modest aims and even more minimal tactics.

There is very little attempt at educating the public about issues other than pure missile and radiation facts. Questions of the importance of capitalism to the arms race, of the relevance of conventional wars, of the outcomes of the imperialist policies of the US or USSR are carefully avoided. No PND-backed demonstrations have been attempted on issues such as East Timor or unemployment, or the invasion of Grenada, presumably because these issues have little to do with disarmament, even if the link of these issues with questions of peace should not escape activists.

And even when protesting about nuclear weapons, PND avoids the uncompromising political demands that must be made if we are to be rid of the bomb. Instead a general sense of peace and happiness is encouraged as the official face of disarmament protests. The marches that the left derided as "sunday picnics in the park" are very soon going to be advertised as precisely that, if things continue as present.

The problem is essentially one of the movement being largely a pressure group rather than a force aimed at fundamentally altering society.

We can see this in virtually everything the movement does, but I believe that it is especially evident in two respects: its relationship with the media, and its acceptance of "non-violence" as a guiding philosophy.

The media is seen as extremely important by large sections of the movement, including the left. Often whether an action was successful is decided purely on whether there was extensive (and favourable) media coverage. This sort of thinking is now so widespread that many actions will now occur only for the benefit of the media and would not occur if it was not present. The left has largely accepted this sort of philosophy, and it is explained on the basis of the need to reach wide audiences.

The fact that reaching wide audiences (superficially) on the evening news will not mean having deep discussions or a more advanced sort of action with those already in the movement is conveniently forgotten. What is also never mentioned is the fact that expectation of favourable media coverage will undeniably alter our goals, tactics and behaviour at any action. Many actions therefore become "symbolic", where in effect what the demonstrators are doing means and achieves nothing in itself, but is simply a pictorial message to be conveyed to the millions glued to the idiot box.

This is essentially what happened at Honeymoon uranium mine, at the Roxby protest, at Pine Gap, at Greenham



Common in England. After all, what is the meaning of laying down on the road singing "I like the flowers, I like the vegetables, I want to live in a nuclear-free society" in front of a missile base, if there is no audience out there who will somehow be affected by seeing all this?

Surely even the central committees of the anti-nuke groups, and even the most ardent greenies do not believe that peace songs by themselves will prevent Cruise from flying? Because if they do, then all they have to do is sit at home (or at a local park) and sing. There is no need to actually go to the base.

The unstated strategy is one of marketing: the yet unconverted populations will see our massive numbers and moral strength on TV, and they will start to question the nukes themselves. And the next time, or the next, or the next, they too will be singing with us. Eventually nearly everybody will be out there, and even Thatcher could not hope to win against nearly everybody, and we will win. Make the product look good and more will buy it. Make it less specific and more will try it.

If we really think about it, this strategy has hippie or christian overtones. The highly moral idea "whose time has come" will convert society: what we must do to accelerate this process is to preach the gospel and be living examples of this coming bright future.

Leftists know that this form of political change does not occur. Not only

are there people quite happy to continue the arms race (for reasons of profits or ideology) but those who oppose us make up essential parts of the media, which is the channel we are using to produce new converts.

So the media can and does hinder our attempts at publicity. The Roxby Blockade was an obvious example of this, where the protesters were derided or described, but the political question of uranium mining was hardly mentioned.

In Europe this process is now quite advanced, and most mainstream papers will not even mention any peace protest unless they are really huge. And of course the many many activities the peace committees conduct (educational talks, displays, small blockades, regional protests, public statements) are completely ignored.

In addition the reporting of the mainstream media is hopelessly biased against our side. For example the US invasion of Grenada did hit the front pages, all the papers reported the official story by the US and generally condemned it in editorials. But the "invasion" of the sacred perimeter of the Omega Base in Victoria also achieved the front page. And the official line was one of outrage that people had taken action outside the law to effect political change. So in fact both "invasions", by the US Marines and the Melbourne PND leftists received almost the same derogatory treatment (the US wasn't condemned as much), but for such different crimes. The US brought down a popular government and replaced it with a police force and a military base. The PND activists nearly opened a gate at a military base.

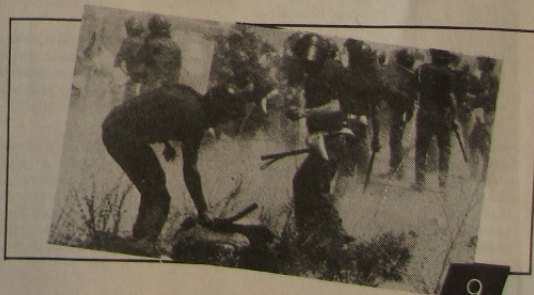
Yet when people read these stories, the widely differing treatments are not totally recognized. But it should be reminded to those in the movement who seriously see our TV image as a long term way of producing activists.

As the peace movement grows and it threatens the powers of our rulers, the channels they control will become progressively unavailable. A movement that relies solely on those channels for communication and interaction with the outside world is going to find itself isolated.

Unfortunately to understand the danger of heavy reliance on the bourgeois media, the people in the movement would have to accept that not everybody is with them, and that those in power will not abide by the liberal democratic process, if people start to seriously oppose an important part of their rulers power base (the missiles) in mass numbers.

The Europeans are now starting to understand this, as they find themselves unable to even marginally shift their government's pro-nuke policies. This after they not only have literally millions of activists, and demonstrably the majority of the populations on their side, but after they have elected a number of "socialist" parties to government, which have all promptly turned around and joined Reagan's trail.

Of course beginning to take up some form of mass activism to boost numbers instead of relying on large televised advertising festivals is going to be difficult.



Having our own disarmament news in left papers is the answer of course, but one that is so far from the potential of the Australian left today that I am reluctant to mention it, yet eventually it will have to be achieved.

The question of militancy links up intimately with the issue of PND and the media, in pointing out the distance of PND from any class analysis and an attainable goal of radical change.

The stated reason PND cautions (or forcibly prevents) activists from taking steps of civil disobedience at demonstrations is that it will be played up on the media. That is very true. But again it is a problem of allowing bourgeois and opposing forces to dictate PND strategy. If the media will distort disarmament actions, that is the reason new ways of reaching the public should be attempted. And if the movement realised that the media always distorts what it tries to say, then that is even more reason to proceed with the civil disobedience and ignore what is after all just another powerful group opposing disarmament goals.

But another reason the left is often admonished not to break laws, is the possibility violence will occur.

This is a much more persuasive reason than the previous, because we all know that if violence occurs it will be done unto the protestors by the cops, and no one likes that. It is especially important these days as PND demonstrations now have a tradition of being the place even for children and pet dogs, and many people would be caught unaware and defenceless if an action provoked a police attack.

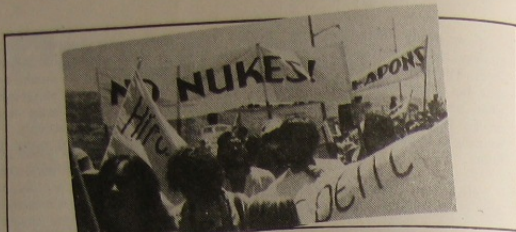
But once again the treatment accorded to the protesters does not depend just on their own behaviour. As the movement becomes more powerful, and politically threatening, governments will consider using the police to attack violently, in an attempt to deter further demonstrations. This is very apparent in Europe today. Totally peaceful demonstrations have been attacked harshly in West Germany, Italy and the USSR, as those governments are very vulnerable to public pressure.

If such police violence is to be expected then perhaps activists should be preparing for it now. PND demonstrations should be understood for what they are-political confrontations with the government, and the protesters should understand that a heavy response by the government forces is always possible.

But the left does not advocate a militant movement simply in defence against police attacks. There is also the reason that what PND is trying to achieve is in a large measure outside the present bounds allowed by the law. There is no parliamentary strategy to break ANZUS. (The experience in Greece, where PASOK was elected on a very strong anti-NATO policy and then backed down under US pressure, should convince us of that). The US war bases in Australia are not going to be closed just by having the people or the government ask them to please go (after all there is still a US base on Cuban soil today).

The goals of the disarmament movement will require strong pressure by large numbers, and to a great extent against existing rulers and laws. But the left in PND should be telling people that the movement needs to make no apology for this. The laws that allow the missiles and bases to exist can legitimately be considered illegal, as they are against most of the Earth's population. Breaking them is going to be not only a necessity, but totally valid and just.

The fact that such a struggle is sometimes going to be violent does not escape anyone in the movement. At present the large middle class percentage in the movement have pushed a position that our actions must always be non-violent. This was to be expected, but developments will prob-



ably force the rest of the movement to listen to the more aggressive strategy of the left. This will not happen by long discussions on the moral validity of non-violence, pacifism or civil disobedience, but by the fact that passive tactics are not going to achieve what we demand. New tactics will have to be considered. This is what is happening in Europe today, and it is a subject which is starting to be discussed even here after the failures at Roxby and on ALP policy. Whether many people in PND are going to be prepared to take up more militant tactics is of course a problem, but it is up to the left to show that different actions are open to the movement.

This is simply an acceptance that the disarmament movement will have to accept that it is in conflict with the government and the ruling class it represents. Making the movement more militant means for example having effective pickets and blockades, not co-operating with the police at demonstrations, and generally making clear that the activists are serious about what we are talking about. So serious that they are not prepared to let a few laws for the protection of America stand in their way.

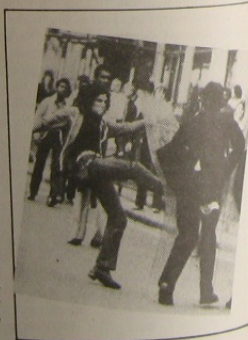
A divisive and antagonistic policy, of course, but then the stakes in this game are so high that it is important to know it is a big fight, and that the people have every intention to win.

Basically what the left should be advocating is a very serious very independent disarmament movement. One which will conduct its actions on a strategy of taking away from the governments the power to start wars, as that is our only certainty for survival.

This is a tall order. It requires not only that large sections of the working class be brought into the movement, but that they become as organised and aggressive in it as they have been in trade unions and unemployment protests. It requires that all the activities be aimed at increasing the knowledge and organising power of activists, and make people feel they have not only a contribution for the movement, but importance in deciding its actions and direction.

The peace movement is not the preserve of bishops, ALP bureaucrats, and the middle class. Working class people have as much interest in fighting the coming nuclear holocaust. And they have every right to bring their militant politics into PND. The nukes are too important an issue to be left to a few bishops, a Sunday picnic and some executives afraid to die.

Manrico Moro



KANAKS MOVE CLOSER TO INDEPENDENCE



A storm is brewing eighteen hundred kilometres off the coast of Queensland. The islands of New Caledonia are in for an explosive year, as the country moves towards independence.

The Independence Front of New Caledonia has set 1985 as the target date for independence from France, which has controlled the islands since 1853.

The Front is seeking international support to pressure the French government to grant early independence. It has sought inclusion on the list of non-self governing countries before the United Nations Decolonisation Committee of 24. This will focus

attention on the fact that New Caledonia is one of the last remaining colonies in the world.

Captain Cook Strikes Again

The indigenous people of New Caledonia, the Kanaks, are culturally similar to the people of Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and the Solomons. But unlike many other Pacific peoples the arrival of Captain Cook in 1774 started a process of colonization that continues today.

Although Cook was the first recorded European to land in New Caledonia, and named the country, the territory was seized as a French colony on September 24, 1853 - an anniversary now marked as a day of mourning by the Kanak population.

New Caledonia was originally a penal colony like NSW, but the discovery of nickel in 1870 created new reasons for France to maintain control. By 1967 nickel accounted for 97.7% of the value of exports and from 1969-1974, France mounted a campaign of immigration from its other Pacific colonies - Polynesia, and the Wallis and Futuna islands to work the mines.

These islanders have been used as a foil against the indigenous Melanesian population. The fear has been promoted that their jobs will be lost with the granting of independence.

France regards New Caledonia and "French" Polynesia as territories - an integral part of France (you've probably seen the TV ads for Air Caledonie inviting you to visit a "little bit of France in the South Pacific"). There is extensive French government involvement in the islands and a regular military presence which is supplemented in times of crisis.

As France's empire has crumbled this century, the original *colons*, or settlers, have been supplemented by others from French colonies which have gained independence: Algeria, IndoChina and, more recently, Vanuatu. Many of these *colons* are mobilising against minor reforms in New Caledonia, let alone real independence.

Independence in the Wind

And independence is in the wind. The Kanak people have long resisted the theft of land and resources, and two major uprisings in 1878 and 1917 challenged French rule. This tradition of

resistance was maintained in the *Foulaud Rouges* student movement of the 1960's and has been spurred as nearby Pacific countries have gained their independence over the last decade.

In 1979, five political parties joined together to form the Independence Front of New Caledonia: *Union Calédonienne*, the oldest political party in New Caledonia; *Front Uni de Libération Kanak (FULK)* and *Union Progressiste Melanesienne*, two parties with a strong following among Protestant Loyalty islanders, *Liberation Kanak Socialiste (LKS)* made up mainly of young, educated Kanaks, and the *Parti Socialiste Calédonien*, a party of trade unionists and socialists, including some Europeans.

The five parties came together around minimum demands for cultural, economic and political independence, and specified the importance of the return of stolen Kanak land. Although the Front stresses that the Kanak people are the only indigenous population of New Caledonia, and therefore the only truly colonized people in the country, it does recognise that other ethnic groups who have been there for several generations have a legitimate interest in the future of their homeland.

The Front stresses the importance of Kanak socialist independence - a return to some traditional Kanak values (such as communal land holding and cooperative work), but also recognising the need for modern forms of organisation. The platform of the Independence Front states that development must be led and approved by the people and all imposed development plans that strengthen multinational corporations and local privileged elites must be rejected.

The Front has made major gains in elections for the Territorial Assembly (the local governing body) and has gained parliamentary support from the centrist political party. However, the situation in New Caledonia is growing more polarized as the colon population mobilizes against independence.

There has been a growing climate of violence and intimidation against supporters of independence. On Sept

19, 1981, Pierre Declercq, a prominent leader of the Front, was assassinated by right wing terrorists. In July 1982, Independence Front delegates to the Territorial Assembly were assaulted when the Assembly was stormed by 60 rightists dressed in para-military style. Rightwing groups tried to mobilise against the November 1983 visit by Overseas Territories Minister Georges Lemoine, when he came to present France's statute of autonomy, which sets out France's plans for moves to self government.



Above: Right wing Deputy to the National Assembly Jacques Lafleur addresses the July 22 demonstration

Statute of Autonomy

This statute has been the focus of much recent concern in New Caledonia.

The election of the Mitterrand government in France raised some hopes that there would be reforms to the political and economic structures of New Caledonia. The French Socialist Party pledged itself, before the elections, to supporting New Caledonian self-determination - a promise it has failed to maintain.

A July 1983 meeting in France brought together the Front and the

FNSC and RPCR (the centrist and rightwing parties in New Caledonia), to fashion a "consensus" for the colony's future.

The statute which resulted has failed to address the key concerns of the Independence Front. Even though the French government has recognised the "innate and active right to independence of the Kanak people", it has failed to set a reasonable timetable for independence. More importantly, it has made no provision for electoral reform.

With the massive immigration from France and Polynesia, the Melanesian people now only make up 43% of New Caledonia's population. Without electoral reform, the right-wing parties may win this year's elections for the Territorial Assembly.

The Independence Front has proposed gradual autonomy leading to independence in 1985. But when Lemoine presented the statute of autonomy, he showed that France plans five years of autonomy, and a referendum of 'self-determination' in 1989. The Front has refused the plan-French presidential elections in 1988 may see the end of the Mitterrand government, and there is no guarantee that the plan for self-government will be followed.

What Can We Do

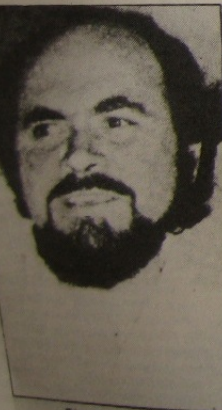
Australia, as a major power in the South Pacific region, should be giving every possible assistance to the Kanak people's campaign to gain independence.

France's continuing nuclear testing program in Polynesia is only maintained

through the military control of its Pacific colonies. Moves towards independence in New Caledonia are part of a wider process of decolonisation throughout the region, and moves towards the creation of a nuclear free and independent Pacific.

By gaining inclusion on the UN Decolonisation list, the New Caledonians will push their case into the international spotlight. But we can act now, to increase international awareness of the legitimate rights and demands of the Kanak people.

For further information contact the New Caledonia Support Group c/- P.O. Box 338, Fitzroy. 3065.



Pierre Declercq

Neutral Agents?

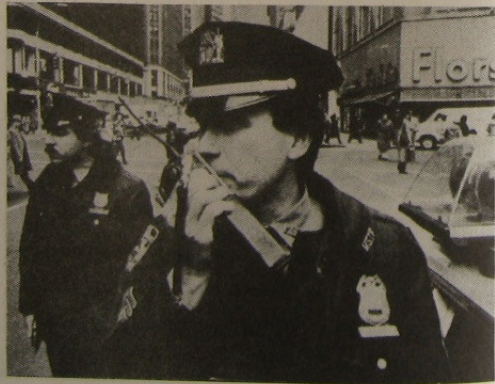
The Police Force is an organization created and sustained by the economic and political processes to enforce the dominant conceptions of public order. These dominant conceptions are maintained and enforced by the most powerful class in society - the propertied class.

The fact that the police force is charged primarily with the prevention and detection of criminal behaviour and the maintenance of public order indicates their role and interests in maintaining a liberal democracy and laissez-faire capitalism.

Crimes include vagrancy, begging and sleeping in the parks. The law enforcement machinery makes poverty a crime of itself and is applied against the poorest and the most helpless people in the community. The police also have many other powerful vested interests to protect contrary to the popular misconception that they are here to protect all of us.

During the Commonwealth Games 1982, the police were all out to deny the civil rights of Aborigines and other protesters peaceful, non-disruptive, legitimate political dissent was an impossibility. The same is evident at anti-nuclear protests all over the world and countless other protests against governments.

Police powers feed on the tacit support of peers, often the media and of course those with vested interests. In representing the values of the dominant majority and the power held by that group. Police relations with the public are regulated accordingly. Such relations relate to larger issues of criminal justice, civil rights, economic and political power.



If their powers are seen as excessive, it may be justified as part of their "duty", after all their duty is to protect us.

To gain the support and confidence of the public, firstly the police force identify themselves not only as a law-enforcement agency but also as an agency of the public.

While this tactic may be appealing to those sections of the public who have minimal contact with police (eg. the middle class) it glosses over problems of the lower socio-economic class, the minority groups such as Aborigines and homosexuals. These are the people with frequent run-ins with the police. Despite the fact that to the middle-class general public, they are "friendly bobbies", the police are not going to stop using exces-

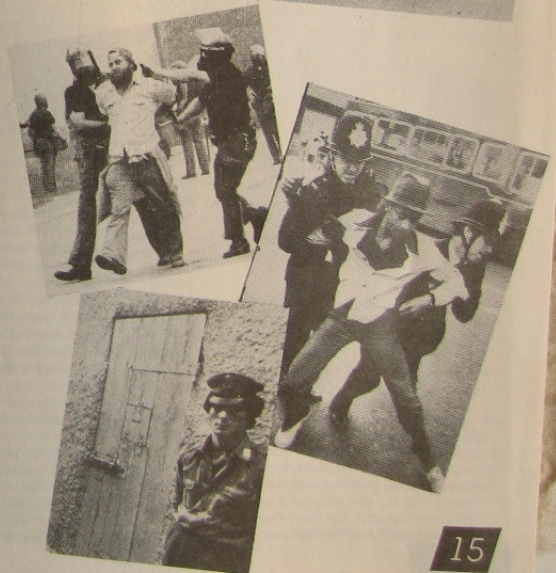
sive power, harassment and repressiveness in dealing with the minority groups. It only means all too insidiously that the role of the police is going to be more acceptable to the vast majority.

Secondly the police are made accountable not only to the state minister but also to the common law practise. The state minister has her/his interest tied up with the politics of the day, so for instance when the ALP has a lax uranium policy, the police will continue to bash up anti-uranium protesters in the name of "duty". It is also no problem to make the police accountable to common law when the common law itself legitimizes the harassment of a particular group. So it is no consolation to a Land Rights protester to find that the Commonwealth Games Act (Qld) 1982, s F(3) of which provides that an authorized person can use as much force "as is necessary to carry out his functions". Not only are there no safeguards to prevent abuse of these powers, but under s42 of the Act, protection from court action is given to any authorized person who exceeds her/his powers under the act.

The police have enormous discretion when it comes to deciding what constitutes an offence, whether or what or how many charges should be laid. It is not only limited to the substantive choice, but extends to procedures, methods, forms, timing factors. There is often a tendency among police to close ranks to protect their own kind should there be damaging complaints against the exercise of discretion by the police.

The police are agents of the system which strives to attack anyone who threatens its power base. The police force seem to take on an independent appearance. In times of deepening crisis, when the police take on a more authoritarian structure, the vast majority see the police as enemies. We have to keep in mind that it is the capitalist system we have to attack. In just identifying the police as the antagonisers we are excusing the structure which permits them. However police interests are not neutral.

Mary-Kathleen



The Only Survivors?

"They have installed the missiles today, but we are not beaten. We will remain here and make sure they won't be able to drive the missiles out to fire them. We will stop them . . ." (Ann Thomas, peace protestor at Greenham Common, Dec. 1983) (interviewed by "B.B.C.)."

"How much does it cost them? About \$10,000 per day for each special division soldier in action." (Bill Brookes, Co-editor of "Soldier of Fortune", Dec. 83) interviewed by "Panorama".

The Soviet Union began training them in 1979. That was the year in which the go-ahead by NATO was given to begin work for the deployment of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles.

They are called Spetzna (meaning for special actions). Their rigorous training is designed for a particular task: to get into Western Europe in case of heightened tension, and destroy the mobile launchers and support vehicles for the new euromissiles before they can be fired.

NATO also believes that the Spetzna are being trained for other action in Western Europe. Their task would be to find and kill quickly key military and civilian figures in NATO countries. To counter the perceived threat, the control over the Cruise and Pershing II will be given not to the European parliamentary governments or the local generals. Nor will it be entrusted to the shaky (in case of war) link with the US President. They will be under the direct command of US marines, paratroopers and Green Berets, the best US soldiers, already tested in countless war situations (most recently in Granada) and who are the only groups considered reliable against the Spetzna attack.

What the new tactics for the protection of the missiles of course mean is that the crucial decision to launch the first NATO missiles is rapidly and necessarily going from the hands of the US President, to the European-based NATO generals and to American special troop commanders in dozens of locations in Europe.

With this great responsibility follows also a need to let field commanders make more and more snap decisions without consultation with superiors in the US and certainly not with the local European governments. US troops already have the duty to kill possible terrorists (demonstrators) who may be threatening the missiles or the support vehicles. It is likely that the KAL 007 disaster occurred simply because of this new power of



decision that has been granted to regional or base commanders of the Soviet as well as US forces.

To counter the threats to the missiles, and to be able to threaten the opponent's missiles, both the US and USSR are developing new techniques, and most importantly new soldiers.

To become a Spetzna what is needed is a degree in engineering, a deep knowledge of electronics, a detailed understanding of missile systems and the capacity to speak perfect Russian, English and an African, Asian or European language. The Soviet Union, together with the other military powers is now basically mass-producing James Bond clones, capable of doing "anything, anytime, anywhere, anyhow" as the Green Beret slogan goes.

These troops, highly mobile and totally reliable, are going to be used, not only in the starting (and final) phase of a nuclear war, but increasingly to give an enormous advantage to one side in a local conflict.

In 1978 the French Foreign Legion rescued the 10,000 white capitalist from Zaire. In 1979 the airborne Blue Berets installed the Bebrak Kernal regime in Afghanistan within days. In 1982 the British SAS showed the potential of special troops by giving the winning edge to Britain, when it was outnumbered, outgunned and badly positioned and supplied in the Falklands-Malvinas war. And in 1983 it was the Marines and the US Rangers that quickly eliminated the local troops and Cuban advisers to invade and conquer Grenada. Today British and American special assault troops are ready to fly into the strait of Hormuz in case of an Iranian blockade.

"Only professional military experts can guarantee a quick success to a government" explains Luigi Calligaris, an Italian military expert. "It is a direct consequence of modern conflict, that due to the possible escalation into nuclear war, we cannot deploy large armies or use rigid command structures".

Regimes such as Israel and South Africa pioneered with spectacular success the idea of special forces. Israel now has 170,000 regular and 500,000 reserve soldiers. South Africa has 82,000 regulars and an additional 400,000 soldiers can be equipped and deployed in just hours. These countries are now turning their entire armies into special forces: When they fight they are quick, ruthless and they obliterate completely the opposition. The Six, Day war in 1967, the Israeli raids on the PLO leadership in Beirut in 1973, the Entebbe raid in Uganda in 1976 and even this year's successful (if criminally brutal) special forces operations.

Israel and South Africa are so advanced in these new "conventional" war tactics that they now produce some of the most efficient weapons available, now sought by mercenaries and right wing death squads all over Africa and South America.



Special troops are equipped with all that is needed to kill as many people as possible very quickly. "They are to luxury, they can go through local civilian protest, police or military forces like a hurricane, but few countries can afford them", according to Robert Elliot, of the London Strategic Studies Institute.

Today the USSR has the Spetzna, the Blue Beret paratroopers and special marine assault troops. The US fields the 82nd and 101st divisions of paratroopers equipped with armour. They also have the three Marines divisions and 3000 Green Berets. Great Britain has one army and one logistics special division, plus the SAS and SBS.

France fields its FAR for intervention in third world countries, made up of the best legionnaires, marines and the San Marco marine battalion and divers. South Korea, in addition to Israel and South Africa is developing a large number of special troops. At the moment the public seems largely unaware of these major developments in the military thinking of their governments. The peace

movement worldwide seems unconcerned by the creation of the new soldiers, even if they are now an essential element of the nuclear strategy and a dangerous link between conventional and nuclear strategy. And perhaps more importantly they are forces which tend not to distinguish between foreign "national enemies" and local "agitators", as the quick successful mission in defence of the government is their only relevant consideration. Now the concept is being extended by US military schools which will train special troops for allies from Turkey to Malaysia, from Guatemala to Egypt.

"They come to us as men, we make them supermen", is the comment by General Joseph Lutz who-trains Green Berets at the giant military school in Fort Wood, Texas. There future marines from all over the world receive a complete education. They learn to run for hours carrying their equipment, to fight in the dark and in hand to hand combat. They must pass "severe checks of their character"



and prepare for "defence against domestic subversives". And their political development is not neglected. The soldiers study third world nations, their culture, their language, their problems and needs, the American interests in the area. They learn of the possible military targets and strategies, the likely future political developments, methods for identifying "subversives and terrorists" and techniques for the interrogation of civilians. They also learn to be ready to protect (or eliminate) the local leadership, secure communications, use airborne, naval or armored support, run radio stations and newspapers, use and survive chemical weapons and of course "win the hearts and minds of the people".

But in addition to all these roles the special troops are being groomed for another most important mission. Their duty is to survive the nuclear war, to go into action after the atomic massacre, and with their conventional arms they use so well, provide their surviving generals with their last successful mission.

edited from "Panorama" 1983.

Sledgehammer

Approach - the A.L.P. and Unemployment

The slogan "Jobs not Bombs" has been raised often by not just the left within the Disarmament, but by conservative elements also. Unfortunately, the "connections" between the two supposedly separate issues have often been made superficially.

Whether at disarmament forums or unemployment rallies, whenever the left have raised the slogan they have omitted to mention that Australia has no arms industry to speak of.

Even in terms of a percentage of the Gross National Product (GNP), the proportion spent on the military overall, not just arms hardware manufacture, dropped by more than 10% between 1972 and 1978, and Australia only spends between 2.1% and 4% of the GNP on arms. Some comparisons are: US - between 5 and 10% and increasing, Israel - 22%, USSR - above 10% and increasing.

Hence the relevance of the slogan for Australia is not so much in its economic involvement in arms production, but in Australia's political alliance with the world arms production system.

Arguably, to sever Australia's links with the arms race would make very little difference to the Australian economy, causing little dislocation, little unemployment, and providing no step towards a solution to Australia's economic/unemployment crisis.

Small wonder then, that the slogan has gone down like an Indonesian satellite at such forums as the Coalition

for Poverty and Unemployment's "Jobs Not Bombs" rally last December.

A more conservative expression of the slogan was voiced in an article which appeared in the British disarmament magazine "Sanity" in January 1984. This article not only implicitly criticized workers who took jobs in arms factories (in this case workers on the Trident submarine project) but also offered as a possible economic solution for the cessation of work on Trident the development of "labour intensive" industries (without being any more specific) as opposed to "capital intensive industries", thus leaping logical boundaries in an argument which holds the nature of productive technologies themselves as the villains in an "arms-created unemployment crisis" rather than the capitalist relations of production themselves.

The situation at the British dockyard which is producing "Trident" is that the only demand is for government sponsored military production. Britain's economic crisis, the world recession, etc. have reduced demand for ships to nil. Military jobs are the only ones to be had.

The authors of the Sanity article, in common with a lot of proponents of "alternative technologies", eg. the fundamentalist wing of the recently-split German Green Party, Friends of the Earth, etc. are guilty of the failure to recognize that fundamental principle in any discussion of technology, capitalism and unemployment - viz. that it is not the machines that are the problem, it is the system which operates for profit, and which also operates for arms production to protect those profits.

JOBS WITH BOMBS IN THE ALP

The above examples illustrate that the two issues of unemployment and disarmament are not simply resolved by diverting resources from military to civilian purposes "to create jobs and reduce hardship". They illustrate that to fight unemployment and to fight the arms race is to wage a political struggle against entrenched interests which defend patriarchal capitalism.

This is the real "connection" between the issues of unemployment and disarmament. Consistently activists in the two areas find themselves up against the same enemy, and find themselves sold out by their supposed representatives, in Australia's case, the ALP.

The case of the Unemployed Workers Union is perhaps the clearest indication we have had of the real attitude of the ALP towards unemployment. The situation where the Victorian ALP - an organization supposedly in the fore front with progressive policies for a range of issues such as uranium mining, East Timor, etc. - consciously acted to smash the only independent organization of the unemployed in that state who are actually organizing themselves (as opposed to phoney "job creation schemes", or "kibbutzim in the outback", or government programs to intimidate young unemployed).

The Victorian ALP, in the service of the entrenched corporate interests which promote both high unemployment and Australia's alliance with the arms race, was also the first government, Liberal, Labor or Bjelke, to try out the new special police, the paramilitary Independent Patrol Group, against a political target (see article "The Only Survivors" elsewhere in this issue).

The history of the ALP smash-up of the UWU headquarters and its attempted destruction of the UWU (when the Northcote City Council (long time Labor-dominated) undertook to ensure that the control of the UWU would be through people employed through the State Labor Government via funding, and therefore answerable to and in the pockets of the ALP.

The December 1983 issue of the UWU Newsletter continues: "When opposition to this move grew and members demanded a General Meeting be called, they were then invited to a meeting with a Senior Labor Parliamentarian, where he suggested that they too could be employed through State government funding if they dropped the call for a general meeting. This offer to individuals was rejected."

It was after this that the eviction notice from the Northcote City council was issued. Four months later, the site of the old headquarters is still being used as a carpark, with the proposed use of the site being as an "energy showroom" for retailing electrical appliances through the Council's electricity department.

Thus through the whole sorry episode the "progressive" ALP had:

- *employed a Special Operations Squad against workers.
- *defied a union blackban by the BLF
- *employed scabs to do their dirty work
- *crossed a union picket line in the first place
- *stolen Union property
- *pre-empted a meeting between the UWU, the Council and the BLF, which was set up by the BLF.
- *arrested and jailed union members for picketing
- *lied continually about "offers" and

"rumours".

All this for the UWU refusing to remain co-opted into the Victorian ALP.

Such manifestations of social democracy as the ALP smash-up of the UWU headquarters, are consistent with the operation of the Federal ALP on East Timor, on the Middle-East, on Aborigines, and - as has yet to be decisively tested since ALP politicians have been greatly successful in diverting the issues- US Bases, uranium mining and disarmament generally, in the Australian context.

PND activists would do well to examine, in the light of the UWU's experience with the Victorian ALP, the dangers of greater co-optation into the strategy of working with social democratic parties such as the ALP. For, when the pressure is on, they don't simply sell you out, they refuse to accept any independent and opposing strategies to their own. In this way, the ALP serves the entrenched interests of patriarchal capitalism in two ways. Firstly, they co-opt the independent struggles for change and on matters of principle. Secondly, when that process of co-optation fails, they, in the service of the ruling class, attempt to stamp out the opposition.

Tim Humphrey



What a Disaster

Review: The Day After

It sounds suspicious for a big American film company to make a film about something as controversial as nuclear war, especially when the film portrays the effects of nuclear war on American towns and the film doesn't have a happy ending. The film is suspicious - suspiciously like your usual "big American disaster movie" and suspiciously devoid of any political comment or analysis of why we are threatened by "The Day After" or what we can do about avoiding being killed.

"The Day After" caused a big stink in America when it was shown on TV, this mainly from right-wingers but also from psychologists worried about kids having nightmares if they saw the film. Basically the film was produced as a token gesture to shut people up. Because people are beginning to know a bit about why we are threatened with World War III and want to know more. The Ruling class, through its big film companies, must jump in quickly with its shit films to pacify people. All "The Day After" really shows is the immediate effects of nuclear war and it

probably exaggerates the survival possibilities. This information, which people should have had access to years ago, is then doled out through the mass media as if it's all there is to know about nuclear war

"The Day After" deliberately avoids commenting on why the whole thing is happening and is particularly ambiguous about which side could have possibly started it. Set in its disaster film mould, the producers have tried desperately to reduce World War III to another "Towering Inferno" (to pacify people) but still make the film "beyond imagining" so lots of people go and see the film and they make lots of money. There is no mention of the disarmament movement or any strategies for removing nuclear weapons.

The hypocrisy of the film industry's claims to be trying to inform people of an important issue is shown out clearly by the inadequacies of the film itself, but also by the fact that both "The Day After" and "Silkwood" (another American Broadcasting Companies film) have no free lists.

David Paterson



Beyond the Backyard

BURN THE BOOKS

It happens in Australia, our free country. The political censors (customs officers) took away books belonging to a university academic returning from a visit to Cuba. The books dealt with the Cuban Revolution and recent world events. These were apparently issues which might, according to some statute, incite or encourage terrorism. The event is typical of any capitalist state. Senator Gareth Evans was caught with his pants down. He insisted that it was a terrible mistake especially under the ALP's liberal democracy. He generously offered that books concerning revolution in the Third World are acceptable but books advocating revolution in this country are not. It seems that what is progressive politics for the Third World countries is terrorism to the "free world".

13/2/84

BRAVE NEW MORALITY

Laws have always been made for the benefit of men. Women are treated as property; wives as property of the man. Similarly women who are single mothers are treated as property of the state. Evidence of this could not be more blatant than the recent pronouncement at Bilosela, QLD. Single mothers with low incomes now do not have control over exercising decisions concerning male visitors at their Housing Commission estate. Instead the Clerk of Court (most probably male) has the discretion to decide whether the women can have male relatives stay the night. Queensland's only independent parliamentarian generously took up the women's case and will lead a brave fight for a 10pm curfew for male visitors.

13/2/84

ROXBY TRIAL PERIOD

Demonstrators 'arrested' at the Roxby Downs Blockade in August last year were convicted on charges of assault and interfering with vehicles. Police prosecution portrayed the incidents as orchestrated conspiracies by affinity groups to provoke heavy police response!!! Also, in the first test case for the 200-odd demonstrators arrested on the quaint charge of "refusing to cease to loiter", the magistrate ruled that the Roxby Downs site was private property and the Police Offences Act did not apply. Those demonstrators stand a good chance of having their charges dismissed. Stand by for further details of the Roxby Blockade (sorry, "vigil") in August this year.

6/2/84

A PALER SHADE OF GREEN

It's now official. The Green Party of West Germany is openly split and may lose its parliamentary seats. Trying to keep together a movement which could not agree on whether capitalism, the nukes or heavy industry was the true enemy of the people became too much even for the ideologically flexible Greens.

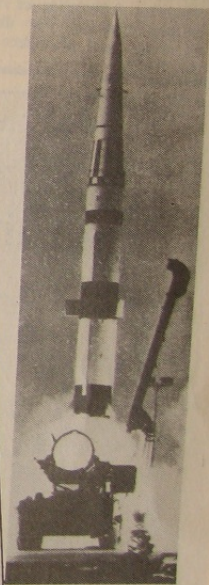
They did try to unite people in a common bond of belief in non-violence, respect for the environment and non-oppressive organization.

Unfortunately the reality was that even massive mobilization could not stop the installation of the Cruise. In addition the greens in the streets found that even their own environmentalist retired generals were not immune to seeking influence and power once elected.

Now the Greens are arguing. The bourgeois media says they are divided in three groups: those who wish to pursue the parliamentary road, those who want to go back to the 'pure' politics of the environment, and the "Marxist-Leninists".

Out of the turmoil many people will redefine their positions and the movement may well re-emerge, as the Americans fear, with a distinctly red tinge.

11/2/84



Activist Calendar



*Sunday 19 Feb.
Skills Extravaganza/Training
Day (Non-Violence Training -
beware!) Princes Hill High
School.

*Friday 24 Feb.
Gary Foley and Rob Robotham
present opposing views on civil
defence. See *Age Weekender*
under 'Hear This' for details.

*Monday 27 Feb.
Victorian Association of Peace
Studies meeting. For details
of where and what time ring
341 2900.

*Wednesday 29 Feb.
Special screening of 'Silkwood'
8 pm East End Cinema 1,
Bourke Street, Bookings
through FOE, MAUM, PND.

*Thursday March 8.
Rally and March for the fiftieth
International Womens Day.
Further details from Womens
Liberation Switchboard, phone
329 8515.

*Friday Nights.
Empress of India Hotel,
Good bands - political music,
organised by UWU,
Nicholson St. Fitzroy.
Artists wishing to perform
(yes its paid) please ring
481 1155 on Thursdays.

Melbourne Socialist Feminist Conference

Venue

Princes Hill High School
Arnold Street, Carlton North

For further information contact the
Women's Liberation Switchboard
(03 3298515).

Registration Fees

Employed: \$20 for 4 days, or \$7 per day

Low-income: \$5 for 4 days, or \$2 per day

Programme

DAY 1 Saturday 3 March

*Theme: Women and the distribution of wealth,
work, the sexual division of labour, equal pay,
marginalization, unemployment, domestic labour,
women and technology.*

DAY 2 Sunday 4 March

*Theme: Women and the Labour Movement
women and unions, organising unemployed and
unpaid workers, part-time and outworkers, unions
and technology, Working Women's Charter, the
Accord, the ALP and the Parliamentary system.*

DAY 3 Saturday 10 March

*Theme: Women and the State equal opportunity
and affirmative action, the social wage, education,
welfare and health, working for the State.*

DAY 4 Sunday 11 March

*Theme: Organisation and strategy, strategies for change,
working in political parties, an autonomous women's
movement, working for the government, new ways to
organise.*



