

DIRECT ACTION

A Socialist Fortnightly

No. 49, Oct. 11, 1973

20 cents

WHEN THE COMPANY
RAISES THEIR PRICES
TO MAKE MORE PROFIT!



THAT'S PROSPERITY!

BUT WHEN THE UNION
WANTS TO RAISE WAGES
SO THAT WORKERS CAN
PAY THE HIGHER PRICES



THAT'S INFLATION!

VOTE NO!

TO WHITLAM'S WAGE
FREEZE
TO PRICES & INCOMES
REFERENDUM

What's Behind the MID-EAST WAR



DIRECT ACTION

No. 49, October 11, 1973.

Editor: Nita Keig. Managing Editor: Sol Salby
Editorial Board: Chris Graham, Tina Harsanyi, Dave Holmes,
Nita Keig, John Percy, Sol Salby, Frans Timmerman, Allen Westwood.

All correspondence to: Box 151, PO Glebe, 2037. Phone (02) 6602251

Registered for posting as a periodical - Category B
Published by John Percy, 139 St John's Rd, Glebe, 2037.
Printed by Service Press, James St, Waterloo.

EDITORIAL

Struggle Grows for 35-Hour Week

As Whitlam's campaign to impose a wage freeze gathers momentum a major strike wave is now in full swing.

Workers, effected by the worst kind of inflation for 20 years are now taking strike action on a bigger scale than for some time.

Government statistics issued by the Bureau of Census and Statistics indicate that while the number of strikes hasn't gone up their length and significance have shot up considerably.

Australian workers have been attempting to combat inflation in more than one way. While demands for higher pay still dominate workers action other issues have also come into prominence.

One of these, the demand for increased leisure is one thing that the capitalists can't take back by raising their prices. This is why the struggle for a 35-hour week takes on a special significance.

The 35-hour-week struggle is not the only one involving a reduction of the working hours. Postal workers at the Redfern mail exchange in Sydney put a ban on overtime. Members of the Amalgamated Postal Workers Union took this action in order to force the PMG department to give all APWU members the right not to be forced into compulsory overtime.

But the 35-hour week struggle has been the most significant one for increased leisure. It was the key issue last year during the oil strike; it is now the key issue in the Brewery workers' strike in Victoria, and the basis for NSW Premier Askin's attacks on the State Electricity Commission power workers.

The ACTU strategy of trying to lengthen the shorter working week through industries where productivity has increased rapidly has been displaying its flaws. No attempt was made to mobilise other sectors of the working class. In particular in NSW the Labor Council has shown a preference for the Industrial Commission. The commission has on two occasions rejected the application of the NSW SEC employees for a 35-hour week.

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 Queensberry St, Carlton 3053. Ph 3473507
ADELAIDE: SWL, SYA, 287 Rundle St, Adelaide 5000. Ph 2234539
BRISBANE: SWL, SYA, 54 Marmion Pde, Taringa, 4068
CANNBERRA: SYA, PO Box 1733 Canberra City, ACT 2601. Ph 477306 (John)
HOBART: SYA, PO Box 1255N GPO Hobart 7001.

Socialists Launch Campaign for No Vote

BY JOHN PERCY

In a press release issued on Thursday October 11, Dave Holmes, national organisation secretary of the Socialist Workers League, announced that the League would be conducting an extensive campaign urging voters to reject both questions in Whitlam's prices and incomes referendum.

"The prices referendum is a fraud," stated Holmes.

"It is a cover-up for Whitlam's real intentions; to curb workers' wages. No capitalist government is capable of controlling prices. Nor are any of them interested in achieving this aim, even if it were possible."

The release also claimed that:

"Even if the referendum on wages was defeated there is no legal guarantee that giving the Australian Government powers over prices will prevent it from using the power to control wages. After all, wages are merely the price of labor."

"Much will be made by the ALP bureaucracy, and its allies, of the Liberals' opposition to the referendum. They don't think Labor is going far enough in shackling the unions."

Opposition Leader Snedden is a new convert to "incomes policies" support. Following the great examples of his overseas masters he wants Australian capitalism to copy the US model in detail without any changes. He wants a ninety-day freeze on wages."

"The prices referendum must be fought against. The struggle against the wage freeze must be taken up inside the ALP and the trade-union movement. It must express itself in total opposition to both questions in the referendum."

The Socialist Workers League will be helping to organise committees campaigning for a No vote. This Socialist Vote No Campaign will attempt to involve trade unionists, housewives, students and others in active opposition to Whitlam's referendum. It will put forward a socialist alternative to the problems of inflation with demands for a sliding scale of wages that will keep up with any increase in the cost of living. It will also be demanding that

Whitlam stick to his election promises and repeal the penal powers of the arbitration act.

Already the Socialist Youth Alliance has organised meetings at universities around Australia (For a partial listing see advertisement on page 22). These meetings will aim to educate students about the meaning of the referendum and the possibility of a wage freeze, and mobilise them in support of workers resisting attacks on their living standards. We plan to organise further meetings on many universities, technical colleges, and high schools as possible. If you can help organise a meeting at your school or college, let us know.

The Socialist Vote No Campaign also intends to organise meetings on job sites and in localities wherever possible. Big public meetings are being planned in Sydney and Melbourne so far, and other areas will follow. In Sydney the meeting will be held in the Trades Hall Auditorium at 7.30 pm on Friday November 16, and in Melbourne in the lower Town Hall at 8 pm on Wednesday November 14.

A mass-distribution leaflet is being prepared at the moment, along with more detailed statements of the socialist position on the referendum. Posters are also being printed, and pickets and demonstrations at key events during the campaign are envisaged.

Although most union officials and Labor leaders are behind Whitlam's proposals or have been taken in by the prices part of it so far, the campaign against the wage freeze and for a No vote has already been quite well received among the rank and file of the labor movement.

A motion urging a "No" vote on both questions was only narrowly defeated at the recent Young Labor Conference in Victoria. Supporters of the campaign should press their case inside the Labor Party at the branch level, in their trade union, and other bodies. The response so far indicates that once the issues are explained clearly, rank-and-file members of the ALP and ordinary workers are not fooled by Whitlam's manoeuvres.

Anyone who can spare the time to work on this campaign should contact the Socialist Workers League or Socialist Youth Alliance office in their State as soon as possible.

FORUMS THE MEANING OF WHITLAM'S PRICES & INCOMES REFERENDUM

SYDNEY

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY: Thurs, 11th Oct, 1pm, Function Rm, 4, The Union, Speaker: Sol Salby.
N.S.W. UNIVERSITY: Tues, 16th Oct, 1pm, Common Rm, Roundhouse, Speaker: Sol Salby.
SYDNEY UNIVERSITY: Wed, 17th Oct, 1pm, Philosophy Rm, Speaker: Sol Salby.

MELBOURNE

MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY: Wed, 10th Oct, 1pm, Raymond Priestley Rm, Speaker: Jim McLroy.
LATROBE UNIVERSITY: Thurs, 11th Oct, 1pm, Committee Rm, Speaker: Jim McLroy.
MONASH UNIVERSITY: Tues, 16th Oct, 1pm, Committee Rm, Union Bldg, Speaker: Jim McLroy.
ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY: Thurs, 18th Oct, 1pm, Meeting Rm, 1, Speaker: Jim McLroy.
FLINDERS UNIVERSITY: Fri, 19th Oct, 1pm, Rm, 201, Speaker: Jim McLroy.

ADELAIDE

CANNBERRA GEELONG

A.N.U.: Tues, 23rd Oct, 1pm, Speaker: Sol Salby.
GORDON INSTITUTE: Tues, 23rd Oct, 1pm, Humanities Theatre, Speaker: Jim McLroy.
TRADES HALL: Tues, 23rd Oct, 7.30pm, Speaker: Jim McLroy.

PUBLIC MEETINGS VOTE NO! TO WHITLAM'S PRICES & INCOMES REFERENDUM

SYDNEY

TRADES HALL AUDITORIUM
FRI, NOV. 16TH, 7.30PM.

MELBOURNE

LOWER TOWN HALL
WED, NOV. 14TH, 8PM.

Labor Gears for Wage Freeze

BY SOL SALBY

The endorsement of Whitlam's referendum by the Federal executive of the ALP takes the campaign for a wage freeze a step further. The endorsement by the executive followed a fortnight of increased opposition from the industrial wing of the labor movement and increased attempts by Whitlam to gain support from the employing class for his referendum.

The clash at the executive meeting in Adelaide was only a preview of that between the leadership of the political wing and the trade-union movement. Far stronger opposition is mounted by various unions throughout the country.

The executive decided to reject by a margin of 10 to 7 an amendment moved by the ACTU president, Bob Hawke, who is also Federal president of the ALP. Hawke's amendment would have allowed for official ALP support for the "prices" question in the referendum but oppose any support for the "incomes" question in the referendum. Both questions, related to granting the Federal Government power over these issues are going to be put on December 8.

The actual resolution which was moved by Whitlam himself and seconded by that well-known "left winger" Senator Murphy reads as follows:

"The executive notes the call of the latest ACTU congress for the Australian Government to regulate non-wage forms of income and strengthen the Prices Justification Tribunal.

"It is desirable to put the inquiries and recommendations of the Prices Justification Tribunal beyond challenge.

"It is desirable to extend the functions of the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission to regulate specific non-wage income, as has been done hitherto, for example, by ad hoc inquiries into academic salaries and medical fees.

"The executive repudiates any idea that a Federal Labor government would initiate a wage freeze or displace or diminish the commission's role in fixing wages.

"(The ALP is committed to support conciliation and arbitration as the means of settling industrial disputes.)"

"The executive congratulates the Federal Government on giving the people the earliest opportunity to say whether the Australian Parliament should be given the power which other national parliaments already possess, to pass laws with respect to prices and with respect to incomes, so that a more equitable distribution of national incomes can be achieved.

"In the light of overseas experience, the implementation of such powers can only be successful with the direct involvement of the trade-union movement in the

formulation and administration of any policies affecting trade unionists."

The trade-union leaders which voted for this resolution included John Ducker, assistant secretary of the Labor Council of NSW and Jack Egerton of the Trades and Labor Council of Queensland. These so-called leaders of the working class can find very little in the resolution to justify their action.

The allusion to the recent decision of the ACTU congress is not going to provide much help. The ACTU decision referred to non-wage forms of income. The referendum, however, includes wages. The Federal executive may have rejected an explicit wage freeze but nevertheless it has laid the foundation for such a freeze.

Before attending the Federal executive Whitlam spent several days relaxing in Queensland. This rest was, no doubt, highly deserved. The night before he went on his three-day holiday Whitlam addressed the annual dinner of the Queensland Chamber of Manufacturers. This was the fifth august body of this type that Whitlam addressed within a fortnight. He was making sure that all business leaders in every State could receive his message loud and clear. (Tasmanian capitalists, being relatively unimportant to Whitlam's strategy, had to be content with Deputy Prime Minister Barnard.)

Whitlam's message was indeed loud and clear. He told the assembled businessmen: "We are pledged to your growth and progress. We need you. We need your success, your growth, your co-operation.

"We will never be anything but receptive to your views, sensitive to your needs and sympathetic to your rightful ambitions..."

And he added: "So I give you this assurance; nothing we do, either in our fight against inflation or in our general economic policies, will do anything to damage the underlying strength and prosperity of Australian industry."

Whitlam's assurances to businessmen as to his real intention with his anti-inflation measures had quite a significance. But an even better indication as to the future course was given by Dr Jim Cairns.

Dr Jim Cairns was then the Federal Minister of Overseas Trade and Secondary Industry. To most Australian workers Jim Cairns is not known as that but as the unofficial leader of the "left" of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party. As chairman of the Victorian Moratorium Committee he has become known to all as a "left winger". Cairns' intervention on Whitlam's side is therefore quite important.

On October 2 Cairns called a press conference and said that he supported

the move for a dual referendum. He claimed that few people understood the "incomes policy" proposed by the Federal Government.

In his view, the aim was not to seek directly to regulate wages and salaries but to "apply guidelines to incomes increases and control prices by preventing restrictive trade practices and preventing increases, not the results of genuine cost increases."

Cairns' role as a so-called "left winger" makes his remarks all the more treacherous. His past record has made him much more acceptable to Australian workers. Militants can be much more easily deceived by his pious remarks. It is interesting to note that Cairns' previous public remarks have usually ruffled the Prime Minister. When Cairns lashed out at President Nixon's murderous bombing of Vietnam, Whitlam tightened the reins. He took steps to indicate his displeasure at his ministers' public statements on matters outside their domain. Strangely enough, on this occasion Whitlam remained silent.

Cairns' statement is going to be repeated in the weeks leading up to December 8. Whitlam is going to use all the labor lieutenants he can muster. He will have to try and use every possible influence in order to try to win the people to his scheme.

Meanwhile opposition is mounting to the "incomes" part of the referendum. Twenty-one Victorian trade unions have met to launch a co-ordinated campaign against a wage freeze. These unions included most of the left-wing unions in Victoria. Most of them were members of the 26 rebel unions which broke away from the right-wing Victorian Trades Hall Council.

The opposition is much wider than just left-wing trade unions. All the six State branches of the ACTU have now come out in opposition. Moves are already afoot for a special meeting of the interstate executive of the ACTU to discuss the matter on October 5. Even right-wing trade unionists like Frank Mitchell, general secretary of the Australian Workers Union, and Laurie Short, Federal secretary of the Federated Ironworkers' Association, have come out in opposition.

Union opposition has so far been confined to opposition to the "incomes" question. The deceptive actions of the Whitlam leadership have not at this stage led to any rank-and-file opposition to the prices part of the referendum. Most workers still believe that Labor might still take some action to curb prices.

The opposition so far, while limited, already indicates that any attempt to take advantage of an affirmative result of the referendum will result in bitter clashes between the unions and the government - whether Labor or Liberal.



DIRECT ACTION LAUNCHES DRIVE FOR 500 SUBS

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

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

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

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

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



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

Apart from this, there are many obvious reasons why you should subscribe. The continuity of analysis that a subscription to DIRECT ACTION provides is invaluable for an under-

standing of political events nationally and internationally. Our regular coverage of revolutionary developments around the world can't be obtained through any other source. Our analysis of events in the Australian labor movement can't be matched either.

By subscribing, you receive DIRECT ACTION at cheaper rate, delivered to your door, without missing any issues. Subscribe now for all these advantages. Don't postpone it till later - do it now!

Subscribe Now! 20 Issues for \$2

I wish to take advantage of your special subscription offer:

Please send me 20 issues for \$2

Please send me 10 issues for \$1

NAME

ADDRESS

POSTCODE

Post to DIRECT ACTION PO Box 151 Glebe, 2037

ISRAELI SOCIALIST TO TOUR AUSTRALIA

BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

The Committee for New Alternatives in the Middle East announced recently that it will sponsor an Australian tour by Arie Bober. Bober is a leader of the Israeli sympathising organisation of the Fourth International.

Bober was born in Haifa 32 years ago. He served three and a half years in the Israeli navy. In 1972 Bober was jailed for 35 days by the Israeli authorities for refusing to serve in the occupied territories. At the moment he is a research assistant at the Buchwald school of social studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Bober has been politically active in the anti-Zionist movement in Israel for a long time. He has written a large

number of articles and pamphlets on the question of Zionism and has been consistently a defender of the rights of the Palestinian peoples and the democratic rights of Israeli workers whether Jewish or Arab. Bober is a regular contributor to *Matpen*, journal of the ISO. He is also the editor of *The Other Israel* — a collection of essays on the policies of the ISO.

While the invitation to Bober was extended before the outbreak of fighting in the Middle East Bober's tour will provide an excellent opportunity for a first-hand account of recent events.

Initially the impetus for the invitation came from the anti-Arab hysteria created by the media. The "Black September" scare proved to be extremely effective. The Committee for New

Alternatives in the Middle East was founded by people who wish to prove that there is another point of view. An Israeli putting forward a socialist analysis of the events in the Middle East and putting forward a socialist solution to the problems raised by the existence of the Zionist state in the Middle East will help destroy many of the Zionist myths.

However, the committee needs money. The air fare, Israeli Government travel tax (about £1500) and publicity costs are quite expensive. (Consider for a minute the amount of free publicity the Zionists have been receiving lately.)

Please send any donation to the Committee for New Alternatives in the Middle East, 10 Cross St., Glebe, NSW, 2037.



Arie Bober

IN BRIEF:

THE SPIRIT OF FREE ENTERPRISE

Ted Chapman, a Liberal Party member of the South Australian State Parliament recently outlined his solution to the inflation crisis. Chapman doesn't go along with those who put forward timid half measures. He favors bold steps. He told the Parliament: "What is wrong with sacking a few of the staff and tightening the reins? Too much emphasis and fear is placed on the unemployment issue. If the employees are not effective stand them down. Let them go hungry for a while. . . . I mean this. The only way to get the message through to some people is through their stomach. . . . We hear about wage fixing and price fixing, but as far as I am concerned, wage reduction is the answer here, because it is the only language that some people understand."

Chapman probably won't make it into the higher echelons of the Liberal Party. His ability to disguise the naked barbarism of the capitalist system appears to be a little inadequate.

BLACK SEPTEMBER SCARE REBUFFED

An unexpected supporter of the scare campaign against the Palestinian and Arab community has been Labor MP Frank Walker. Walker, who represents Georges River in the NSW Legislative Assembly, asked in Parliament whether there was any danger of a Black September attack during the opening of the Sydney Opera House. The spectre of Prime Minister and other "notables" being kidnapped was then raised in the capitalist press.

After a socialist member of his branch pointed out the nature of the campaign, using information from DIRECT ACTION and Palestine Forum Walker seconded the following motion in the Oatley branch of the ALP:

"While condemning individual terrorism, the likes of which is carried out by the Black September movement, we believe the Labor Party should publicly dissociate itself from the anti-Semitic scare campaign which has been mustered as an excuse for harassment of the Arab community, and discrediting of the movement of solidarity with the Palestinian people."

The motion was carried unanimously.

WILLESEE'S FRIENDS

During his visit to New York, Senator Willesee addressed a lunch held by the American-Australian Association. He told the meeting that Indonesia could be a "great nation" in the future and went on to explain about Labor's foreign policy. He said: "The Australian Government has taken early steps to let our neighbors know where the new administration is going to stand" . . . (on the necks of the workers and peasants of Asia if Whitlam's



Senator Willesee

tete a tete with Suharto and Marcos are any indication).

Willesee went on: "We want our friends to know that they can seek our advice but that we will not attempt to impose our ideas on them" . . . waffle about parliamentary democracy is alright for fighting reds in Australia, but if the Asians live to take sterner measures, we understand.

When did regimes which murder and gao political oppositionists become friends of the political party of the Australian labor movement?

AS LONG AS YOU DON'T FIGHT BACK

The Special Minister of State, Senator Willesee recently made a speech in the United Nations condemning racial discrimination in Southern Africa. He said in part, "Apartheid is a practice which we utterly reject. We shall

take every opportunity to condemn it and to co-operate with all those seeking responsibly to eliminate. . . . We, ourselves, stop short of endorsing the use of force." So any Africans expecting help from the Australian Government in fighting colonialism in Southern Africa know where they stand. As long as they resist the mass murder of the Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African regimes peacefully, they will have support. But if they start to do irresponsible things like refusing to be killed and even fighting back, that's going too far.

NEW NAME FOR CAPITALISM

The Melbourne Herald recently printed an interview with Pastor Allan Webb of the Church of Christ. Webb was not optimistic about the future of humanity. He said that the devil is at work everywhere and that the end of the world is near. As evidence of the approach of the end he points to corruption and wickedness in high places and economic distress among nations with an exaggerated disproportion of wealth.

"Think of Watergate . . ." he says, ". . . symptomatic of a society that has lost touch with spiritual values" . . . or perhaps more accurately, symptomatic of a type of society which is no longer able to conceal the fact that it is based upon human exploitation and misery. That's called capitalism, not the devil.

WORK THE ANSWER

Speaking in Federal Parliament during the debate on legislation to transfer responsibility over Aborigines to the Federal Government, Country Party member S.E. Calder said that he had told Aborigines that work is the answer to many of their problems and that the time had not arrived for successful self-determination. He went on: "I think the Aboriginal must have assistance in the things he is doing and he recognises this himself." Many Aborigines would probably agree that work would solve many of their problems, unfortunately racist discrimination by many employers makes it difficult for black people to find work. Calder didn't mention how getting jobs might eliminate the practice which the police have of beating up and arresting black people.

LEFT-WING MIGRANT HARASSED

Max Wechsler, a Czech migrant, who came to Australia after the Russian invasion in 1968, has had his flat broken into three times for clearly political reasons. Money and valuables were left, while papers were searched and thrown all over the place. A note was left after one visit saying "If you don't give up we'll break your legs." Later, a photograph of Max was stabbed with a pair of scissors and strawberry jam was tipped all over it. Max is a member of the Communist Party of Australia.



SPEEDY ACTION

The Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Gordon Bryant, recently announced that the Federal Government will buy houses to rehouse 110 Aborigines from Moree in north-west NSW who were made homeless by a flood. The flood was in February 1971.

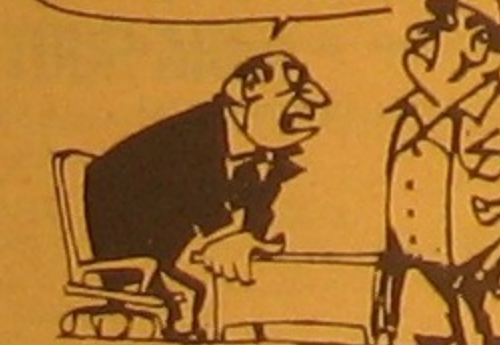
WHY SHOULD THEY THINK THAT?

Pastor David Kirk, president of the Aboriginal Evangelical Fellowship of Australia, recently said that the greatest obstacle to overcome in teaching black people the Christian Bible, was the belief that God was white.

YOU ARE THE MOST OBNOXIOUS, MEAN, DISAGREEABLE.



UNCOUTH, BAD-TEMPERED, FOUL-MOUTHED IMBECILE...



WE HAVE NEVER EMPLOYED—HOW SHOULD



YOU LIKE TO BE A FOREMAN?



BY SOL SALBY

Six years ago, on June 5, 1967 the Israeli Defence Minister, General Moshe Dayan told the Arab people that they should have no fear. Addressing them directly over Israeli radio, he said that Israel had no territorial ambitions. As soon as the fighting was over Israel would withdraw. Six years later the same General Dayan and his Government were accusing Egypt and Syria of outward aggression for their attempts to regain the territories lost in 1967.

The combined force of Syria and Egypt launched their offensive on Saturday October 6. The Egyptians crossed the Suez Canal at several points while the Syrians moved their armour on the Golan Heights. The Israelis and their allies immediately branded this action as out and out aggression. They "forgot" to mention that the areas in which the fighting is now taking place involve Egyptian and Syrian territory which the Israelis were only occupying by force.

The resolution introduced to the United Nations Security Council typified the hypocrisy of the imperialists. The US demanded that an immediate ceasefire be arranged. The ceasefire line it

the Egyptian-Syrian offensive. A multitude of factors appear to be behind the decision, apparently taken by President Sadat of Egypt to launch the offensive.

The first is the change in the international situation. The detente between Washington and Moscow and between Washington and Peking has had its impact on the Middle East. Sadat is not particularly worried by the negative effect that the detente has had on the Palestinian revolution. But even Egyptian capitalists do not approve of their country being occupied by the Zionist army. The Egyptians could clearly see the writing on the wall. The Soviet Union was making it quite clear that no further aid would be forthcoming, that the status quo would be allowed to remain and that the Soviet Union would not support any action to recover the territories occupied by the Zionists in 1967.

Another factor which could have influenced the Egyptian leaders' minds was the so-called "oil diplomacy". The capitalist regimes of Sadat in Egypt, Assad in Syria and Kaddafy in Libya are all interested in removing the Israelis from the occupied territories. Their interests might coincide with these of

or resources can afford the costs inflicted by such a war. Any Israeli victory can only be seen as a pyrrhic victory. Reports from the battle fields already indicate that the fighting is much more fierce and intense than in 1967. Israel simply cannot afford the loss of thousands of its citizens. Already it is reported in the October 11 Sydney Morning Herald that Israel lost 200 men in the initial Egyptian assault on the Suez canal. In proportion to the population this is equivalent to the loss of 1000 Australians or 15,000 Americans.

THE NEWS FROM THE BATTLE FIELDS

The news from the battlefields, however clouded, has already dismayed the Israelis. The earlier comments such as "We have begun the destruction of the Egyptian Army" and "We will break their bones" have been dropped. General Haim Hertzog, the official commentator of the Voice of Israel now says: "The struggle until now has been a very bitter and bloody one and I've no doubt that the struggle facing us will not be an easy one."

"I would not be lulled into believing this can be an easy and very rapid operation." He said the Arab armies

explanation is required." Incredible bias was revealed when newspapers started to refer to Israel and "the enemy".

THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

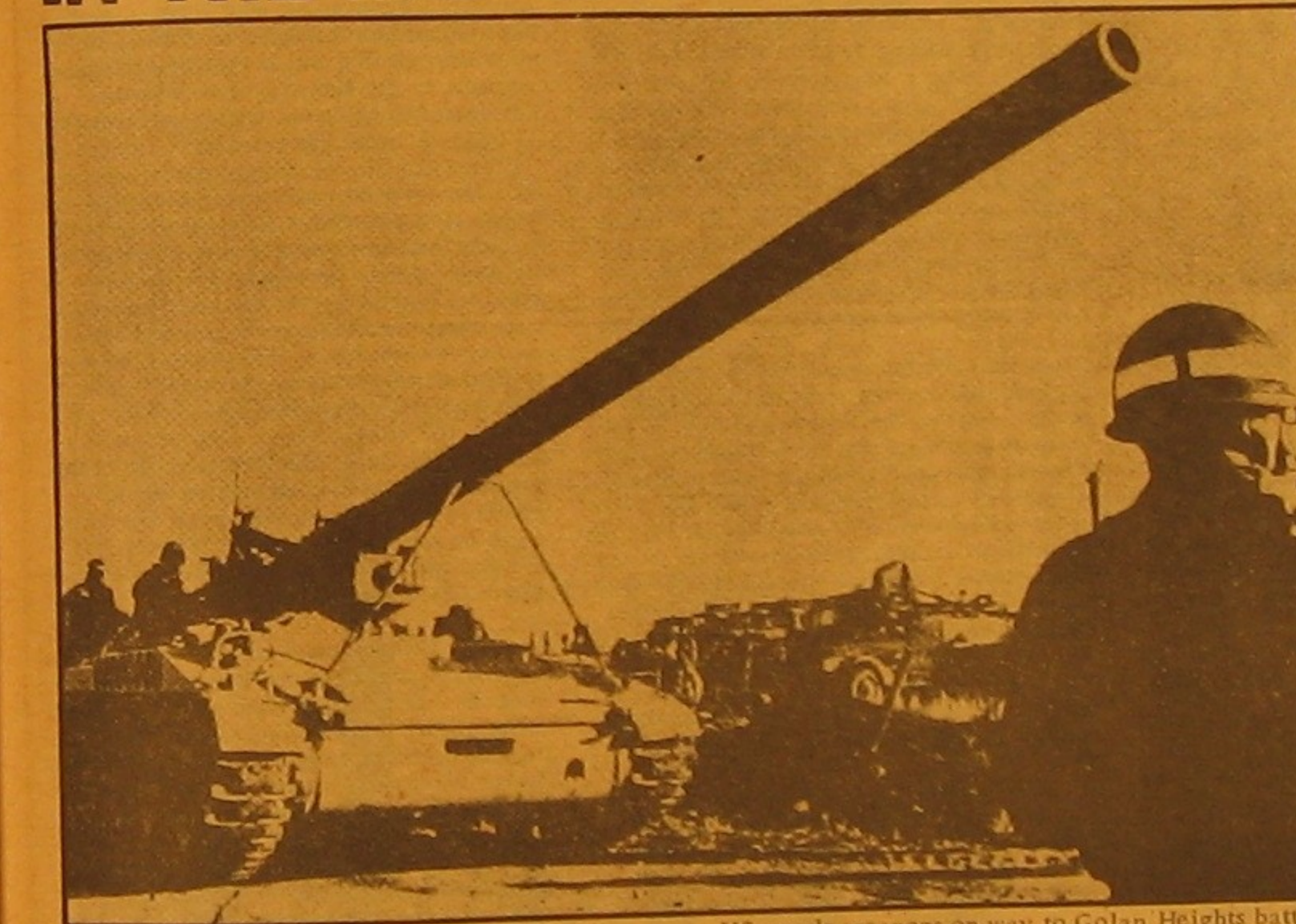
The Soviet Union which was one of the first to condemn Israeli aggression in the Middle East seems to be playing the role of "hands off". The true meaning of its detente with US imperialism is once again demonstrated. The Soviet Union which claim to support the Arab states was actually the one which informed Israel in advance of the coming offensive. Soviet advisers left the country in the few days just prior to the fighting in an air lift, thus reducing the military strength of the Arab states. Similarly the Soviet Navy sailed out of Alexandria in order to avoid becoming involved in the fighting.

THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

The war between Israel and the Arab states has completely overshadowed the real victims of the Middle East — the Palestinian people. While some Palestinian guerrillas are reported to have joined the fighting the Palestinians have been ignored by all. It is already clear that their interests are going to be disregarded by both sides.

BEHIND THE RENEWED FIGHTING IN THE MID-EAST

Sol Salby, managing editor of DIRECT ACTION, was born in Israel and lived there for 16 years.



US-made weapons on way to Golan Heights battle



Israeli Phantom jet comes in to refuel

suggested was none other than the 1967 ceasefire lines gained by earlier Israeli aggression.

Reliable information on the exact developments in the area is very difficult to obtain but some things have already become clear. One is that the Israelis, despite their arrogant remarks about "breaking the Arabs' bones" and bringing a quick end to the war, are encountering strong resistance.

The military situation will most likely clear within a few days but meanwhile the reasons for the offensive can be assessed.

The actions of the Egyptians and Syrians have taken the world by surprise. Max Walsh, correspondent for the Australian Financial Review who returned to Australia just before the war commenced reported in the October 10 Financial Review:

"In some score or more of interviews over the last few weeks in the Arab world with government officials, diplomats, foreign businessmen and journalists, I found only one person who seriously entertained the idea that war between Israel and its belligerent neighboring was in any way imminent.

"And even he did not put in a time frame that saw actual orchestrated attacks on Israeli-held territory by Syria and Egypt within 12 hours of our discussion."

Whatever his ideas his comments correctly indicate the surprise nature of

Israel on some occasions but they still have an interest in removing the most significant outpost of imperialism in the area. These regimes together with the other Arab countries control the bulk of petroleum available to the capitalist world. Even the most reactionary regimes like King Faisal's Saudi Arabia can be won over to support this objective.

Thus Sadat intends to use an Arabian version of Gough Whitlam's resources diplomacy. A diplomatic offensive around threats of the cutting of oil supplies cannot be sustained on its own.

In order to convince the capitalist world of the seriousness of its resources diplomacy and retrieve its land Egypt had to show that the status quo hasn't been accepted — that Israel's continuing occupation is no more acceptable than six years ago.

The final factor which played a significant role in influencing Sadat was internal pressure. Over the last few years pressure has been mounting, particularly from students, for Sadat to take action to recover the territories lost to Israel. Unwilling to be outflanked by other Arab leaders such as Khaddafy or any army officer imitating Khaddafy (in the Egyptian army) Sadat preferred to take action.

A successful military campaign will grant the Egyptian leadership two key advantages. Firstly, it can divert attention away from the internal difficulties of the Egyptian state. Neither Israel's economy nor its political system

were fighting "in an orderly manner." "There's no indication of a break in their psychological or their military make-up" he said.

The Israelis have also admitted that they have dropped more bombs on a single occasion in the Sinai desert than in the whole of the Six-Day War. They have also escalated the war to new heights, attacking civilian targets to Port Said and Damascus. They have also extended the war into Lebanon.

Of course, the possibility of Israeli success cannot be ruled out. It is possible that in order to appear as victims of aggression the Israelis were prepared to suffer heavy losses in the initial stages of the war. Nevertheless, a new situation is coming about in the military balance of power.

A FIELD DAY FOR RACISTS

The capitalist press has taken advantage of the developments to launch into racist anti-Arab propaganda. The Sydney Daily Mirror for example persisted in using headlines like 3-Day Victory Routed, Israel Claims 3-Front Victory (by no means an ordinary feat when there were only two fronts.) But the racism wasn't confined to this newspaper, Melbourne's Age newspaper came out with the following gem: . . . So why, and with what objectives, have the leaders of Egypt and Syria decided to mount a massive onslaught on Israeli-held territory? Arab passions, frustrations and resentments are such that perhaps no more realistic or precise

While the rights of the Egyptian and Syrian people to retrieve their occupied territories should not be ignored it is the rights of the Palestinians which should be paramount in opposing the Zionist regime.

Capitalists have also been affected by the fourth Arab-Israeli war. Their most sensitive part — their pockets have been hit. Not only have oil shares tumbled internationally but the Iraqi Government has nationalised two oil companies including the Basra Petroleum companies.

Despite the highly-questionable motivation of the Arab states, they should be supported in their struggle to retrieve their occupied territories. Our support for them is conditional. We'll support them as semi-colonial countries fighting imperialism. We only support them as far as they are actively engaged in this struggle.

The fact that King Hussein is not participating in the current war indicates that it isn't a reactionary war serving the interests of imperialism. The defeat of Israel, no matter how limited will be the most significant defeat for imperialism in the area. That's why we must call for the defeat of Israel.

We have no time for any chauvinist solution. Only in a socialist Middle East could the rights of self-determination of the Palestinian people be guaranteed. Only under a socialist Middle East can Israeli Jews survive. The current war is showing the death

The World Revolution



British Labour Party Left Grows

BY JIM McILROY

The impact of the rank-and-file militancy in the British working class or among the British Labour Party's working-class members and supporters was plainly visible during the recent annual Labour Party conference. Harold Wilson and his supporters from the parliamentary wing of the party carried the day as far as the voting was concerned, but both right and left wings of the party clearly felt the pressure from the grass-roots base of the party.

The main debate centred on the proposal, adopted rather narrowly at a national executive meeting at the end of May, for Labour to nationalise about 25 of the largest manufacturing companies in Britain. This proposal became part of Labour's official published programme and a cause of great controversy inside and outside the party. This is hardly surprising since it implied nationalisation of such giants as British Petroleum, ICI, British Leyland, General Electric, Dunlop, Marks and Spencer and Allied Breweries.

The fact that such a radical measure should be adopted by a Labour Party executive is a clear indication of the extent of the radicalisation in Britain today. And commentators in the pro-capitalist press are prepared to admit that, even though the annual conference voted against it, support for the nationalisation commitment was very strong among the Labour Party's rank and file.

For instance, Brian Boswell writes in *The Australian* on October 4: "...the vote — 5,608,000 to 291,000



Harold Wilson

against naming the top 25 firms for state takeover — is no indication of the feelings of British socialists about nationalisation. The left wingers insist that a referendum of card-carrying Labour Party members would have a totally different result and they are probably right."

The left wing were, however, incapable of countering Harold Wilson and his demand for "moderation". He had already threatened to resign as leader of the parliamentary Opposition if Labour went into the elections coming next year committed to a firm policy of large-

scale nationalisation.

The shadow treasurer, Denis Healey, had tried to whip up public opposition to these and other radical proposals by making a number of speeches declaring that many of the policies were too costly to be practical. A number of the key trade-union leaders, who control enormous numbers of conference votes showed their true political positions by coming in behind Wilson on the key issues. Most important was Jack Jones, secretary of the giant Transport and General Workers Union who gave his support to Wilson, ensuring the defeat of the 25 nationalisations proposal.

The left wing was unable to mount an effective defence against Wilson's offensive in his bid for the "middle-ground" and the so-called "swing voters". Wilson out-manoeuvred them, and effectively muted the left challenge.

While the proposals of the left — for nationalisation of the 25 capitalist firms, for a minimum pay policy, for the abolition of private schools, for opposition to any incomes policy, etc. were defeated, Labour's programme remains the most radical since the war. Labour is committed to nationalise parts of the pharmaceutical, machine tool, construction and road haulage businesses; all land required for building up to the end of the century would be taken up in state ownership under Labour; heavier taxes on incomes, particularly on high incomes, and so on.

However, Labour's policy under Wilson remains completely within the framework of private enterprise. Wilson's demagogic left bid for the conference was necessitated by the tremendous radicalisation of the British working class which is reflected in the ranks of the Labour Party. In a report in *The Age* on October 4, T. S. Monks reported on some of the factors behind the rise of the left in the Labour Party.

when they put an end to the conflict between El Salvador and Honduras, while in other situations it has been used in a controversial manner, such as the imposition of sanctions on Cuba in 1964, why don't we reflect this conviction in reforms which will preserve the positive elements and eliminate those which have proved "harmful"? The Argentine revolutionary-socialist weekly *Avanzada Socialista* commented on this answer in its September 15 edition:

"There is little that can be added to these declarations by our ambassador to the OEA. The Peronist Government does not want the derogation of the treaties which tie us to imperialism, but only their reform."

"It's incorrect to reduce the problem to a statement that, in the Rio de Janeiro Treaty as well as in the others, there are 'positive elements' and 'harmful elements' and that by a simple process of adding and subtracting, benefits can be gained for our people. But the facts are basically harmful because they represent a tie between the Latin American semi-colonies and the imperialism which exploits them most."

Despite the division of opinion amongst Latin American leaders reflected at the conference, the unanimous agreement to preserve US imperialist presence in the area is indicative of the accord between bourgeois nationalist "revolutionaries" of the Peruvian type and right-wing pro-US "gorillas" of the Brazilian type.



Brazilian delegate arrives at the conference.

OEA, Raul Quijano, had expressed before that body. When asked if he thought Argentina would try and get the Rio de Janeiro treaty, which Quijano had previously termed "anachronistic", he said, "If the countries of America are convinced that the treaty has functioned in a way that fulfilled authentic needs in situations like 1969

American Armies Conference

BY MIKE JONES

Representatives of the armies of all the countries of Latin America (except Cuba and Chile) and the United States met in Caracas, Venezuela, during the second week in September for the American armies conference.

From the first day the conference was polarised into two groups. On one side the US and its most solid supporters, the representatives of Brazil, Bolivia and Paraguay, on the other the representative of the "left" military dictatorship in Peru and General Caracazo of Argentina. Coming in behind the Peru-Argentina bloc on most issues were the representatives from Panama, Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador.

The split in the conference can be seen as a conflict between US imperialism and its supporters and the new bourgeois nationalist governments headed by Velasco in Peru and Peron in Argentina. The main point at issue was the maintenance of a number of treaties including the OEA (Organizacion de Estados Americanos — Organization of American States), the Rio de Janeiro Treaty, the South Atlantic Treaty and the Bi-lateral Pact. It is important to note that neither side in the dispute was pushing for the derogation of these treaties that link Latin American economic and political development to Washington.

General Caracazo and his Peruvian comrade pushed the same sort of line that Argentina's ambassador to the

"Not for many years has the Labour left wing had such potential power. There have always been hordes of militants in the constituencies but the leftward shift in the party is due to left-wing leaders coming to the fore in some of the most powerful trade unions."

The left trade union leaders are responsible, as Bruce Rothwell noted in the September 29 *Australian*, to the militant shop stewards. The radicalism at the top is reflected in a distorted way at the top.

Monks continues: "The party outside Westminster or at least the militants who have come to the front, wanted to be the makers of party policy to which the next Labour Government would be irrevocably committed. And that policy was to be full-blooded socialism. 'We are a socialist party,' they cry, 'let us lay down a socialist programme.'"

This left wing consists of a great many fakers as the conference showed but in itself reflects in a distorted way the radicalisation taking place on the shop floor. A key task of British socialists is to build an authentic left wing which really represents the interests of the working-class members and supporters of the Labour Party; which can constitute a real alternative to Wilson's alibi manoeuvring and pro-capitalist orientation; and which can help provide effective leadership for the British workers in the huge social struggles looming ahead.

Nixon's Provocateurs Exposed

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

Important national security operations which themselves had no connection with Watergate have become entangled in this historic case.

"As a result, some national security information has already been made public though court orders, the subpoenaing of documents and through testimony witnesses have given in judicial and congressional proceedings. Other sensitive documents are now threatened with disclosure." (Nixon's May 22, 1973 statement on Watergate.)

Except for the fact that it touched off politically damaging disclosures, the break-in at the offices of the Democratic Party national committee on June 17, 1972 was a relatively trivial incident. While the public has been permitted to glimpse only a small part of the Nixon gang's undercover operations, enough has been revealed to make it indisputable that the methods of Watergate are an inseparable part of the machinery of the US Government. Burglaries, wire-tapping, provocations, and murder are the rule, not the exception.

At Nixon pointed out in his defence, he inherited Watergate-style operations from his predecessors. His fault, in the eyes of a section of the US ruling class, is that in order to secure his own political fortunes, he turned the weapons of government repression against the loyal opposition — and got caught doing so.

In the mountain of articles in the press and testimony to grand juries and the Senate Watergate committee, there is already far more evidence that could be mentioned, much less adequately summarised, in any reasonable amount of space. What follows is an attempt to outline and illustrate, on the basis of the evidence so far available, the overall pattern of the Nixon gang's operations.

A US president traditionally enjoys a public-opinion "honeymoon" during the early months of his administration, before the hopes deliberately fostered during the campaign turn to disillusionment. In Nixon's case, the honeymoon was exceptionally short.

In fact, Nixon's very inauguration was portentous. By the beginning of April, the anti-war movement was able to mobilise several hundred thousand demonstrators in cities throughout the US.

A month earlier, Nixon had begun implementing one aspect of his "secret plan" by launching secret bombing raids against Cambodia. At about the same time, he ordered a secret expansion of the air-war into Northern Laos.

On May 9, 1969, Nixon's secret plan threatened to become public. On that morning, the *New York Times* carried a front-page article by William Beecher that began:

"American B-52 bombers in recent weeks have raided Vietcong and North Vietnamese supply dumps and base camps in Cambodia, according to Nixon Administration sources, but Cambodia has not made any protest."

It is now known that immediately after the publication of Beecher's article, Nixon ordered the wire-tapping of reporters and administration officials in an effort to find the source of the leak.

The methods used against the anti-war movement and the left were considerably less gentle. While the liberal heroes of the Senate Watergate committee have been reluctant to look into this area, information has surfaced from other sources to indicate the tactics employed.

John Dean, in his testimony to the Senate Watergate committee stated: "It was not until I joined the White House staff in July 1970 that I fully realised the strong feelings that the President and his staff had about anti-war demonstrators and demonstrators in general...."

"The White House was continually seeking intelligence information about demonstration leaders and their supporters that would discredit them personally or indicate that the demonstration was sponsored by some foreign enemy...."

In March 1971 a group of unknown persons made off with the files of an FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania. Copies of the files proved that FBI agents regularly acted as provocateurs and sometimes carried out illegal actions themselves.

The career of one of these provocateurs — Tommy Tongyal, also known as Tommy Traveller — was described in detail in an article by Ron Rosenbaum in the June 1971 issue of *Esquire* magazine.

With a cover job as a travelling salesman, Tongyal established himself as a "regional traveller" for Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). As soon as he had achieved this authority, he began to talk about "shooting pigs".

At the end of 1970, Tongyal finally persuaded two college freshmen to carry out a "militant" action — fire-bombing the campus office of the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC). The two students were arrested a few hours after throwing Molotov cocktails through the windows of the office.

There is strong circumstantial evidence that Tongyal planned for the fire-bombing to kill a large number of students. The ROTC office was on the ground floor of a dormitory. Immediately after throwing the bombs, the two students ran inside and pulled the fire alarm to alert the students. Three of the four alarms didn't work. It was later discovered that someone had pulled the fuses from them.

The ultra-left binge of SDS made it relatively easy for the provocateurs to do their dirty work. The murderous activities of a few of these agents have come to light in the wake of the Watergate scandal.

In the May 20, 1973 *New York Times*, Seymour Hersh described the role of Larry Grathwohl "one of the most

militant and outspoken members of the radical Weathermen during its peak period of bombing and other violence in late 1969 and early 1970." Grathwohl joined the Weathermen in 1969.

Hersh wrote, "Over the next few months, the sources said, Mr Grathwohl began travelling round the country on Weatherman activities. The sources also said he participated in the planning of a bombing of a police facility in Detroit...."

Grathwohl's father-in-law told Hersh: "He was in New York when that house blew up there." This was a reference to the March 6, 1970 Townhouse explosion of an alleged "weatherman bomb factory" that killed two members of the group.

Hersh's sources indicated that Grathwohl was under the direction of Guy Goodwin, the chief prosecutor of the Justice Department's "red squad".

Reporters taking a second look at the May 4, 1970 killing of four students at Kent State University by the Ohio National Guard have uncovered further evidence that still another FBI provocateur may have fired on the troops, touching off their murderous assault on the student demonstration.

In the July 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, Trudy Rubin quoted two witnesses who had seen the FBI agent carrying a pistol at the scene and who said the pistol had been fired.

"This memorandum addresses the matter of how we can maximise the fact of our incumbency in dealing with persons known to be active in their opposition to our Administration. Stated a bit more bluntly — how we can use the available Federal machinery to screw our political enemies." (John Dean in an August 16, 1971 memo to Haldeman and Erlichmann.)

FBI provocateurs are only one of the



Kent State University, May 1970

Nixon gang's weapons against its political enemies. White House papers turned over to the Senate Watergate committee prove that any and all departments of the government were and are regarded as means of intimidating opposition.

J. Anthony Lucas, in the July 22, 1973 *New York Times Magazine*, wrote that as early as July 1969 the Nixon gang was "pressuring" the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to be more responsive to the political needs of the Administration. The Dean papers indicate a feeling in the Nixon gang that Democratic Party holdovers in the IRS bureaucracy were not sufficiently co-operative.

This may or may not have been the case when the intended victim was a prominent Democratic politician. But the IRS co-operated fully with the Nixon gang with respect to non-ruling-class opponents, setting up the special services group to conduct special investigations into the taxes of anti-war, oppressed national, and leftist groups. A September 19, 1970 memorandum from commissioner of Internal Revenue Randolph Thorer reported that the IRS has already conducted politically motivated special screenings of 1025 organisations and 4300 individuals.

In March 1971, in the aftermath of leaks disclosing that the army had been spying on legal civilian authorities, assistant secretary of defence Robert Froehke admitted to a Senate subcommittee that the Pentagon kept dossiers on 25 million Americans.

The willingness of the US Government to blow up or gun down radicals, demonstrators or innocent bystanders in order to discredit mass opposition movements and destroy leftist organisations has been most murderously evident in the repeated police assaults on the Black Panther Party.

Perhaps the most notorious case occurred in Chicago on the night of December 4, 1969. In the middle of the night, cops armed with shotguns, revolvers and a submachine gun shot their way into an apartment occupied by nine Panthers.

Mark Clark was gunned down through the door of the apartment as he tried to open it. Fred Hampton was murdered as he lay in bed. Four other Panthers were wounded in the assault.

The cops claimed that they had knocked on the door to carry out a search for which they had a warrant and that when they entered they were fired on by a woman with a shotgun. They described a "fierce" gunfight that never occurred.

A grand jury report released more than six months later that at most one shot could have been fired by the Panthers — if a gun that the cops said they found in the apartment was not brought in by cops themselves.

The pretext for the murderous raid was a search for "illegal weapons" which the police said they had learned from an informant were being stockpiled by the Panthers. The grand jury report showed this phony charge had originated in Washington. The May 16, 1970 *New York Times* reported:

"... The initial information that the Black Panthers were thought to be stockpiling weapons in Chicago had come to the Federal officials from the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This disclosure was the first official substantiation of charges by black leaders that Federal officials had played a part in the investigation that led to a raid on the apartment and the fatal shooting. According to the grand jury, the two FBI tips were routine transmittals of information from a 'confidential source'."

The April-May 1970 campus rebellion that swept the US after Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the murder of students at Kent State and Jackson State universities was completely unprecedented as the first general student strike in US history. Conservative estimates put the number of students involved at 5 million.

The student rebellion occurred, moreover, in the context of indications that the radicalisation was beginning to have its effects on the working class. This plus the apparent deep divisions within the ruling class greatly concerned Nixon.

Wage Freeze - The US Experience

INTRODUCTION

In the last issue DIRECT ACTION commenced a series of articles on the experience of wage freezes overseas. The first installment in the series, The Great Payroll Robbery by Les Evans, covered the initial impact of the first stage in the so-called Phase I. That article was written in October 1971. In this article David Nizoz looks at the subsequent happenings and development.

The next installment will cover an area of some significance for Australian workers - the attempt by the Wilson Labour Government to impose a wage freeze in Britain.

BY DAVID NIZOZ

Honesty is not usually an attribute which is credited to the current President of the US, but on rare occasions Richard Nixon does tell the truth. His statement on wages and prices quoted in the June 17, 1973 issue of The New York Times is a product of one of these rare occasions. "The wage settlements reached under the rules of phase III have not been a significant cause of the increase in prices," he said.

Nixon's admission and the whole experience of Nixon's four phases of the wage freeze confirm the view that socialists have been putting forward for some time. Nixon's real aim has been to curb wages not prices.

The Crisis Facing US Capital

More than two years have now passed since Nixon's August 15, 1971 announcement of the New Economic Policy. Some of the measures initiated on that day are still in operation, others have been discarded since that time while yet others still are with us under a different disguise. Besides the introduction of varying forms of "incomes policies" Nixon has also been forced to take other measures such as two devaluations of the US dollar.

The economic and social crisis that forced Nixon to take all these measures centres on inflation. Inflation, as most consumers are only too aware, eats away at their standard of living. But that feature of inflation is not unpleasant for the capitalists: it works towards redistributing the national income in their favor. What they do not like about inflation is that it undermines their position with regard to their international competitors - especially West Germany and Japan. While higher prices permit American corporations to pocket larger profits at home, they open the American market to a massive inflow of cheaper imports including cars from Germany, electronic equipment from Japan, steel from Belgium and shoes from Italy.

Inflation of the US dollar at the same time undermines the international monetary system. An overall rise in the price of American goods that is unmatched by similar inflation in other countries means that US dollars buy less each year than the year before, and hence are worth less. But the dollar is the chief trading currency in the capitalist world, and international bankers have become more and more unwilling to hold large quantities of dollars when the buying power of their holding steadily declines.

When Nixon came into office wage controls and devaluation were regarded as last-resorts to be avoided if at all possible. In the first two years of his administration, 1969-70, Nixon attempted to combat inflation with tried and tested "deflationary" methods of the past. The essence of deflationary policy (which they try to sugar-coat for the mass media, but discuss openly in the financial journals) is that by artificially inducing a slight business recession a rise in unemployment results. Theoretically, as millions of workers are thrown out of their jobs, those who continue to work will be less willing to fight for higher wages for fear that they, too, might join the ranks of the unemployed. When the working class has less money to spend, industry is supposed to lower prices to compete in a reduced market.

Nixon and the US ruling class were not unique in applying this method. For 23 years the Liberal-Country Party coalition in Australia applied these "tried and tested" methods. The last effort was the McMahon-Snedden Budget of 1971.

Few aspects of the capitalist system more clearly expose its real relationship to the working people: the government consciously, as a matter of deliberate policy undertakes to deprive millions of its constituents of their livelihood.

The Johnson and Nixon administrations pursued recessionary policies. They tightened the money supply through the Federal Reserve Board (the US equivalent of the Reserve Bank) and forced up interest rates. By 1969 the recession was in full swing and unemployment soared to six per cent of the labor force with more than five million jobless.

The Results of Nixon's Earlier Policies

But the main goal was thwarted; the inflationary spiral was not halted. On the contrary, prices went up even more sharply and reached an annual rate of increase of over six per cent. Nixon's policies produced "stagflation", a new phenomenon combining stagnant production and rising unemployment with rising prices.

Furthermore, Nixon got more than he bargained for in the way of a recession. While it did not, as some self-styled Marxist theoreticians had predicted, lead to the final paroxysm of capitalism, the 1969-72 recession was the most serious one of the post-war period. It was, in fact, the first real world capitalist recession since the end of the war, and the leaders of US imperialism cannot lightly shrug off its implication for the future.

It is important to note that even the trade-union bureaucracy had been sounded out in advance and had agreed to accept controls. The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) had earlier - much earlier (one might even say they had played a "vanguard" role) - announced its support of the concept of wage-and-price controls and had endorsed the economic stabilization bill when it was being debated in Congress.

How far the George Meany leadership was willing to go had been tested in the spring of 1971 when wage controls were

imposed in the construction industry, and the Construction Industry Stabilisation Committee (with John T. Dunlop, an industrial-relations expert and Harvard dean, as its chairman) was established. The committee was a "voluntary" labor-management committee and controls were supposed to be a joint labor-management effort under government supervision. Its purpose was to hold down the wages of building-trades workers, and that was accomplished.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats signalled their willingness to go further. One week before Nixon's freeze decree, the AFL-CIO executive council issued a statement of its official position on the matter. Dated August 9, 1971, the statement said:

"If the President determines that the situation warrants extraordinary overall stabilization measures, the AFL-CIO will co-operate so long as restraints are equitably placed on all costs and incomes - including all prices, profits, dividends, rents, and executive compensation, as well as employees' wages..."

"We are prepared to sacrifice as much as anyone else... so long as there is equality of sacrifice. We will do our patriotic duty but we will not be the scapegoat."

The planned rise in unemployment did not prevent unions from demanding wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. Wages did lag and the standard of living declined, but not enough to satisfy the employers. The labor movement did not accept the setback passively. In 1970, for example, the electrical workers forced General Electric to settle after a long 102-day strike, the strike of postal workers forced Congress to grant a long deferred wage raise, Teamsters rejected a national agreement negotiated by their president and struck and won more money, the building-trades unions won substantial increases, and the auto workers won restoration of the escalator clause in a two-month strike against General Motors.

So in 1971 Nixon found that his deflationary policies had not only failed to eliminate inflation, but had raised unemployment to a critical level. Over 5 million Americans were "officially" unemployed - that is, were registered at the US employment centres - and another 10 million workers were on welfare or had otherwise become discouraged to the point of not registering, but in any case were without jobs. Far from the anticipated effect of creating an anti-union climate, leading to strike breaking and lowering wages, rising unemployment was exacerbating social conflict and sharpening class antagonisms. Inflation became a major domestic issue as well as a factor in international trade and in the monetary crisis. Consumers began to

protest the continual erosion of their standard of living, and through the unions, workers were able to do something about it.

In 1971, the balance of trade turned sharply against American capitalism. Every year in the twentieth century the United States had enjoyed a "favorable" balance of trade - that is, had sold more abroad than it had imported - until 1971. In 1971 there was a trade deficit on the order of \$2 billion.

On top of this, of course, one other very big factor weighed heavily on the US economy at that time: the Vietnam war. The Nixon Administration feigned a lack of concern over the war's economic side-effects, but some influential ruling-class figures, and also some representatives of the trade-union bureaucracy, were pointing out that the cost of the war was accelerating inflation.

Nevertheless, despite all the problems they faced and the failure through more traditional methods to arrive at a solution, the ruling class approached the New Economic Policy with considerable trepidation. The implicit clash with the trade unions was something desired by the ruling class only if they were sure who was going to win.

How the New Economic Policy Was Formulated

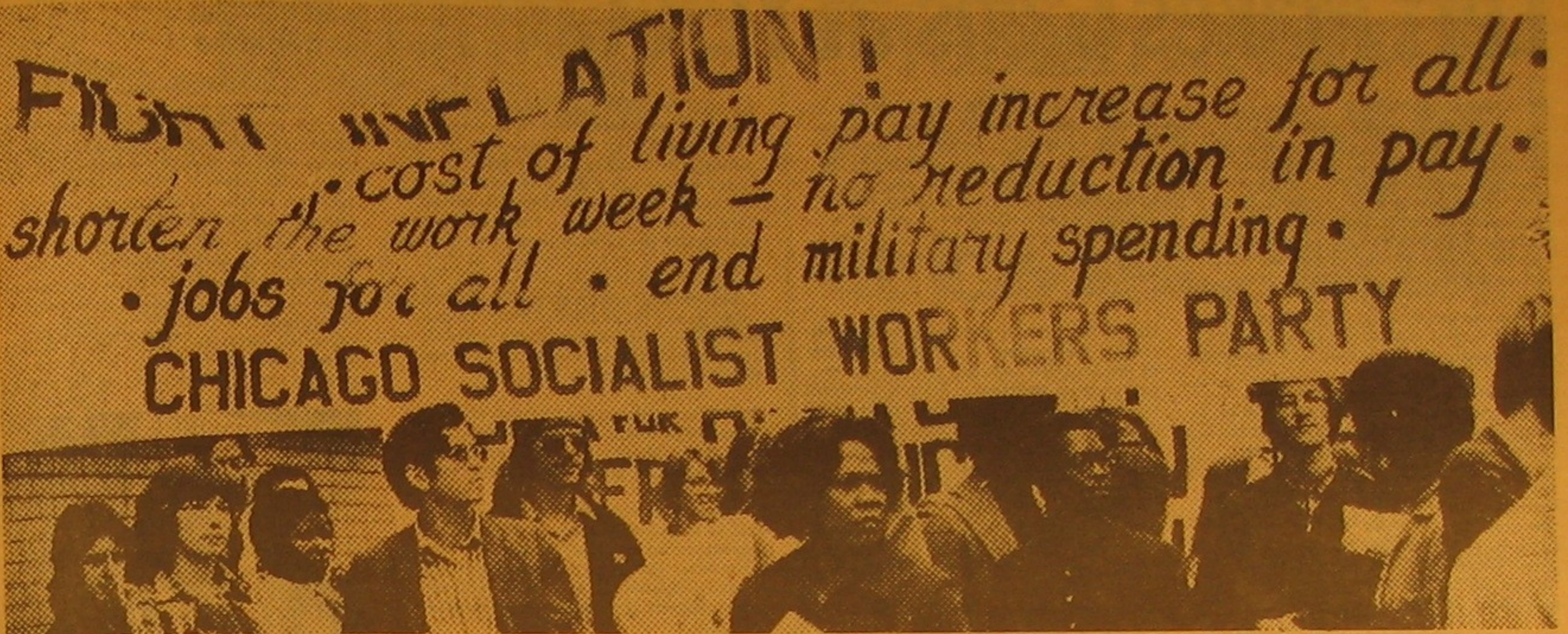
Early in 1969 a division of opinion developed among a number of prominent American economists who were or had been government advisers. Some, such as Walter Heller and Leon Keyserling, advisers to the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, were urging governmental controls on wages prices.

The Democratic majority in Congress began to espouse this point of view, largely for the narrowest sort of political reasons. While sharing a bi-partisan concern for the health of the capitalist economy, the Democrats' immediate motivation stemmed from their desire to find a way to blame Nixon for inflation and unemployment. As a result, the congressional Democrats introduced and assured the passage of the Economic Stabilisation Act of 1970, which laid the legislative basis for the wage freeze and successive "phases." Nixon signed the act, but vowed he would never use it.

By early 1971 others were also beginning to insist on the need for governmental controls. Some important sections of the ruling class, especially some of the biggest bankers, began to join the chorus. Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, came out strongly in favor of controls.

So before Nixon went on the air to announce the wage freeze on August 15, 1971, the new turn in policy had been very carefully worked out and the dominant section of the capitalist class was in agreement on the need for it at that time.

No, the wage freeze was not the big surprise that many pretended it was at the time. It was carefully prepared in advance and all the principal actors had been well coached. Of course, the labor fakery denounced the freeze as "unjustifiable," which it certainly was. But having denounced it, they added quietly: "We will wait out the ninety days to see what happens on November 14"



Recent actions in Chicago protested rising prices

when Phase I ends. That is exactly what they were expected to do.

What the NEP Was and How It Worked

Nixon's NEP was sweeping in its provisions, which included the following:

- * A 10 per cent surcharge on most imports.
- * Non-convertibility of dollars into gold.
- * A \$4.7 billion (\$A3.1 billion) cut in Federal spending.

There were other provisions, but these three, in addition to the wage freeze, were the most important measures. The surcharge was an openly protectionist move designed to give US industry a competitive advantage in its own home market. It risked retaliation by other countries. An escalating round of retaliations could provoke an international trade war.

1971. All of these figures, representing substantial losses for American workers, apply only to those workers protected by union contracts. Those who had no unions - more than three-quarters of the work-force - fared even worse.

But what about inflation? Have prices indeed been held in check? The Bureau of Labor Statistics claims that in general they have. In June 1972 Herbert Stein, chairman of Nixon's council of economic advisers, said, "I think the Administration will achieve (its) 1972 goals, increasing employment, reducing unemployment, and significantly lowering the rate of inflation. I believe we will finally exorcise from the system the (inflationary) demons unleashed by the financing of the war from 1965-68." (Monthly Labor Review, Vol 96, No. 1 January 1973). This statement is revealing in that it admits that war spending was one of the causes of inflation (although only during the Johnson Administration, of course; not after Nixon took office!).

food prices since 1946. Farm prices rose 5.2 per cent, grains soared 21.1 per cent - in one month! Business Week added the following figures in its March 3 issue: The overall Consumer Price Index went up by 0.5 per cent in January, which would make a yearly rate of 6 per cent. This compares to 5.9 per cent for 1970, the year before Nixon's wage controls were imposed, and a yearly rate of 4.1 per cent during the six months immediately preceding the August 1971 freeze. Food prices, one of the fastest-rising items in the index, jumped 2.9 per cent in January while farm prices of live-stock, poultry, eggs and dairy products climbed 10 per cent in the six months prior to January. This last category is only beginning to be registered in the Consumer Price Index and new leaps forward in direct consumer prices can be expected in the months ahead. But the inflationary pressures are not limited to foodstuffs. Business Week also reports the price of industrial raw materials increased by a phenomenal 31.5 per cent in the last year, including a 5.3 per cent gain in January.

As for unemployment, the statistics indicate that there are now more workers employed than there were two years ago. The number has increased from 79.6 million in 1971 to 81.8 million in February 1973. But the number of officially unemployed has remained steady at around 5 million. Again, these figures are deceptive; if those on welfare or otherwise no longer in the scramble for the inadequate supply of jobs is included there are closer to 10 or 15 million jobless workers.

Even though most workers, from the conditions of their lives today, are convinced that things are worse now than two years ago, there are some Americans who would disagree. The employing class sees another side of the picture that, to them, has gotten brighter in some respects. The American economy is expanding. The Gross National Product (total prices of all goods and services) has reached 1,152 trillion dollars, up \$101.7 billion from 1971. This reflects the inflationary spiral, but it also reflects a "real growth" of 6.5 per cent.

For the short run at least the capitalists have realised unprecedented profits during the period of wage controls. The ruling class of this country collected \$100 billion in gross profits for the year 1972, an all-time record. Forecasts indicate that corporate net after taxes will still hit \$52 billion.

Phase Three

Seventeen months after imposing a wage freeze, a confident President Nixon announced a new step. Nixon, content with the success of his anti-union drive up to that date, "relaxed" the controls. From now on the system was going to be based on "voluntary co-operation".

The main feature of the new arrangements was the establishment of guidelines limiting wage increases to 5.5 per cent. The change to "voluntary" control isn't particularly significant. In the case of prices the controls were never mandatory in practice during phases I and II. All Phase III indicates to the corporate price setters is that Nixon is relying wholly on penalising the workers to beat inflation and that the Government now

tries no pretence to an attempt to directly regulate prices. Each corporation, of course, will now place its individual profits ahead of general financial interests of the ruling class as a whole and raise prices to whatever the market will bear.

Under Phase III prices kept on rising even more rapidly than under either of the previous phases. An indication of the rate of price increases was given with release of the wholesale price index of industrial commodities for March 1973. This index went up 1.2 per cent in March, the largest monthly increase since the Korean-war inflation of 1951. The Consumer Price Index indicated an annual inflation rate of 8.8 per cent, similarly the highest rate since the Korean war. April's news was just as bad. The rise in consumer prices was only 0.7 per cent. On the other hand the annual figures based on the latest three months rose to 9.2 per cent.

By May the Wholesale Price Index of industrial commodities reached an annual rate of 15.9 per cent. The index for farm products was at a point 39.4 per cent higher than a year earlier. During all this period wage increases have been extremely modest and confined to the "voluntary" limit of 5.5 per cent.

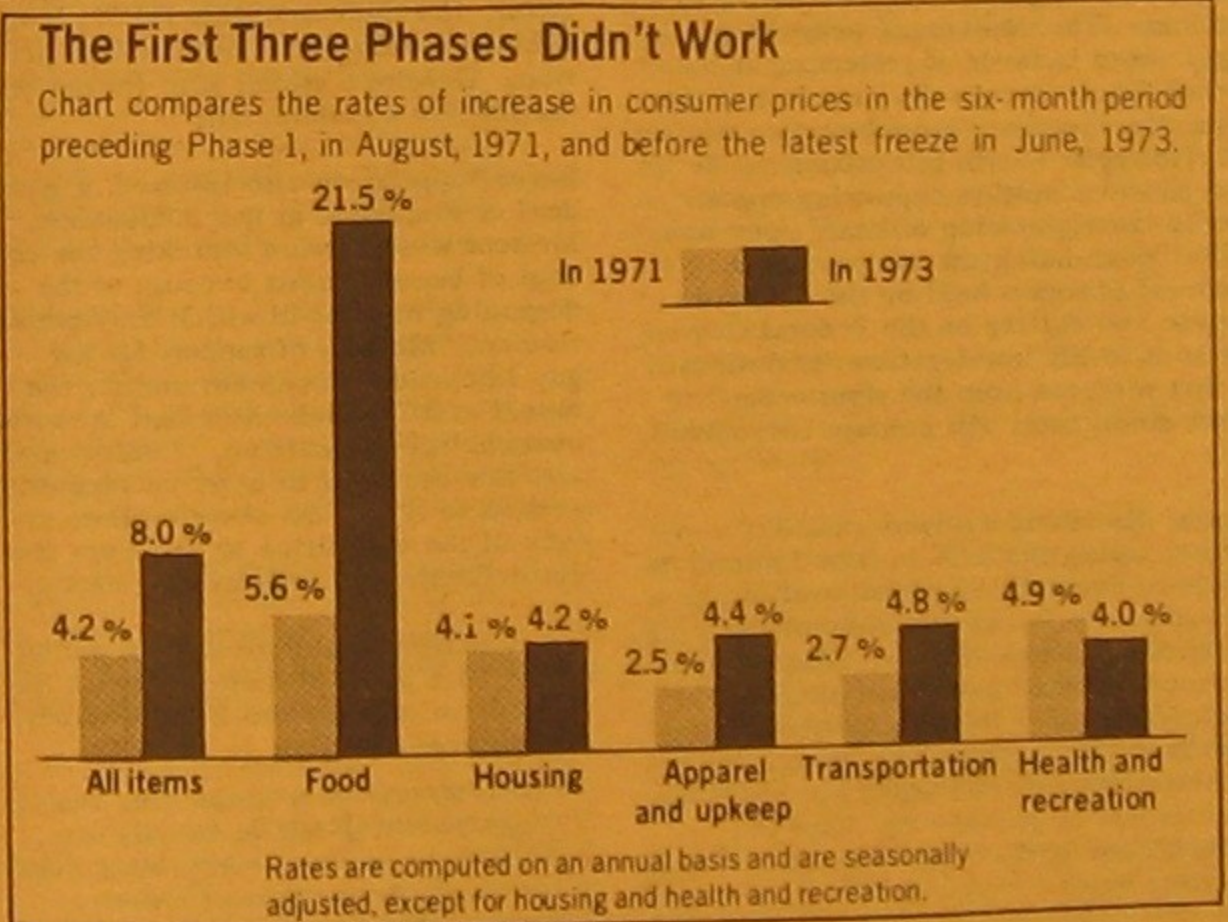
The so-called freeze on prices imposed on June 13 did not make for any changes. This so-called Phase 3 allowed for a price freeze without a wage freeze. Wages are still limited by the previous "guidelines". Prices however have risen steeply over the last few months so much so that even if an attempt is made to hold prices they will still be exorbitant. As a Washington housewife commented sarcastically: "Oh, goody. This means that lettuce will stay at 69 cents a pound."

As Phase IV was coming into operation in August 12, 1973 more price rises, which were temporarily held up in the previous stage, took place.

The experience of the American working class with Nixon's four-phase wage freeze has clear lessons to the working class in Australia. An "incomes policy" or a "wage-price freeze" mean only one thing - a wage freeze.



"The collateral is OK, Mr Smith - but are you sure your family needs a six-pound roast of beef?"



The objectives behind these policies signified that a turning point in the history of international capitalist relations and of class relations in the US had been reached.

How Successful Has the NEP Been?

Initially the New Economic Policy scored some successes from the viewpoint of the capitalists. During the first ninety days - Phase I - American workers were robbed of more than \$4 billion (\$A2.5 billion) in wages, either through denying settlements that had already been won or through preventing the negotiation of new settlements comparable to the wage increases won in the ninety days preceding the decree. The employers were the beneficiary.

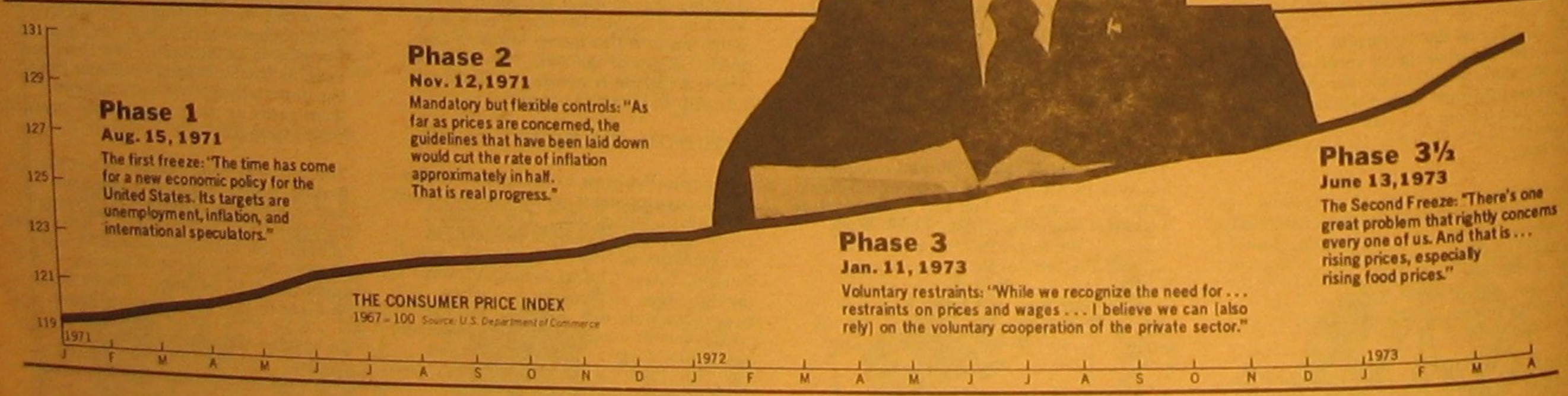
Under Phase II - from November 14, 1971, until January 11, 1973 - the rate of wage rises fell below the pre-freeze period. From an average increase of 8 per cent in 1971, workers' wages went up only 6 per cent on the average in 1972. On February 26, 1973, the Labor Department announced that first-year wage increases in major labor contracts (which are generally higher than those in succeeding years) averaged 7 per cent in 1972 as compared to 11.6 per cent in

A resolution of the AFL-CIO executive council in its January 1972 meeting points out the reasons why American workers' wages were falling behind. It pointed out that "about 75 per cent of the nation's retail stores are exempt from price controls as well as nearly 50 per cent of all rental units.

"Interest rates were never controlled and neither were prices of fresh foods, many used items, life insurance premiums, State and local taxes and the prices of homes and loans." Some 21 per cent of the items that are measured in the Consumer Price Index were not subject to control at any level.

The truth is that despite its success in making inroads into the living standards of the American working class, the New Economic Policy has not succeeded in curbing inflation. It was this realisation that prompted the rise in foreign money markets in February that forced Nixon to devalue the dollar for the second time in eighteen months. How does the inflationary picture stand?

On January 9 the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that December, the last month of Phase II, saw the largest increase for a single month in wholesale



Left Makes Gains at YLA Conference

BY ANDREW JAMIESON

In the shadow of a referendum on wage and price controls as well as growing attacks on socialists in the Victorian ALP, the third Victorian Young Labor conference this year was held at the Melbourne Trades Hall on September 29 and 30. Over 100 members of the YLA met to discuss policies and resolutions reflecting the major problems facing the labor movement today. The conference had the largest attendance for all of its sessions compared to previous conferences.

The attendance figures bear striking witness to the growing radicalisation of many young students and wage-earners. In the reports preceding the main part of the conference, members of the State executive pointed out the ever-growing membership of Young Labor in Victoria. The main attraction to the YLA has been the radical stance taken on many issues — abortion, industrial affairs, foreign policy, rights of oppressed minorities, to name a few.

Although the Victorian YLA hasn't aggressively pushed its ideas within the movements for social change, it has attracted many young people who are approaching the ALP in the hope that it can provide a radical alternative to the present system. With more direct links with the youth radicalisation the YLA has often been to the left of the ALP on many questions, despite the relative hegemony of the right and centre factions within the group.

Under the growing pressures of sections of the ALP for the YLA to "toe the line" of the ALP leadership, there have been a few in the YLA who have taken a conservative stance. However, many within the YLA are looking for a socialist alternative to the present ALP leadership. A polarisation of forces has been taking place within the YLA and has set the scene at the last conference.

A leaflet distributed by members of the Socialist Left at the conference took note of the increasing numbers of dissidents within the ALP and attempted to offer guidelines for a socialist alternative for the YLA. Headed, Which Way for the YLA, the leaflet pointed out that the YLA can help advance socialist ideas through the instrument of mass action. It pointed out that what was basically needed for the YLA was an action programme, a programme that could help mobilise working people and their oppressed allies towards a socialist transformation of society.

The inevitable clash between the contending forces within the YLA reached its climax in the second session, which was to be the main focus at the conference. It came in the form of an urgency resolution from the president of the Victorian YLA, an aspiring right-wing careerist, who moved the following motion: "That the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League be proscribed organisations for YLA members as from October 10, 1973."

The arguments used for the proscription motion centred around constitutional measures, loyalty to the ALP and the opposing philosophies of these groups to the ALP platform. But in essence the attack was centred on the dissident socialists within the YLA, who dare to criticise the leadership of the ALP. The feeling for the strong attack on members of the YLA Socialist Left was amply illustrated

by the seconder of the motion who stressed that "they're" getting stronger and we have got to stop them now or later. The whole thrust of the motion was to create a witch-hunt against members of the Socialist Left. For instance, red-baiting was a common feature in right-wing speeches to the conference. An attack on those who hold socialist views within the YLA was the essence of the urgency motion.

Due to the time-limit of one hour in discussing the motion, only three members of the Socialist Left had the chance to defend their positions. Andrew Jamieson countered the attack by explaining to all those present that the intentions of the motion were purely to stifle any criticism of the actions of the parliamentary leadership. He also pointed to the long-standing tradition of the labor movement to defend all radicals and socialists and to defend the right of socialists to actively present their views within the ALP and the YLA.

Paul Slape, another leader of the YLA Socialist Left, also made the point that the motion can be used against anyone who oppose the views of the ALP hierarchy. Bob Scates, the third SL member, attacked the obvious opportunism of the right wing.

Their attempt to oust the socialist opposition from the YLA reflects the fact that the right is coming under increasing pressures as a result of the heightening conflict between big business and the workers' movement. These people who seek to build a career in the ALP by balancing between the interest of the workers and the capitalists are finding life difficult. In times of increasing class conflict the anti-working class nature of their actions can be more clearly seen. Thus they need to silence the opposition within their own organisation in order to manoeuvre more freely.

About a month before the YLA conference, the State ALP parliamentary leader Clyde Holding, launched into a tirade against the Socialist Left, in the ALP's official organ in Victoria, Labor '73. He claimed that Socialist Left supporters had inherited the outlook of B.A. Santamaría's "Industrial Groups" i.e., the outlook of the extreme right wing of the labor movement in the early fifties. The centre and right groups in the ALP have recently begun to move actively against the SL.

Both the centre and the right factions have stepped up their attacks on the ALP SL at this stage, knowing the potential of the Socialist Left to effectively rally the ALP rank and file behind it in leading the attacks against anti-labor activities, such as advocacy of the price and wage referendum presented by Whitlam and his Federal Caucus. Perhaps both groups saw the opportunity to attack the SL by moving to expel socialists in the YLA.

The expulsion of YLA socialists would have the effect of removing an ally of the ALP SL and of strengthening the centre-right opposition. Ken Penaluna, the State secretary of the YLA, while not a member of the Socialist Left, also defended the right of socialists to exist in the YLA.

The voting on the urgency resolution was close but after a division was called for, the motion was defeated by a vote of

65 against and 54 for. The reasons for the close vote were soon to be understood. Between 20-30 of those who voted for the proscription motion left the hall immediately after the vote was taken. Obviously the right wing had mobilised hard to attempt to stack the meeting and having lost the motion their flock deserted them.

Other motions presented to the conference were also of great importance. In particular the motions on Sunday morning about economics presented a challenge to the socialists in the YLA.

With Whitlam's announcement of the wage-price freeze referendum one week old, the debate around economic policy assumed great importance.

The conference readily accepted the call of socialists within the YLA for opposition to any form of wage restraints. However, a debate developed around a right-wing motion projecting price controls as a means of combatting inflation.

The Socialist Left of the YLA took the position that price controls cannot be effective and can only be introduced in conjunction with a form of wage controls, as had been evidenced in all capitalist countries projecting similar measures such as the USA, Britain, and New Zealand. It was argued that the wages are the price of labor.

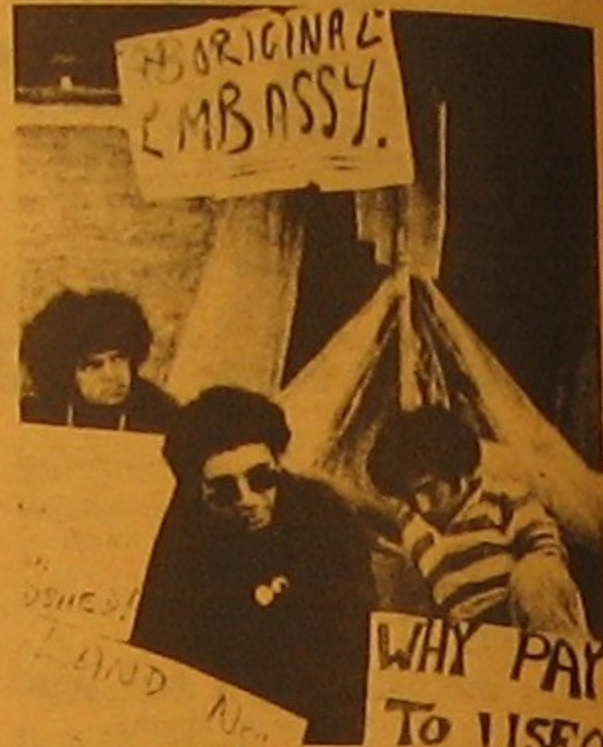
The motion was carried, despite the socialist opposition. This was not a complete rejection of the Socialist Left views however. Many still held that price control was needed to hold back big business and that they alone were to blame for the inflationary process. This feeling was later conveyed in a motion carried overwhelmingly that presented the concept that wage increases should be tied to the consumer price index formulated by the trade-union movement.

Motions dealing with foreign policy and related issues unfortunately were dealt with hastily as much of the time was spent discussing the economic policy motions. The conference overwhelmingly voted in favor of protesting at the French Government's decision to ban the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Trotskyist Fourth International. It also passed a motion expressing opposition to the right-wing military coup in Chile, demanding the release of all political prisoners held by the Chilean regime and calling on the Federal Government to lift immigration restrictions so that refugees from the right-wing terror could enter this country unhindered.

A good discussion evolved around a motion urging the YLA to take immediate action to demand the withdrawal of all US and allied forces should bombing be renewed in Indo-China. The motion again was carried overwhelmingly. Conference also voted unanimously against the building of any Omega bases on Australian soil and urged the Federal Government to prevent any steps to establish any part of the US war machine here.

An urgency resolution was moved and carried defending the rights of the Palestine-Australia Solidarity Committee to exist and to continue to publish anti-Zionist material without harassment in view of the present anti-Arab hysteria

and raids being made on the Arab community recently. Motions were also presented and passed condemning the persecution of dissident intellectuals in the Soviet Union. A Socialist Left speaker, whilst supporting the motion, pointed out that although the Soviet Union was headed by a reactionary bureaucracy, the fact that the means of production in the USSR are socialised necessitated that socialists understand the differences between the USSR and capitalist states and reject any attempts by right-wing elements to attack the gains made by the peoples of the Soviet



SL candidates emphasised importance of struggles of Aborigines Union since 1917.

A further motion from the Socialist Left expressed opposition to the role the right wing was playing on the State executive. It urged the State executive to assume a political role as well as its current administrative role. By refusing to take a responsible stance on issues that affect the YLA, the right has been able to limit the participation of the YLA in the mass movement.

In the past, despite the radical and progressive motions carried at conferences, the right has been able to block against putting these motions into practice. Despite a strong vote for the left, the motion was defeated.

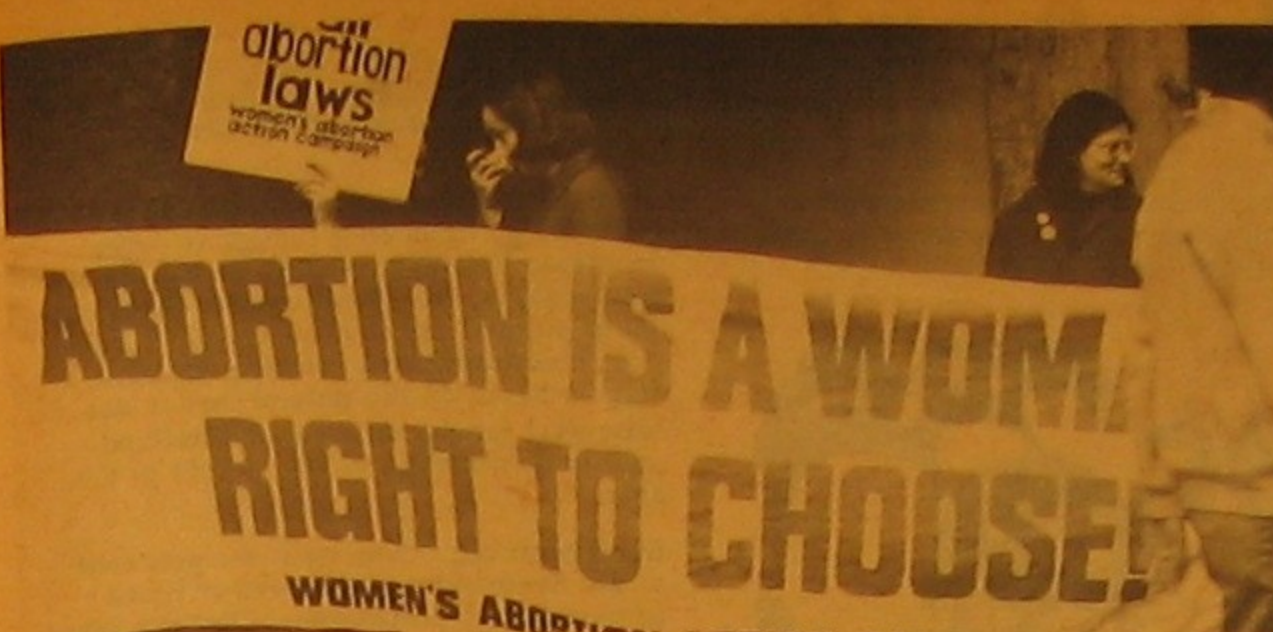
Sexual oppression also inspired a good deal of discussion at the conference. Motions were carried attacking the concept of beauty quests because of the degrading manner in which they portray women. Motions of support for the gay liberation movement and for the repeal of all anti-homosexual laws were overwhelmingly carried. Conference also saw the need to carry on supporting actions to repeal all abortion laws in face of the opposition to this from the male-dominated Federal conference.

The election results for various bodies in the YLA and ALP indicated that the SL had, in fact, grown from previous conferences.

SL representatives won the election of vice-president (Jenny Eastwood) two positions out of five to ALP State council in conference session (Andrew Jamieson, Bob Scates), one out of two positions for ALP State council in general session (Bob Scates) and one position out of four for delegatship to the Australian Young Labor conference (Andrew Jamieson). A second SL candidate narrowly missed election to AYL delegatship.

Throughout their election speeches, SL candidates continually stood for involving the YLA in the movements of people struggling against their oppression. They particularly emphasised the importance of the women's liberation, Aborigines', and gay liberation movements as well as stressing the fact that the YLA should support the struggles of colonial peoples in areas such as Southern Africa and Indo-China. The SL candidates also stood for a positive socialist opposition to the anti-labor manoeuvres of Whitlam.

The Socialist Left of the YLA, having made gains in recent months should now concentrate their activities around defending their right to exist and exposing the real anti-working-class thrust of Whitlam's wage-price freeze proposals. More and more young people within the YLA are turning to the SL as they can see more clearly the inadequacies of the reformist positions of the right and centre.



New Abortion Campaign Newspaper Out

BY HELEN WEAVER

The Women's Abortion Action Campaign has just published the first issue of a new newspaper, Right to Choose! This eight-page paper is a step towards bringing this issue to the fore and helping to organise a mass campaign for the right of all women to abortion and freely available, safe contraceptives. The editorial of the paper states that the WAAC stands for "complete repeal of all laws concerning abortion, rather than merely reform of the present laws." WAAC aims to work toward this end through organising demonstrations, public meetings and all kinds of educational activities to raise people's consciousness and build a mass movement capable of winning these demands.

Right to Choose gives a comprehensive account of both national and international developments in the worldwide struggle for abortion and contraception over the past few months. The paper shows very clearly just how strong the abortion movement is becoming, not only overseas, but also in Australia.

The feature article, Women's Rights vs Catholic Dogma, sets out a graphic analysis of the Church's attitude to women, in its recognition of only two types of women — virgins and mothers, and the history of the struggle of women against its vicious patriarchal doctrines.

This article also gives a particularly good explanation of why the Church maintains its oppressive stance in regard to women tracing its history as a powerful institution.

Right to Choose stresses that in the campaign for abortion the only people who can ultimately be relied upon to carry through the struggle are women. It is the collective efforts of women who will bring about changes and not the "good nature of politicians." It further stresses that it is only a campaign that reaches out for the support and involvement of masses of women that can achieve success. Only a campaign of this type can hope to break down the myths and prejudices which surround the issue of abortion, and fight the reactionary forces in this society, who wish to forcibly tie women to child-bearing roles.

The National Women's Abortion Action



Women in Revolt



Child Care

The need for government-financed child care centres is an ever pressing need for parents and particularly women on whom the task of child-minding traditionally falls. It is especially important for single mothers who have to work to support their children. In many cases these women can only get lower paid jobs which barely keep them above the poverty line. Even if private centres were adequate, which they aren't, most people could not afford the high costs involved. What is really needed is the government to both run and finance such centres at no cost to the people who use them.

In New York earlier this year 2000 men, women and children, mostly black and Puerto Rican, demonstrated against proposed cuts to child care funds by the Nixon Administration. These cuts would have made most women ineligible for any aid in this area. Most of the women could not possibly afford to pay the full cost of child care even when working. Another demonstration in New York at this time was of such size that it blocked one of the main bridges hampering traffic for several hours.

In Chicago, similar demonstrations were held at the time and 750 people demonstrated outside of the Civic Centre there.

The provision of free child care is more urgent than wages for housewives to stay and mind their children at home, for it allows the women the freedom to pursue other occupations.

Black Women in US

"Black women have suffered cruelly in this society from living the phenomenon of being black and female, in a country that is both racist and sexist. There has been very little real examination of the damage it has caused on the lives and in the minds of black women."

This states the manifesto of the recently formed National Black Feminist Organisation which held its second public meeting on September 19 in New York City.

"It has been hard for black women to emerge from the myriad of distorted images that have portrayed us as grinning Beulahs, castrating Sapphires and pancake box Jemimahs."



As black feminists we realised the need to establish ourselves as an independent black feminist organisation," the statement explains.

The 125 women who participated in the September 19 meeting announced plans for an Eastern Region Conference of Black Women.

A number of workshops relevant to the oppression of black women will be featured at the conference. These include Black Women and the Labor Force, Women's Liberation and the Black Liberation Movement, and Black Women and the Struggle for Child Care.

Abortion in Northern Territory

Laws relating to abortion in the Northern Territory have been brought in line with the present laws in South Australia. On October 8, legislation was passed granting women abortion under conditions including ill-health, rape, incest and severe cases of socio-economic hardship up to 23 weeks of pregnancy.

These reforms will mean very little in terms of granting women abortion when they wish. For this the laws must be substantially reformed, or preferably, of course, totally repealed, allowing for a woman to exercise complete control over her body and reproductive functions.

Although it is widely recognised that more and more legal abortions are being performed in hospitals throughout the country, it will take a campaign to change the laws and to encourage women to demand their basic right before abortion will become readily available to all women who want it.

In view of the recent revelations that black women have been involuntarily sterilised at the same time as having abortions and other medical procedures, it will be necessary to press for the right to choose to have children as well as not to have them. The demand for voluntarily sterilisation must be linked to the demand for easily available abortions.

The new Northern Territory laws represent a minor step forward — but are in no sense able to solve the problems and suffering of women who find themselves pregnant and do not wish to go through with the pregnancy.

TINA HARSANYI



Conference also saw the need to carry on supporting actions to repeal all abortion laws . . .

SEATO to be Exhumed

BY JIM McILROY

A spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department in Canberra recently summed up quite succinctly the purpose of proposed changes agreed on between member governments of the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (Seato): "One of the purposes of this week's Seato council meeting is to endorse reform proposals to stop the organisation becoming moribund," the spokesman said.

This might seem rather remarkable, considering that Seato was once regarded as an important military treaty linking the main pro-capitalist regimes of the South East Asia region to the United States military machine. Commitment to Seato was originally given as the main reason, by Robert Menzies, for the sending of Australian troops to aid the US war effort in South Vietnam. Seato and Anzus were together two of the mainstays of Liberal Government foreign policy in the 1950s and sixties. But times have changed.

The war in Indo-China was largely responsible for those changes. The Vietnamese fighters held off the imperialist onslaught, and weakened the ability of the US war makers to intervene militarily in Asia without thought of the consequences. The solid Cold War alliance to roll back the Vietnamese, Korean and Chinese workers' states was brought into question.

So, as an openly militarist treaty, Seato was increasingly undermined during the 1960s and early seventies. New tactics of counter-revolution had to be found. The Australian Foreign Affairs spokesman went on to print out these new tactics. "The reforms are likely to affect the size of the secretariat, and the military planning office will be united with the civilian secretariat." The spokesman said the Seato secretariat would no longer be involved in the preparation "of elaborate military plans."

"The secretariat will transfer its attention from the containment of China and will in future concentrate on security and economic development of member countries," he said.

The aim of Seato would be to strengthen countries so that they could take a greater responsibility for handling internal subversive movements.

The spokesman said this was in line with the Nixon doctrine and the thrust of Australia's foreign policy.

This is certainly putting it on the line as

far as the aims of an Australian Labor government's international objectives are concerned. Gone is the previous

policy commitment to withdraw from Seato, gone the rhetoric about Seato's aggressive role.



Detente Affects Cambodian Struggle

BY RENTREY CLARKE

Despite some heavy fighting, and a recent offensive which has once again brought Phnom Penh under virtual siege, the position of the revolutionary forces in Cambodia has not changed fundamen-

tally since the bombing halt in August. GRUNK, the left-wing coalition nominally led by Prince Sihanouk, continues to control most of the countryside and population. The major cities, swollen with refugees, are still occupied by troops of the Lon Nol regime. Some

Prime Minister Whitlam was quite prepared to go back on a pledge in order to please President Nixon in order to please President Nixon in order to please President Nixon. As commentator Creighton Burns pointed out in the October 3 Age: "... Washington was pressing Australia to stay in Seato on the ground that it was essential for the security of Thailand and the confidence of the people of the area."

Burns went on: "America was prepared to see Seato reformed, even stripped of its military pretensions. But it wanted 'the fact of Seato' maintained. The credibility of the Nixon doctrine depended, and still depends, on the credibility of American 'guarantees.'"

In other words, it is the political role of Seato rather than its direct military use which was, and is, crucial. Its abrupt end would appear too much of a defeat for US policies in South East Asia.

A re-orientation to "civilian" activity in which an Australian Labor government would willingly play a part, was entirely acceptable. Thus, Seato officials pointed out that there was now no disagreement between the various governments over the "reform" proposals.

The proposals — which originally came from Australia and New Zealand — were to be formally proposed by Thailand, one of the most intransigent military dictatorships in Asia.

Now that Peking and Moscow have both given their assurances of "peaceful co-existence", it is the domestic revolutionary movements which are the real danger to these reactionary regimes. Once again, the Whitlam Government has demonstrated by its refusal to cut all ties with Seato and other imperialist alliances its idea of internationalism not in the interests of the oppressed working peoples of South East Asia, but in support of their oppressors.

of the reasons for the "mayor of Phnom Penh" enduring so long are explained in the latest pronouncements of Sihanouk.

According to Sihanouk, reported the October 1 Melbourne Age, the North Vietnamese have ceased to transport military supplies from China into Cambodia. Also, the willingness of the Chinese leadership to grant such supplies to the Khmer Rouge seems to have lessened. An assault on Kompong Cham, for instance, has been prevented from taking place by lack of ammunition.

One explanation advanced for this lapse is that the Vietnamese are preparing for a major assault on the Thieu forces, sufficient to divert all available materials away from Cambodia. It can be seen why the Vietnamese should believe that the fall of Phnom Penh would not significantly improve their chances, and that a full-scale attack on it would merely divert resources from the struggle against an imperialist agent far more ruthless and deeply implanted than Lon Nol.

Sihanouk, however, openly questions the revolutionary intentions of the Vietnamese leaders. He maintains that North Vietnamese policy has been governed by a desire to secure American aid for reconstructions. It seems clear that the Vietnamese have applied pressure to Sihanouk to negotiate with Nixon, in return for recognition of GRUNK as the legitimate government of sections of Cambodia.

In one respect Sihanouk is completely correct, and that is in his assessment of the role which the Chinese-Indo-China war, China has indeed "played the big-power game with the United States", pursuing solely national interests by accommodating itself to American imperialism and by starving the revolutionary movement of much needed military aid. Sihanouk's direct understanding on this point does not, however, make the feudal prince into a revolutionary socialist.

DIRECT ACTION FEATURE

The following article appeared in the September 24 issue of Intercontinental Press, a weekly news magazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism published in New York.

BY GERRY FOLEY

"Permit me, on this solemn occasion... to voice our people's thanks to the armed forces and to the Carabineer Corps (riot police), which abide by the constitution and the rule of law." (Salvador Allende speaking at his inauguration as President of Chile in November 1970).

From the very beginning of his presidency Salvador Allende placed his fate in the hands of the military high command, which he thanked for allowing him to take office. The struggles of the workers and poor strata that brought him to power were not mentioned.

In order to get the votes of the Christian Democratic parliamentary bloc, which he needed in order to be confirmed as President-elect, Allende signed an agreement pledging that his regime would leave the military and police intact. The size of the armed services was not to be altered, nor any officers appointed who had not passed through the official academies, that is, who were not certified products of the bourgeois military machine.

No other armed forces, such as workers' and people's militias, were to be permitted. In addition Allende "guaranteed" not to interfere with the press, radio, or judiciary.

In attempting to reassure the bourgeoisie, Allende left intact forces that would seek, as soon as the opportunity presented itself or as soon as they felt their vital interests were endangered, to crush the rising working-class movement at any cost. This conciliationism threatened ultimately to expose the Chilean workers and poor, and the left parties in particular, to one of the most savage repressions in the history of the country and to deal a brutal blow to popular movements throughout the continent. It threatened to make this "island of democracy" into a deadly trap for persecuted militants from all over Latin America who found Allende's Chile one of the few places of refuge left.

Far from reducing the political power of the military, Allende promoted it. As the society became increasingly polarized by class struggle, his class-collaborationist Government turned more and more to the armed forces, specifically to the high command, in search of a neutral force and a guarantor of "legality".

Since the Unidad Popular (UP — Popular Unity) coalition was committed to "constitutional change" and the "peaceful road to socialism" what alternative, after all, did it have to depending on the legal armed forces of the bourgeoisie state to defend it against the growing sabotage and subversion of the bourgeoisie and imperialism? The Communist Party, in particular — the most politically consistent and dominant force in the coalition — was convinced that the military could play the essential arbiter's role.

Some months before the UP's victory in the 1970 presidential elections, Communist Party general secretary Luis Corvalan said that his party opposed proposals to arm the masses as being "equivalent to showing distrust in the army", which, he claimed was "not invulnerable to the new winds blowing in Latin America and penetrating everywhere." (See the January 1, 1970, issue of Drapeau Rouge, the organ of the Belgian CP.)

Corvalan's confidence, moreover, remained unshaken. In a speech quoted in the July 31 issue of the pro-UP weekly Chile Hoy, he said: "They (the reactionaries) are claiming that we have an orientation of replacing the professional army."

"No sir, we continue and will continue to support keeping our armed institutions strictly professional."

Allende Arms the Executioners

The UP Government had an opportunity to prove its faith in the armed forces. When the navy high command cracked down on enlisted men and petty officers

who were overheard saying that they would not obey orders to overthrow the Government, Allende came down hard in support of military discipline. Even some bourgeois journalists felt that this put him in a strange position.

For example, the September 11 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde published a dispatch from Pierre Kalfon in Santiago: "Not least ironic in this affair is that it is Allende himself who has demanded this prosecution (of those accused of inspiring insubordination in the navy).

So, we have come to the paradox that for encouraging the loyalty of the sailors who refused to rebel against the regime, political leaders defending respect for the Constitution are being prosecuted by the President of the republic on behalf of putschist officers, and they face a minimum sentence of ten years in prison."

As for the naval officers, they were not interested in any legal niceties. "The Socialist Party organised a debate in the studios of the Valparaiso television station," Marcel Niedergang reported in the September 13 Le Monde, "and the wives of the tortured sailors came to testify. A group of navy men broke into the studios and arrested all the participants. The commander in chief of the Valparaiso naval base refused flatly to offer any explanations or justifications."

At the same time, Allende offered new guarantees and concessions to the bourgeoisie: "It seems that, to the indignation of his left wing but with the approval of the Communist Party," wrote Kalfon from Santiago immediately before the coup, "Allende is ready to introduce a constitutional reform strictly defining the three sectors of the economy (public, mixed, and private) and restoring to their owners a number of factories occupied by the workers."

The leader of the class-collaborationist front was prepared to make other concessions. "He also yielded on an important point," Kalfon continued: "He agreed to expel the Socialist Party, CP, and MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Movement of the Revolutionary Left) elements from the University of Chile television network (Channel 9), which they had seized more than seven months ago and made into a voice of the left."

Two reporters for the New York Maoist weekly The Guardian watched the evacuation of the television station and wrote this account in the pro-Allende publication: "Workers shouted 'treachery' and many broke down in tears of rage as they peacefully abandoned the building. The 'workers' channel' was a major tool for popular education and agitation for nine months and its return to the bourgeoisie was, in the words of Socialist Party secretary Carlos Altamirano, 'a great defeat for the revolutionary process.'" Only a few days after this capitulation, Allende would have a desperate need for this means of communication that he had turned over to an increasingly aggressive bourgeoisie.

Despite these concessions, however, the military escalated a campaign of intimidation against the workers in several areas and in at least one case met much firmer opposition than it got from Allende. Kalfon wrote:

"In the evening of September 7, a military search operation (carried out by the troops of the air force) in a working-class suburb of Santiago gave a foretaste of the kind of confrontation that could occur in Chile if the army decides to move on a large scale against the factories occupied by the workers.

"Most of these factories are in what they call here the 'industrial belts' (cordones industriales), that is, the urban zones where a rather serious organisation coordinates the mobilisation of the workers with that of the inhabitants of the poor neighborhoods. The air force claims that it did not try to go into the Sumar plant, an important textile factory. But the factory guard seems to have been wounded precisely for opposing the entry of the soldiers.

"The fact is that after a few minutes a heavy crossfire started up between the workers in the factory and the military. The troops who had blocked off the district found themselves surrounded in turn by a crowd of militants coming to the rescue of the workers. Rather than continue a battle that threatened to

The Coup in Chile - What Happened and Why



The beginning: Allende takes office flanked by generals

NEW CHEAP RATE!

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

A WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

AFRICA: Addis Ababa, Algiers, Santo Domingo, Anzures, Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Bogota, Rome, Bogota, Havana, La Bode, Lausanne, Chronica of Central News, USSR, Direct Action, Sydney, Etelade, Teheran, La Gauche, Brussels, Hanoi, Hong Kong, Istanbul, Stuttgart, Leningrad, Moscow, Klatschman, Aarhus, Denmark; Klatschman, Luxembourg, Labor Challenge, Toronto, La Rai, Calcutta, Liberation, Montreal, Manila, Montevideo, Myrona, Santiago de Chile, Moscow, Santiago de Chile, The Militant, New York, Le Monde, Paris, La Nacion, Buenos Aires, The New York Times, Peking Review, Proletarian Revolution, Berlin, German Federal Republic, Peking, Moscow, Peking Press, Santiago de Chile, Quinones International, Paris, El Rebelde, Santiago de Chile, The Red Mile, London, Road, Ghent, Belgium, Rong, Paris, Revolution Perseus, Lima, Revolution Socialista, New York, Rudi Press, Prague, Sakai, Koblenz, Tokyo, Socialist Action, Wellington, New Zealand, Via Marista, Caracas, Vrij Nederland, Amsterdam, Wei Tan, Mannheim, Germany.

PUBLISHED IN NEW YORK

There is only one way to get the news of the world without having a subscription to Intercontinental Press—read each of the above newspapers, and more.

But, even if you had the money and the language skill, you would still miss the special quality that makes Intercontinental Press stand out from other weeklies—analyses of events by our staff of experienced political writers.

You would also miss the documents and interview that appear in Intercontinental Press. Most of these are not easily obtainable elsewhere.

If you want accurate information, if you want eyewitness accounts, you need a subscription to Intercontinental Press.

\$3 FOR 3 MONTHS
\$12 FOR 1 YEAR
(OLD PRICE 50c PER COPY)

Name _____
Address _____
State _____

Enclosed is \$3 for three months
 Enclosed is \$6 for six months
 Enclosed is \$12 for one year

PATHFINDER PRESS
P.O. BOX 151
GLEBE 2037

32 PAGES OF NEWS AND ANALYSIS AIRMAIL TO YOU EACH WEEK AT ONLY 25c PER COPY

become bloody, the military opted for retreat."

After consulting with the heads of the armed services, Allende decided that it was a wiser course not to go to the factory himself to see what happened. He was in a very difficult position.

The Generals Enforce the Law

Kalfon's report continued: "As the armed forces — essentially the air and naval arms — have proceeded to carry out the searches authorised by the 'arms control law' (passed in October by the votes of the bourgeois opposition in Parliament; the UP deputies abstained and Allende did not veto it), many supporters of the Unidad Popular are coming to wonder if the June 29 coup was as much of a failure as believed. Since that day, in fact, the army seems to have been progressively dropping the neutrality that was its pride and has been choosing to launch its 'mop up' operations against worker and peasant areas rather than among the bourgeoisie, which, nonetheless, does not make any bones about the fact that it is ready to 'go the limit' to overthrow President Allende."

In the September 13 Le Monde, Niedergang wrote: "In recent days confrontations, often armed, have been multiplying in this city between workers and military patrols searching for arms held by civilians. One would have expected that the arms control law would have permitted an effective struggle against the authors of the terrorist attacks. In the last few weeks, more than five hundred attacks attributed, not without grounds, to the far-right Fatherland and Freedom movement have destroyed roads, aqueducts, high-tension towers, factories, and agricultural installations.

"It was obvious that the heads of the armed forces were seeking first to eliminate the workers self-defence groups and dismantle the armed networks set up in the shantytowns and in certain big state-controlled factories by Miguel Enriquez's MIR and by the Socialists who follow Carlos Altamirano."

The fact was that under the cover of the legality of the Allende Government itself, the military still being so desperately courted by the head of the class-collaborationist coalition had already begun a coup designed to crush the essential support for his regime.

The workers had not armed in response to calls by any left-wing party. To whatever extent they had armed, they had done so essentially in response to the escalating violent attacks by the bourgeoisie on the key points of the economy and on the most militant sectors of the workers movement. Although the MIR, a very small party, had raised a number of correct demands for mobilising the workers to take direct control of the economy and, unlike the UP parties, had warned about the putschist intentions of the military, it never concentrated on the need for arming the workers. Its formulations in this regard were vague and timid at best.

And as for Altamirano, unless he changed

his mind at the last minute, his attitude did not seem to differ very much from that of Allende and the CP. He outlined his views in an interview published in



Military search in Santiago

the August 23 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly magazine Panorama. When asked if the participation of the armed forces in the Cabinet meant that they were allied with the UP Government, he answered:

"It's not an alliance. The armed institutions are only offering their collaboration to prevent the probable consequences of a truly grave situation. After the defeat of the putschists on June 29, the right is again trying manoeuvres designed to create a climate that would encourage harebrained schemes by minorities. On this occasion also, they will fail. The incorporation of the uniformed services into Companero Allende's Cabinet means that the entire Chilean people stand united against the reactionaries." The August 30 issue of Panorama described Altamirano's programme as "EMA-Trabajadores," that is, an alliance between the armed services and the workers.

The rightists in and out of the armed forces were, of course, not concerned with any "consequences." In early September a leader of the bourgeois opposition was openly saying, according to Marcel Niedergang in the September 13 Le Monde: "If we have to destroy the country to save it, if we have to kill 20,000 Chileans, we'll do it." But presumably the military chiefs appreciated Altamirano's confidence in their determination to avoid "a truly grave situation." Such expressions greatly bolstered their political position.

A Class Collaborator to the End

If Altamirano became more sceptical at least of the intentions of the military,

Niedergang stressed that Allende "remained an optimist to the bitter end. Only a few hours before the military uprising on Tuesday (September 11), he declared smiling to the journalists who were interviewing him in the corridors of the presidential palace: 'We are soon going to get over this crisis.'"

"To the leaders of the political parties belonging to the ruling Unidad Popular coalition, he declared emphatically: 'We are going to seek a dialogue with the forces of the opposition. This is the only solution.' But only a few Radicals (liberals) and Communist Party members, knowing only too well what they would lose with the establishment of a new military government, even a temporary one, supported him in this desperate and pathetic offer of a dialogue involving concessions so great that if it were achieved it would have condemned to death the experiment initiated in November 1970."

By September 11 Allende was leaning almost exclusively on the Communist Party, which was described in Le Monde's editorial September 13 as one of his greatest assets in his programme of "peaceful social change." It was "... a Communist Party strictly faithful to the Soviet Union and one that throughout the forty difficult years of its history has rarely been found wanting in moderation."

By the second week of September, Allende's "peaceful road to socialism" was obviously running into deep water. All forms of the bourgeoisie's resistance to the reforms of his regime were converging.

The shortages caused by the economic sabotage of the native bourgeoisie and the imperialists, as well as the Government's indecisiveness and bureaucratism, were reaching catastrophic proportions. Supply was hampered by a prolonged strike of truck owners determined to bring the Government down. Finally the delivery of wheat to Santiago was cut off altogether by rightist terrorist attacks. Allende was forced to admit on September 7 that only a "three or four days' supply of flour remained."

Large sections of the petty bourgeoisie, driven into a frenzy by the malfunctioning of an economy torn by a class struggle that Allende would not lead but was increasingly unable to contain, were mobilised by the right in wave after wave of attacks on the regime.

On September 5, about 150,000 middle-class women gathered in front of the Catholic University and called on Allende to "resign or commit suicide." This was the only way, they chanted, to avoid civil war. Fascist commandos were active in the demonstration.

In the Parliament, the September 7 issue of the Buenos Aires daily La Opinion reported, "the Christian Democrats, leaning more and more to the right, proposed removing, on the charge of violating the Constitution, ministers who do not respect the laws of the country."

"Once again, then, the Christian Democrats and Nationalists, or the centre and right, are united in opposition to Allende, after a period in which the Christian Democracy had modified its

policy, seeking to get Allende to return to 'liberalism'."

At about the same time, the provincial leaders of the Christian Democratic Party voted for ousting the Government.

For some time — another sign that the class polarisation was reaching a critical point — the advocates of patience on the bourgeois side had been withdrawing from the scene. As in the period of the civil war in Russia, the most ruthless leaders of the reaction were coming to the fore.

Allende's last bridge to the military was cut on August 27 when Admiral Montero resigned from the Cabinet and from his post as head of the navy. The naval officer corps would accept no replacement but Admiral Toribio Merino, a well-known rightist. At the same time, in the main bourgeois party — the Christian Democrats — the man who ordered the massacre of the striking copper miners in the late 1960s was taking firm control.

"Could Salvador Allende have been unaware," Niedergang asked in his September 13 article, "that the real leader of the opposition, Eduardo Frei, the former chief of state and now president of the Senate, was no longer bothering to conceal that he saw as the only recourse a resort to arms?"

But Allende continued to proclaim: "There will be no coup d'etat and we will avoid civil war." As a solution to the conflict, he offered a plebiscite to determine the will of the majority of the Chilean people, a proposal that under the circumstances was rather reminiscent of the CP-sponsored petition against civil war launched some time ago.

Bitter Early-Morning Awakening

Very rapidly, the time came when the reality of class society could no longer be denied.

On September 11, in the early morning hours, the navy seized the port of Valparaiso. At 7.00am, according to the September 13 Le Monde, Argentine radio monitored a broadcast proclaiming that a military junta had replaced the Allende Government. The new regime was headed by General Augusto Pinochet of the army, whom Allende had appointed commander in chief only a few weeks before; General Gustavo Leigh, commander of the air force; Jose Toribio Medina, the commander of the navy; and Cesar Mendoza, head of the Carabineros. In short, all those forces that Allende had praised at his inauguration for allowing him to take power had now risen up to take it from him.

Some 3000 persons were arrested in Valparaiso alone, according to the September 13 issue of the Buenos Aires daily La Razon. They were imprisoned on warships in the harbor. That is, according to this report, the navy seized almost one per cent of the entire population of the port city.

Thus, it seems, if the report is not exaggerated, that the commanders of the

The Coup in Chile — What Happened and Why ...

fleet must have moved with a ruthlessness unprecedented in Chilean history to restore "discipline" among the ranks of the pro-UP sailors and navy yard workers who had already been abandoned to reactionary persecution by the Government they sought to defend.

At 7.15am, the military gave the Carabineros guarding the presidential palace a few minutes to evacuate the area. Meanwhile, Allende, who had apparently just been informed of the coup, rushed to the palace from his home. According to the September 12 issue of the Buenos Aires daily Clarin, the UP Government had been expecting a coup for ten days, that is approximately since the resignation of Admiral Montero. So, even when it knew that a coup was coming, it allowed the putschist officers in the navy to crucify its supporters and turned a key television station over to a bourgeois obviously intent on overthrowing the Government by violence.

Furthermore, the MIR had issued a statement giving the general scenario of the coup, as a report in the September 8 La Opinion showed. The uprising was decided on in late August. All that was left to be determined was whether it would install a new civilian government or an open military dictatorship. The Christian Democrats favored the former, the Nationalists the latter. Probably the actual events would have to show which alternative was most realistic for the bourgeoisie.

At 7.50 Allende went on the air to reject the junta's demand for his resignation. Apparently he had not been immediately informed of the naval putsch in Valparaiso. At 7.57, he went on the air again, announcing that "a small group of naval officers" had taken over the port city. He called on the workers to mobilise to defend the Government. As he launched his appeal, aircraft buzzed the palace.

At 8.10 the right-wing stations as well as those seized by the military broadcast an ultimatum to the pro-Government stations to go off the air or face bombardment from the air and ground. Allende managed to make a second appeal to the workers, but by 9.30, the military was in complete control of the airwaves. The government radio went silent after a brief air attack on the palace. Apparently the putschists had been able to seize most of the country's radio and television installations in the first minutes of the coup.

At 11.00am the junta warned that anyone committing acts of "sabotage" would get the "maximum penalty." At 11.30, the Communist Party broadcast over an unidentified radio that the "Chilean masses are prepared to make the supreme effort to defeat the armed forces that have risen up against the Government." A few minutes later, military radio announced that the Communist Party headquarters in Santiago and Valparaiso had been "searched." The CP offices, like those of all the left parties and publications, were sacked.

At 12.30 military aircraft and tanks began bombarding the presidential palace. A dispatch in the September 12 New York Spanish-language daily El Diario claimed that Allende's appeals for support from the people had been in vain;

"Control of the communications media was an important factor in the Chilean rebellion, with the military taking full advantage of it. Transmitters favorable to the Government were silenced and the airwaves were filled by the communiques of the military."

Scattered Resistance

The September 12 Clarin reported that the "network loyal to the Government" was silenced by straffing from the air. But it said that an hour after Allende's appeal "a great movement of people was observed on the principal arteries." Civilians were reportedly blocked from reaching the centre of the city by a military cordon.

By early afternoon, the ANSA wire service reported from Santiago that "heavy gunfire was heard in the centre of the city, where fighting was in progress between snipers and army units trying to dislodge them from the buildings where they had taken up positions."

"In the meantime, a station supporting the Government that did not yield to the ultimatum to cease broadcasting was bombed. Civilian casualties are said to have occurred as a result of the bombing."

A September 12 UPI dispatch from Santiago reported:

"Indoctrinated and heavily armed Marxist snipers are still persisting in a completely suicidal attitude, refusing to obey the peremptory warnings of the chiefs of the ruling junta that they will be shot if they do not cease."

It is still not clear how much of the shooting and bombing in Santiago actually had a military objective and how much was intended to intimidate the population. According to Clarin, Allende was left without any support from the official armed forces. "Allende found that the only ones who obeyed his orders were a small para-police group, the GAP (Grupo de Amigos — Group of Friends, ex-guerrillas, who, after opposing participation in the elections that brought Allende to power, pledged to defend his Government). They went out in the street carrying machine guns and small arms but were rapidly cut down after a brief burst of fire."

The armed forces were obviously taking no chances in the centre city area. UPI correspondent Steve Yolen wrote in a dispatch printed in the September 13 issue of Los Andes, a daily published in Mendoza, not far across the Argentine border: "I have just gone through the six longest hours of my life. There were times when I thought they would be the last."

"The office has been completely destroyed by the impact of at least 400 bullets of all calibers."

"At one point there were so many bullets that the office was filled with dust and pieces of plaster, so that we couldn't see from one end to the other."

"But this was nothing in comparison to the fifteen minutes when the presidential palace, which is a little more than a block from our offices, was bombarded. Air force planes flew over us and dropped

their bombs. I counted up to twenty heavy bomb blasts..."

"Every time one of us got up the courage to look outside, the soldiers fired."

The shooting continued on into the night and became even more violent in the industrial suburbs and poor neighborhoods. "No official version of these confrontations has been issued," La Razon reported. "But persons connected with the UP have described these armed clashes as being in fact 'massacres'."

Forty-five bombs were dropped on the presidential palace, according to Clarin, of which seventeen were on target. Everyone in the palace had to take refuge in the cellar. Shortly after the first attack, the building was bombed again and machine-gunned.

"After these two air assaults, infantry troops stationed in the area around La Moneda since 9.10, backed up by tanks and armored cars, launched an attack on the palace... They encountered no resistance except from the GAP. However, the resistors took up positions inside and — at first — were able to hold off the attacks. At 4.10 the junta issued a communique saying that it had also bombed Allende's home on Thomas Moore Street and that if La Moneda was not evacuated, they would launch an all-out assault. An hour later, the Junta

land, without hatreds, without divisions, and without resentments. The conquests that the people have achieved will be zealously maintained."

The junta also promised that "constitutional order" would be restored "as soon as possible and after a few problems have been solved."

Then came the festivities: "When the President's surrender was reported, small groups gathered in the area to lead demonstrations supporting the position of the armed forces, singing the national anthem and dancing Chilean folk dances."

The Compromiser Is Eliminated

It was only after this solemn declaration of principles was broadcast and the carefully planned demonstrations of popular joy had begun that the military-controlled radio announced the death of President Allende. It was reported that he and his press secretary Augusto Olivares had been found dead in the building, where, it was claimed, they had committed suicide. Both were supposed to have shot themselves in the chest.

The only non-military witness was Juan Enrique Lira, the chief photographer of El Mercurio, a rightist daily, who was taken to see the President's body.



Nationalised Ford assembly plant

Military broadcast an announcement that President Allende had decided to surrender the palace and had asked a five-minute cease-fire to inform the defenders.

"The Junta Militar refused the request on the grounds that some snipers were shooting at the troops from nearby buildings and they demanded an immediate surrender. Seconds later it was officially reported that Allende had surrendered La Moneda."

Immediately after this announcement, the junta issued a statement of its "principles": "We want to restore Chile to her proper place as a free and sovereign nation. We want to prevent any sinister dictatorship from being imposed on our fatherland. We Chileans must begin a hard and strenuous struggle to restore normalcy to our betrayed father-

According to this dubious source, Allende shot himself in the mouth and his body was lying on the sofa of the palace dining room. The weapon was supposed to have been an automatic carbine, a present from Fidel Castro.

Allende's wife told newsmen in the Mexican Embassy, where she took refuge, that she believed her husband took his own life. But she was not with him when he died and was not allowed to see the body. On the other hand, the Chilean ambassador to London told the press that the President had assured him that he would not commit suicide under any circumstances.

There are precedents in Latin American history for such a suicide. The Brazilian populist dictator Getulio Vargas tried, like Allende, to balance between the pressure of the masses and imperialism in



Junta leaders Gustavo Leigh, Pinochet, Merino



Striking workers in Santiago

ON THE PICKET LINE



NSW Campaign for 35 Hour Week

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

Power workers in NSW have been seeking a shorter working week in the industry for about ten years. During that time, the output of electricity has doubled, with fewer men being employed in the actual generation of power, due to increasing automation.

The current strategy of both the Labor Council of NSW and the Australian Council of Trade Unions is to call for the achievement of the 35-hour week

The delegates also decided to ask the Federal Government to instruct the Commonwealth Public Service Board to grant a 35-hour week for power workers in the Snowy Mountains Authority and the Northern Territory.

State Opposition Leader Pat Hills' recommendation that the workers should end their industrial action failed to influence the delegates. Hills' statement, which was hailed by the capitalist press, is particularly treacherous, since it gives credence to Askin's lies that the power restrictions are both necessary and caused by the unions.

As a Labor leader, Hills should have supported the actions of the unions and

Mascot Radio Technicians Strike

BY MAURIE COOPER

A month-long strike by radio technicians at Sydney's Mascot Airport has forced the Department of Civil Aviation to effectively close the airport and isolate Sydney from incoming and outgoing national international flights.

The 60 technicians, members of the Professional Radio Employees Institute (PREI) are striking in support of wage increases ranging from 12 to 19 per cent to achieve parity with clerical officers

members would be better off under a bosses', and not a Labor government.

With inflation raging, the 10 per cent increase offered to the technicians represents no increase at all in the buying power of their wage. Nothing but an escalated 19 per cent now, and an escalator clause included in the subsequent award i.e., automatic quarterly increases to exactly compensate for the increases in the cost of living — will achieve the economic stabilisation all workers are looking for, and which cannot be provided by fraudulent anti-inflationary measures such as Whitlam's proposed "price" control.

While Labor's Transport and Civil Aviation Minister Charles Jones claims to be highly critical of the PREI's previous refusals to accept wage offers from the Public Service Board (Federal ministers don't have any relativity with anyone to worry about), lacking from the issue is the big-stick industrial diplomacy practised by the previous Liberal coalition Government. Jones refused to advise any side to capitulate. So while the coalition Government unashamedly attacked all union and strike actions, the role of the Labor Government to date has been to assume a remote conciliatory position — not to push for the victory of any side but rather to suggest a compromise solution. It appears that even if they can't, or don't, want to repeal the penal clauses, industrial policy under Labor is aimed at pointing out that their existence is irrelevant.

So with the Government's unwillingness to attempt to crush the strikes, with the dispute likely to spread to other States, and with the determined position of the strikers who have watched their real wage and relativity erode over the years, it looks like being a long hot summer in the passenger lounge.

Power workers outside union meeting in the Commonwealth public service.

The role of the Public Service Board in determining the salaries of its employees is well known: their support and preferential treatment for clerical and administrative officers over technical and physical grade workers has been clearly illustrated in the last few months.

In August, third-division clerks (wages between \$5-10 thousand approx) received a 12 per cent increase, and second division officers (\$12,000+) received 16 per cent. Physical grades, transport workers, technicians, draftsmen, etc, met in conference last weekend with the board for a wage increase. Significantly the striking radio technicians were excluded from this conference, their attendance having been invited by the board on the condition of an immediate return to work.

On October 10 the technicians accepted an offer by the Commonwealth Public Service arbitrator Taylor for wage increases up to 11 per cent and agreed to return to work on October 11. This was in spite of the fact that their claims had been for increases of between 12 and 19 per cent.

Builders Labourers' Federation Elections

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

The elections for official positions in the New South Wales branch of the Builders Labourers' Federation has resulted in the election of the team which supports the previous leadership of former secretary Jack Munday and president Bob Pringle.

Pringle was re-elected as president, Joe Owens was elected as secretary and Munday was elected as honorary treasurer. This means that Owens has become the official spokesman of the union, and Munday will return to the job site.

The Pringle-Owens leadership also won all other positions by a two-thirds majority. This represents a severe defeat for the opposition group led by John McNamara and supported by Federal secretary Norm Gallagher. The oppositionists fought on policies opposed to many of the militant policies of the leadership. The union has taken a firm stand in industrial disputes with the bosses and has used union power to support the rights of oppressed people in this country.

The vote of over 2000 out of a total membership of nearly 10,000 represents an increased vote over previous years, but Pringle estimated that because of the small period allowed for the return of late votes, there would be up to 1000 late votes not counted. He attributed the increased vote to the increasing political consciousness of the rank and file.



first of all in those industries with the highest growth in productivity. Clearly the power industry falls into this category.

Already, some 3500 out of the 8000 workers employed by the Electricity Commission of NSW enjoy a 35-hour week, but this has been denied to the men who actually produce and distribute the electricity. However, two years of negotiating with the commission and the NSW Government have proved fruitless.

Actions last June by the unions involved in the campaign to restrict the amount of available power were suspended in favor of an offer by Premier Askin to refer the matter back to the NSW Industrial Commission, which had previously ruled against the granting of the 35-hour week.

The recommendation to accept Askin's offer was a serious error on the part of the union leadership in view of the fact that the commission was unlikely to reverse its earlier decision. Worse still, the decision to take up the Premier's offer was taken at a time when he was on the defensive. Askin had been exposed as having introduced unnecessary power cuts in order to confuse the public and divide the working class.

Predictably, the Industrial Commission stood by its previous decision, and the power workers were forced to resume industrial action in support of their demands. Askin has once again used the same tactics. This time the unions' campaign is being run by the 35-hour week committee, which is composed of delegates from each job site.

On Monday, October 8, a meeting of delegates was held in the Sydney Trades Hall. The meeting decided that the ACTU should be asked to arrange for 35-hour-week applications to be lodged on behalf of electricity workers under Federal awards in Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. The intention was that the ACTU should call a meeting of Federal unions in the power industry to consider applying to the Commonwealth Arbitration Commission for a 35-hour week.

denounced Askin's phoney claims. The working class is far more likely to listen to Hills than to Askin. Hence Hills' statement will widen divisions in the working class and undermine the struggle of the power workers.

Now more than ever is the time for Labor leaders to fight. Labor-controlled County Councils, State Labor governments and the Federal Government must all grant the 35-hour week immediately to their power workers.

HREA Strike at Sydney University

BY IAN GORDON

As a result of the University of Sydney administration's refusal to renegotiate conditions with the General and Technical branch of the Health and Research Employees Association a one-day stoppage was called for Wednesday October 3. (The General and Technical branch of the HREA covers laboratory assistants, technical officers, cleaners and garbage men).

The HREA was joined in this strike by the members of the Builders Labourers' Federation, Electrical Trades Union and Plumbers and Gasfitters' Union on Sydney University. A telegram of support was also sent by the students who took place in the philosophy dispute.

The action was taken after considerable provocation from the University administration. Conditions are meant to be renegotiated every year and have not been for the last three years. The HREA also has a wage claim for a 17 per cent increase and has presented the administration with a demand for a 12 per cent interim rise. The results of the stoppage, however, are as yet not clear.

The administration has made threats to replace permanent cleaners with contract cleaners. Although this is a common method of intimidation and is not likely to be carried out it should not be taken lightly and any attempt to carry out the threat should be met with united and militant action by all university workers.

Palestine at ALP Federal Conference

INTERVIEW WITH DELEGATE RANA ROY

PALESTINE FORUM: Mr Roy, we were delighted to hear of your move at the recent ALP conference at Surfers Paradise. Could you perhaps tell our readers what brought this move about, and how did you become interested in the Palestinian cause?

RANA ROY: The move was brought about as a result of a discussion between Tasmanian delegate Tim Thorne and myself. We both felt that the existing platform was inadequate because it ignored the real issue: the rights of the Palestinian people. As for the second part of your question, I have always been sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. The Trotskyist press, including DIRECT ACTION has helped me clarify my views on this question. It is a matter of supporting all oppressed people wherever and whoever they are.

PALESTINE FORUM: Were there any other delegates supporting you in this move?

ROY: The motion for "the recognition of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people" was moved by myself and seconded by Tim Thorne, Bill Hartley, the Victorian Socialist Left activist voted in favor. Several other delegates who were sympathetic to the substance of my motion, realised that the Whitlam compromise amendment was the best we could hope to get and decided to support it.

PALESTINE FORUM: It has been argued by many members of the Arab community here that there is no difference at all between the policy of the ALP and the Liberals on the Middle East. What do you say about that?

ROY: At this stage I would like to point out the real difference between the Liberal Party and the ALP. The Liberals are the political representatives of the Australian ruling class, and as such, they can never support the liberation struggle of any oppressed people. They will never support Palestine. The ALP, on the other hand, despite its conservative leadership, is a party based on working people, on the trade-union movement. Vietnam has shown how mass pressure can force the ALP leadership to take up a radical position on such important issues. So, although the present policy of the ALP on the Palestinian question is inadequate — it would still be better than the Liberals' — the potential exists for changing the ALP's position, unlike that of the Liberal Party.

PALESTINE FORUM: It is noted that many progressive elements in the ALP, who have taken honorable stands in support of liberation forces in Vietnam, Rhodesia and South Africa, are hostile to the Palestinians and support instead a

The following interview is reprinted with permission from the August-September issue of Palestine Forum, a monthly information bulletin published by the Friends of Palestine. As well as the interview the current issue contains articles on the Black September scare, Palestinian reaction to some recent action allegedly taken on their behalf, the poetry of the resistance and many others. It also contains the complete testimony of Rami Livneh, Israeli dissident in court which was reported on in DIRECT ACTION 47.

The introduction is by Palestine Forum.

INTRODUCTION

Rana Roy is an active leader of the Labor Youth movement in Tasmania. Late last year in a move to curb growing radical opposition inside the conservative Tasmanian ALP, the State executive disbanded Labor Youth and suspended a number of its prominent members from ALP membership. Rana Roy was one of those suspended.

However the ALP Federal executive intervened to "suspend" the suspension, thus allowing Mr Roy to attend the ALP Federal conference at Surfers Paradise last July as an alternate delegate.

While at the conference during a debate on the party's Middle East policy, Senator J.M. Wheelodon (WA) proposed

colonialist outpost such as Israel. How do you explain this inconsistency?

ROY: Unfortunately, misconceptions about Israel are held even by the more radical sections of the ALP. For example, John Wheelodon, a strong opponent of the Vietnam war and who moved for the recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam, ~~initially~~ adopted a clearly pro-Israel position.

He said that he supported "the national liberation movement of the Jewish people." Liberation cannot be achieved by establishing a settler-state and driving the indigenous population into refugee camps. This fact, along with the racist nature of the Israeli State, and the alternative solution advocated by the Palestinian resistance for a secular democratic state must be brought out and presented to the left forces in the ALP. As Marx said: "One people, oppressing another, cannot be free."

PALESTINE FORUM: We heard that the Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, moved for a compromise resolution on the Middle East in order to appease the voting sections of both the Arab and Jewish

the ALP affirm that "Arab recognition of Israel is essential to world peace." Roy moved an amendment calling for "recognition of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people."

Faced with these conflicting views and fearing a split in the party ranks over Middle East policy, the Prime Minister Whitlam proposed what was called a compromise resolution. He expressed the view that Australia, as a member of the UN Security Council, would have to be "even handed" in the Middle East, and deplore "both Israeli and Arab terrorism." Whitlam then moved that ALP policy states: "The situation in the Middle East remains the greatest threat to world peace. There can be no peace until the Arab states respect and recognize Israel's sovereignty and right to exist. Equally, there can be no peace until Israeli forces have been withdrawn from occupied territories to secure and recognise boundaries, and a just solution of the refugee problem is achieved."

After a spirited debate, the other amendments were easily defeated, and Whitlam's resolution was overwhelmingly carried.

As Rana Roy was the delegate primarily responsible for moving the amendment in support of the Palestinian struggle, Palestine Forum arranged to meet him on his return from the conference and put to him a few questions on the Middle East dispute.

communities. Do you agree that such important decisions on foreign policy are motivated by small political advantages rather than by higher principles?

ROY: Unfortunately, this appears to be the case.

PALESTINE FORUM: Can you see the policy of the ALP on the Middle East changing to conform with high principles of morality, justice and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination?

ROY: This is our long-term aim. But before this can come about, the forces supporting the Palestinian cause must be prepared to educate and mobilise the rank and file in support of the Palestinians' case for self-determination.

PALESTINE FORUM: Many people in Australia argue that the Middle East is too far away to worry about the Arab-Israeli dispute. How much justification do you see in this attitude?

ROY: As an internationalist, I consider it my duty to support movements for self-determination and socialism everywhere.

As such, I consider the attitude you mentioned completely unjustified. Furthermore, we must realise that capitalism today is a world system and the developments within this system, both revolutions and reactions, affects every part of the system.

PALESTINE FORUM: What do you think of the attitude of the Australian press, and the Australian media in general, regarding the Palestine-Israeli issue?

ROY: The Australian press is an active defender of Zionism. By building up the stories of Palestinian terrorism and deliberately ignoring Zionist violence, by spreading misconceptions about the historical background of the present situation, by camouflaging the true story behind the establishment of Israel, the press and the media in general must bear the full responsibility for Australian ignorance of the real issues in the Middle East dispute.

PALESTINE FORUM: Can you see a solution to the conflict in the Middle East?

ROY: This is a hard question and I hope you do not expect me to produce a magic formula. There can be no "solution" while the military strength of the United States continues to prop up a state which was created by the forcible deportation of the local population, and whose existence is based on the exclusion of the rights of that population, and enforced through the systematic use of violence. Furthermore, the military victory of the reactionary and semi-feudal Arab states will produce no solution either. These regimes are just as hostile to the Palestinian revolution as the Zionists, and will not hesitate to wipe out the fedayeen. We only have to look at King Hussein's massacre of the Palestinians in 1970 to realise that the reactionary Arab regimes are enemies of the Palestinian and the revolutionary forces in the area, and must be overthrown. The solution does not lie in adventurist tactics of individual terror. The only way forward is to organise the Palestinian masses in defence of their rights, to undermine the credibility of the Zionist state in the eyes of the Jewish people, to propagate the concept of a socialist, secular state in Palestine — in the hands of both the Jewish and the Palestinian peoples — and to mobilise also the Arab masses as a whole in the struggle against Zionism and their own reactionary regimes.

Ultimately, it will be the downfall of imperialism and the development of world socialism that will bring peace, real democracy and self-determination to the peoples of the Middle East. I am confident that the future will provide a real and just solution.



Palestinian prisoners in Ashdod Jail, Israel, (September 1971)

The Coup in Chile — What Happened and Why ...

order to achieve some capitalist development of his country. Defeated by the insuperable contradictions, he preferred committing suicide to being overthrown.

In Allende's own country, President Jose Manuel Balmaceda tried at the end of the nineteenth century to nationalise the nitrate fields being taken over by the British imperialists. When the Congress and the navy, which were controlled by pro-imperialist interests, rose up against him, he chose to take his own life rather than lead a revolutionary struggle against the betrayers of the Chilean people. As a bourgeois politician, even in that early stage of imperialist development, Balmaceda was incapable of taking such a course. In the last days of Allende's Government, rightist demonstrators insistently reminded him of his precedent.

On the other hand, it seems that the bourgeoisie only united behind the plan for a military takeover shortly before the coup. The Chilean capitalists have been divided over how to handle the UP Government since Allende unexpectedly won the 1970 elections. Certain bourgeois interests, the national capitalists, were at least initially favored by Allende's reforms. And for the first part of his term, it seemed that the main sector of the bourgeoisie political leadership was determined to slowly wear out the UP Government rather than incur the danger of a violent overthrow.

The continually rising militancy of the workers, despite the capitulations and failures of the Allende Government, apparently convinced this section of the bourgeoisie to turn things over to the hard-liners, but the MIR revelations about the different plans for the Government to be installed after the impending coup indicated that this division was not entirely overcome. It seemed, moreover,



Peasants saw Popular Unity victory as sign to seize land

to manifest itself even after the coup, when the Christian Democrats demanded that an autopsy be performed on Allende's body.

The most determined reactionaries involved in the coup may have seen killing the President as desirable to eliminate any temptations of compromise on the part of the more flexible elements. It is also possible that Allende was killed in the savage shelling of the centre city area and the military was anxious to conceal how indiscriminate the shooting was. Newsphotos did show very heavy damage to the presidential palace.

The Christian Democratic Party issued a statement on September 12 backing the armed forces, in which it maintained that they "did not seek this power, and their traditions inspire confidence in us that as soon as they finish the tasks they have assumed in order to avert grave dangers, they will return the power to the sovereign people." The statement was signed by Patricio Aylwin, president of the party and one of the leaders of the right wing. But, according to the September 13 La Razon, the leader of the wing that had been inclined to compromise with the UP, Radomiro Tomic, was "opposed to the text of the document."

The soon denied report that a civilian president was about to be appointed could also be an indication that the bourgeoisie is not entirely united on what precise course to take now. It is clear that the Chilean ruling class has launched a war against the workers that cannot help but prove extremely costly, whose ultimate outcome, as even their well-wishers in the US capitalist press admit, is doubtful.

In any case, the junta refused the request for an investigation of Allende's death. The most prominent practitioner of the "peaceful road to socialism" in recent years was buried on September 12 in a secret ceremony in a cemetery outside Santiago as the sound of tank cannon and bombs in the industrial suburbs threatened a massive terror against the workers' movement, which he could not lead to victory.

The Price of the Defeat

"The estimates of the dead, of necessity unofficial, have mounted horrendously," ANSA reported on September 12. "Yesterday they were talking about two thousand; this morning some sources indicate four thousand." On September 13, an AP dispatch from Santiago estimated the dead at 500 to 1000. A strict curfew was maintained for forty-eight hours after the coup in Santiago and lifted only for the daylight hours on September 13 and 14.

Only fragmentary reports of the resistance to the coup have yet come out of the country, which remained largely cut off from the world four days after the military launched its attack. But the armed opposition seemed persistent if scattered, unorganised, and apparently hopeless.

"Six hundred leftists surrendered after a gunfight at the technical university near downtown Santiago, unofficial sources said," according to a September 12 AP dispatch. "In another brief skirmish, soldiers moved in and occupied the large state-owned textile factory in this capital."

The next day, when the curfew was lifted for the daylight hours for the first time, AP reported: "Just as the break in

the curfew began a new flurry of shooting broke out in downtown Santiago and only a handful of pedestrians ventured into the streets....

"Exchanges of gunfire broke out again tonight in scattered parts of the downtown area after the curfew took effect."

A UPI dispatch in the September 13 issue of La Prensa, a daily published in Buenos Aires, reported shooting in the working-class neighborhoods. It also claimed that workers in the industrial suburbs had attacked police stations in those areas but had been driven back by the army with some casualties. The junta issued communique after communique threatening execution of anyone found with weapons.

However, on September 15, according to an AP dispatch of that date, the military claimed to have executed only three men, none of them in Santiago. One "extremist" was allegedly executed in Valparaiso, another in Puente Alto, twelve miles southeast of Santiago. The third was a policeman who had supposedly killed two of his superiors. The fact that one of the three persons the army admits executing was in the naval centre of Valparaiso and another was a presumably mutinous policeman (who took more than his share of officers with him) suggests that the putschists faced opposition within the ranks of the armed forces.

While there are as yet no reports of large-scale executions or a generalised slaughter in the working-class neighborhoods, it is clear that a very extensive round-up of activists and leaders of the workers movement has been in progress since the first moments of the coup and

that many militants are in grave danger of torture or death. Besides the 3000 reported imprisoned in Valparaiso, hundreds were reported arrested in Santiago, in particular, members of the MIR and political refugees from other countries.

The putschists seemed to concentrate especially on the political exiles, trying to create a spectre of a foreign "extremist" force to justify overthrowing the legally elected government.

"Last night, the military chiefs said that they had moved against Mr Allende because he had allowed 10,000 extremists to enter the country from abroad," AP reported on September 15 from Santiago. Most of the political refugees in Chile are Brazilians who have fled from a regime infamous for torturing and murdering all potential opponents of its arbitrary rule.

Many Uruguayans have also taken refuge in Chile since this other "island of democracy" in Latin America fell under a military dictatorship in June. The military has already issued a list of its most wanted foreigners. It includes, according to the September 13 La Razon, two Brazilians, ten Argentines, six Bolivians, one Netherlander, one Belgian, one Ecuadorian, one Spaniard, and one Pole. Of those identified, none qualified as a guerrilla commandante. One was Ted Cordoba Clause, a Bolivian, and the correspondent of La Opinion. Another was Carlos Nunez, a correspondent for the Montevideo weekly Marcha.

Thus, it seems that at best the Chilean coup will be followed by the kind of massive goading of socialists, trade-union, and intellectual leaders that followed the Banzer coup in Bolivia and that will take on still graver proportions corresponding to the size of the country and the greater complexity of the society.

How Far Will Repression Go?

The organisation of the working class reached its highest forms yet in Latin America in this relatively developed country in the months extending from the first reactionary offensive in October 1972 to the recent coup. During the October crisis, the workers and students kept the economy of the country running for several weeks. Facing each new challenge from the right, the workers seized more and more of the basic installations of the economy and moved closer and closer to re-organising production on the basis of direct democracy. Thus, in the weeks before the coup, rather extensive bases of workers power were already rooted in some key industrial areas and poor neighborhoods.

It is hard to believe that the Chilean armed forces alone, which in addition to the 15,000 naval personnel include only 25,000 in the army and 8000 in the air force, can destroy such highly developed and extensive organisations of the working class and batter it back into passivity.

Moreover, the kind of mass fascist movement that could do this also does not yet seem to exist. It is true that by taking advantage of the failures and indecisiveness of the UP leadership, the right was able to mobilise hundreds of thousands of the urban petty bourgeoisie against the Government, including sectors of the poor population. But a disciplined movement does not yet seem to exist on a mass scale.

The Nationalist Party and its surreptitiously cultivated commando groups

might be able to create such a fascist movement rather quickly, but with the fall of the UP Government, the economic insecurities and privations that enraged the petty bourgeoisie are now the responsibility of the right. And it is extremely unlikely that, barring unforeseen massive aid from Washington, the new Government will be able to solve the economic problems created by a long period of social upheaval, imperialist blockade, and bourgeois economic sabotage. In fact, because of the enormous costs of the military takeover and repression, these problems are apt to grow substantially before the situation improves.

Furthermore, there are no indications as yet that the junta has unleashed its fascist supporters against the left, as Banzer did, for instance, much less against the working-class neighborhoods and strongholds. The repression seemingly is being carried out exclusively by the army and the police. Although the junta has struck ruthlessly at selected points, it seems reluctant so far to launch an all-out campaign to crush the organisations of the working class.

Moreover, the organs of US imperialism seemed to regard the military takeover as a limited operation and to be sceptical that it could solve the problems of the defenders of the status quo face in Chile. In the Wall Street Journal for example, Everett G. Martin and Robert Keatley wrote:

"The left is also large in Chile and it will probably oppose with violence the military's effort to rule calmly. Marxist parties have been strong in Chile for 40 years, and some previously belonged to coalition governments. (That is, the Chilean workers, unlike their Brazilian class brothers, are well organised and have a long tradition of political struggle which they have maintained through previous defeats similar to the present one.) They won't react kindly to a takeover by the military and its relatively conservative friends; for them, it will conjure visions of ITT and the CIA, a plundering Uncle Sam and exploitation of the masses — the cartoons that are so often political reality for activists."

The removal of the class-collaborationist UP regime might even open the way for a greater threat:

"In fact the Allende Government itself was under increasing attack from radical elements that claimed it was moving too slowly along the path of socialism."

"Also joining the violent opposition may be once-landless farm workers who, tolerated if not always encouraged by the Allende Government, have seized acreage from big property owners, who were the main supporters of many earlier governments. The farm workers, too, have grown disenchanted with Mr Allende's reluctance to aid them and may fight hard to keep what they have taken."

Thus, nothing is really settled yet, according to this view:

"The result for a nation already polarised by the radical Allende solutions for Chile's assorted and growing problems could thus be a long period of strife and bloodshed — even if the ultimate, civil war, is avoided."

To sum it up, the new Chile was not a very good investment risk:

"Violence and instability seem certain to hinder production in the years just ahead — unless the generals get a better grip on things than expected — just as the turmoil of the Allende years created serious problems in both farms and factories. Chances of foreign investment seem nil, while domestic investors may also hold back even in such key sectors as food production."

The New York Times expressed similar apprehensions in its September 16 issue in its main editorial of the week on the situation in Chile:

"The Allende Government did substantially improve the lot of Chileans on the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. It gave many workers and peasants a sense of national participation that before. These are gains the military rulers promised in their first communique to preserve — a pledge they will find it dangerous to neglect....

"The traditionally non-political armed forces intervened not primarily because

The Coup in Chile — What Happened and Why ...

of Dr Allende's socialism but out of fear that a polarised Chile was lunging toward civil war. What cannot be clear for some time is whether the violent destruction of an elected Government, albeit a minority

or Brazilian solution that the Chilean capitalists more and more openly hankered for in the period before the coup just does not seem like a very realistic perspective.



Miners at El Teniente

one, will make that ultimate catastrophe less likely or even more probable."

US Imperialism Responsible

"Satisfaction not unmixed with a certain embarrassment," was the way Le Monde's September 13 editorial described the mood of official circles in Washington when the Allende Government fell. There is no doubt that, whatever the direct role of American governmental agencies in the actual coup, US imperialism was responsible in the last analysis for bringing down the Allende Government. Its economic blockade created the lion's share of the shortages that fuelled the petty-bourgeois revolt, in particular the shortage of spare parts for trucks. Its refusal to sell wheat to the Allende Government when a desperate shortage developed just before the coup seems to have been the final step in this policy.

The officer corps that carried out the coup were trained and nurtured by US imperialism. "In 1973," a study of the Chilean army in the September issue of Le Monde Diplomatique noted, "Chile remains, along with Venezuela, the main recipient in Latin America of US aid for training officers. For this, it is to receive a million dollars. Finally, Chile has just been put on the list of countries that can buy F-5E supersonic jet planes on credit. How can one fail to think that this co-operation can offer the opportunity for ideological penetration, whose fruits the United States doubtlessly hopes to gather one day?"

The Chilean armed forces are known to be among the most pro-US in Latin America. Here again the class-collaborationist President was not only unable to move against this pro-imperialist fifth column but encouraged it. One of his last official acts was to agree to joint manoeuvres between the Chilean fleet and the US Navy in the hope that this gesture would arouse more friendly feelings toward his regime in Washington.

The deepening radicalisation in Chile, combined with the revival of the workers' movement in Bolivia and the workers' upsurge in Argentina, was obviously becoming a serious threat to the interests of US imperialism in Latin America. Among other things, by recognising Cuba the Allende Government set in motion the undermining of the US-imposed diplomatic blockade of the first workers' state in the Americas.

Appropriately, one of the junta's first acts was to break diplomatic relations with Havana. This action was underscored by an attack on the Cuban Embassy during the coup and on a Cuban merchant ship off the coast.

However, the leading circles of US imperialism seemed to understand very quickly and clearly that the coup threatened to create an even more explosive situation in southern Latin America. For the first time, the master planners in Washington are confronted with the problem of how to devise a way to crush a well-organised and highly conscious industrial working class. From their standpoint, if the US capitalist press is any indication, the prospects do not look too bright. The Indonesian

Furthermore, the fall of the Allende Government shows the hollowness of the CP's claim that a reformist policy is necessary to win over the petty bourgeoisie to the side of the workers. It was precisely the UP Government's reluctance to move to re-organise the economy decisively on a socialist basis that enabled the right to raise the petty bourgeoisie against the workers.

The failure of the Government to move rapidly to take control of the big ranches and industrial establishments, as well as the big transportation and distribution combines, enabled the bourgeoisie and the imperialists to sabotage the economy and create the shortages and hardships that drove the poor but individualistic petty bourgeoisie into a frenzy against the Government.

Trying to respect the essential property interests of the capitalists, the Allende regime could not base itself on a mobilisation of the workers, which alone could have kept up and increased production in the transitional period and was the only force that could ultimately block the attempts of the bourgeoisie and imperialism to overthrow the Government. At times, the Allende regime even came into sharp conflict with workers and peasants who, encouraged by the idea that at last they had a government of their own, carried their struggle against the exploiters to the point of seizing the means of production. The Government's compromises did not reassure the industrialists and property owners, who were frightened and enraged by the militancy of the workers and the landless. The capitulations only encouraged the vested interests to arm openly in defence of their property and to plot with impunity against the regime.

At the same time, the Government's refusal to repudiate the national debt to the imperialists and its agreement to pay what was in fact compensation to the expropriated imperialist companies deprived the country of capital desperately needed to develop the country.

As a result of its "evolutionary" approach, the Government was unable to unite the decisive masses of the population behind a clear programme for reorganising the economy. Because of its refusal to expropriate the big capitalists, it did not have sufficient control of economic life to offer any solution to the problems of the petty bourgeoisie. Furthermore in the absence of a plan for transforming the capitalist system as a whole, the Government's policies tended to conflict in important areas.

For example, Allende's agrarian reform, it turned out, did not fit in very well with his policy of appeasing the army, as a study in the September issue of Le Monde Diplomatique indicated. "The army is tending to become an outgrowth of the middle class. According to a study carried out seven years ago, 42 per cent of the officers graduating from military school came from the big bourgeoisie, 39 per cent came from the rather comfortable middle class, and 19 per cent from the straitened petty bourgeoisie. Some 65 per cent of the higher officers came from the middle class; among them, however, a large number were linked to the upper class. In many cases, in fact, a young officer with no personal fortune takes the opportunity of an assignment in the south to marry the daughter of a landowner. One of the most unexpected results of

the agrarian reform was to reduce the dowries of the brides of young officers." Such small examples could be multiplied many times, since in the context of imperialism most of the major economic interests interlock.

What Was Lacking in Chile?

The collapse of the latest and most prominent attempt to find a "peaceful road to socialism" in Latin America marks the culmination of a certain cycle in the development of the revolutionary movement that extends from the fall of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala through the Cuban Revolution.

Both sides of this experience were represented by the young former guerrillas who died heroically in a futile defence of a capitulationist government.

Inspired by the Cuban Revolution, these young radicals armed themselves to fight imperialism and its native lackies. But they were unable to deal any serious blows to the system through their own military action. In particular they were surprised by the resurgence of reformism and unable to combat it. They could only try to firm up the will of a reformist government by serving as an armed body-guard for the head of a government that was not only incapable of defending itself but which inevitably armed its executioners. At the last, fighting for a legally elected government, they found themselves almost as alone in the face of the bourgeois repressive forces as they had as isolated guerrillas.

But when the September 11 coup came, the forces were in existence that could defeat imperialism and its local supporters. The organised workers in control of the plants represented probably the most formidable revolutionary force yet seen in Latin America. They were not entirely unarmed, although their arms were almost certainly insufficient. The coup had been expected for some time and it had been necessary to defend the key economic installations from previous right-wing offensives.

What the workers lacked above all was a centralised political leadership that, understanding the realities of class struggle, could have marshalled their economic and physical power against the reactionary forces. In the absence of this, the co-ordinated and carefully calculated strike of a relatively small military force threw the workers off balance. Resistance was heroic but scattered and without a perspective. The military was able to concentrate its strength at will against the most advanced sections of workers. Otherwise, less than 50,000 soldiers could never have intimidated hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of determined workers in control of the vital centres of the economy.

A revolutionary party able to give leadership to the resistance could have completely changed the outcome. Without this, the military force of the former guerrillas was insignificant. The final irony was that they died defending a government that had irrevocably condemned itself to death, when they were needed to help form the nucleus of a government based directly on the workers that could have really fought imperialism and dealt it a decisive defeat.



The end: bombed ruins of Allende's Moneda Palace

New Publishing Plans for Trotsky Writings

The following interview is reprinted from *The Militant*, a weekly revolutionary socialist newspaper printed in the U.S.

BY PEGGY BRUNDY

A review of Leon Trotsky's *Speaks by Louis Sinclair* in a recent British periodical raised some interesting questions about how much of Trotsky's writings have been translated into English. Sinclair is the author of the 1100-page *Leon Trotsky: A Bibliography* (Hoover Institution Press, 1972).

Sinclair asks in his review, "How much of Trotsky's writings are indeed translated?" and answers, "Remarkably little." He gives some examples from Trotsky's early (pre-1917) and middle (1917-29) periods, adding, "In this respect, the post-1929 works come out better."

Since Pathfinder Press in New York is the world's biggest publisher of Trotsky's works, I took some of my questions to Naomi Allen, one of the editors of its current series *Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1929-40). Some of the information I obtained in this interview may be of interest to readers of *The Militant*.

BRUNDY: Is Sinclair's assessment in this review accurate? If so, does it mean that I've been wrong in assuming considerable progress has been made in translating and publishing Trotsky's works in the last four or five years?

ALLEN: We have to begin by recognizing that Sinclair is the outstanding authority on this question. Without the benefit of his pioneering work, Pathfinder's *Writings* editors — currently George Breitman, Sarah Lovell, and I — wouldn't be able to even discuss the question with any certainty.

On the basis of Sinclair's own work, however, I'd have to say that his statement — "remarkably little" of Trotsky has been translated — is correct only in a relative sense. A few weeks ago, when we counted the number of Trotsky's works currently in print in English, we found 41 books and 15 pamphlets.

There aren't many contemporary full-time writers today who have that many titles in print. And of course Trotsky, who has been dead for 33 years, was engaged in other activity besides writing.

So it's obvious that Sinclair's statement was intended relatively. The thought he was expressing was that the proportion of Trotsky's writings that has been translated is small, remarkably small, considering what an important writer he is.

But I don't think his opinion on that question has any bearing, one way or the other, on your other question — whether or not there has been considerable progress in the last few years. This is primarily a factual question. And the fact is that more of Trotsky's writings have been published in English in the past four years than in any similar period since Trotsky's death in 1940, or for that matter, than in any similar period during his life.

Although the number of Trotsky's books in print in English still leads the way, I think a similar trend can be discerned in many other languages. Some of his works have even been published again in Russian, though not in the Soviet Union.

BRUNDY: I suppose that Sinclair's statement about the publishing record of the post-1929 works being better is also relative, but can you add anything on that? How much better? What proportion of the writings from 1929 to 1940 has been translated?

ALLEN: Before that question can be answered, it's necessary to make an important distinction. Are you asking about everything Trotsky actually wrote, whether it was published or not, or about his writings that have been published, by or since his death?

We can't really give a meaningful answer about everything he wrote, because a lot of that not only has not been published but is not even available for public inspection. Most of the material in this category is in the closed

section of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard University. And it will not be made public until 1980, in accord with the arrangement Trotsky made with Harvard in 1940.

He made this stipulation at the beginning of World War II as a way of protecting the people written to or written about in his letters of the 1929-40 period.

All we know about this correspondence is what Isaac Deutscher has written about it. Deutscher received permission from Natalia Sedova, Trotsky's widow, to examine it in 1959, when he was writing his three-volume biography of Trotsky.

Deutscher said the closed section consists of 45 boxes, all from 1929 to 1940, containing 309 folders with about 20,000 documents and letters. He wrote, "approximately nine-tenths consist of Trotsky's correspondence with his followers." That is, they are political writings concerning revolutionary strategy, tactics, organization, etc.



By 1975 Pathfinder Press will have printed in English all of Trotsky's published writings from the 1929-1940 period

Some of these 18,000 or so documents were printed in internal bulletins of the Trotskyist movement at the time they were written and have been included in our *Writings* series. But at best that would be a small fraction of the total.

BRUNDY: You're saying there may be 18,000, or 15,000, or even 10,000 more documents by Trotsky that will be available in 1980? Even if each averaged only one page in print, that would be an addition of 10,000 printed pages!

ALLEN: Yes, and 10,000 printed pages would come to around 30 additional volumes. So you can see why I prefer that we discuss what Trotsky wrote that has been published in any language. There we are on more solid ground.

BRUNDY: All right, what proportion of Trotsky's published work of the period 1929-40 has been translated into English?

ALLEN: We're able to report that all of it has now been translated, and will be in print by the end of 1974 or early 1975. A few items we don't yet know about may turn up before then, but they'll be included too.

BRUNDY: Then the whole *Writings* series will be done by early 1975?

ALLEN: Yes, although it has turned out to be a bigger job than was first projected early in 1969. At that time the plan was to print only what had already been translated into English. Along the way, as interest developed in the project, we decided to translate everything that had been published in any language.

We even began to get hold of articles and letters that had not been published anywhere — thanks to individuals who had private copies of such items, and to the Trotsky Archives at the Harvard College Library (the open section).

We also decided, after four volumes had appeared, to supply copious annotation for the benefit of readers who are not familiar with the names of political figures and organizations of the thirties — that is, most readers.

And we further decided to convert the large-format facsimile style used in the first four volumes to standard-size book format.

him or has been published in any language since?

ALLEN: That's right. And I want to add some statistics that shed light on the quantity of Trotsky's published work from his last exile.

When we have finished publishing the *Writings* books and their companion, the total of Trotsky's writings from that 11 and a half year period will come to somewhere between 9500 and 10,000 printed pages in standard book format. That will be the equivalent of between 28 and 30 volumes.

Measured in this way, we'll be able to say that Pathfinder's 16 volumes since 1969 will have more than doubled the previous amount of writings in English from Trotsky's last exile period. (I'm not counting pamphlets or parts of other books.)

We're proud of this achievement, and all the more so because it took place during the same years that we greatly expanded our list of authors. Pathfinder is no longer known only as the publisher of Trotsky but also as the publisher of James P. Cannon, George Novack, Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, Farrell Dobbs, Evelyn Reed, Ernest Mandel, Rosa Luxemburg, Eugene V. Debs, and many others.

BRUNDY: Before we leave those statistics, let me ask one other question. If Trotsky wrote 28 or 30 volumes in his last 11 and a half years, how much did he write altogether in the forty-odd years of his revolutionary career?

ALLEN: I'm not sure. The quantity of material in the closed section at Harvard is too uncertain to permit anything but guesses at this point. My own would be around 100 volumes.

BRUNDY: Are there any other Trotsky books in prospect now that the *Writings* series is almost completed?

ALLEN: Oh yes, there are several others in various stages of preparation. One is a collection of Trotsky's writings on China during the 1920s and thirties, including everything in the old book *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* and much more, some of it never published before in any language.

Another is a book called *Political Portraits*, a collection of Trotsky's sociological and psychological sketches of many of his contemporaries, both friends and opponents.

I think it will arouse considerable interest as an example of the Marxist method skillfully used in a field where the results have all too often been disastrous. Both these books will be published by Monad Press and distributed by Pathfinder.

But while I'm at it, I would like to announce something else — Pathfinder's decision to start a new Trotsky series, bearing the overall title *The Challenge of the Left Opposition*.

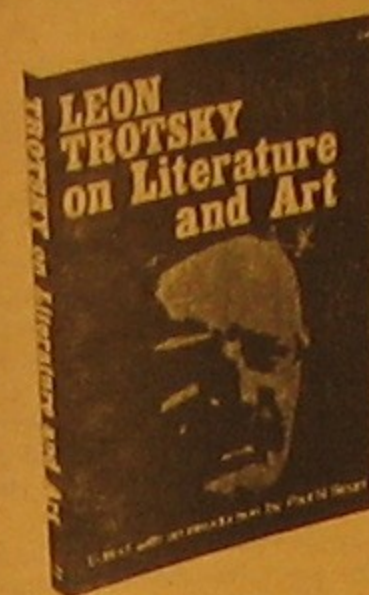
This will cover the period from the autumn of 1923, when the Russian Left Opposition was organized, to February, 1929, when Trotsky was exiled to Turkey and the *Writings* series begins. It will include all the books and pamphlets from that period that have any connection with the Left Opposition's struggle against Stalinism and that are not already in print.

That is, it will include *The New Course*, *Lessons of October*, *Towards Capitalism or Socialism?* (Whither Russia?), and *The Platform of the Opposition*, as well as many other articles that were translated before but published only in periodicals, plus many that will be translated for the first time.

It will not include material that is already in print elsewhere, such as *My Problems of Everyday Life*, *Leon Trotsky on Britain*, *The Stalin School of Falsification*, *The Third International After Lenin*, *The Permanent Revolution*, or *Whither France?* So altogether there will be 12 volumes in the *Writings* series and four additional new books, for a total of 16.

BRUNDY: And that will complete the translation into English of everything Trotsky wrote during his last exile, 1929 to 1940, that was published by

Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art



BY GORDON ADLER

Leon Trotsky was born in Odessa, of Jewish parents. He was educated in a cosmopolitan environment, and spoke several European languages fluently. He was familiar with the literature of Western Europe as well as that of Russia, and at an early age understood the importance of literature and art in the process of social evolution. During his long and active political life he retained a deep interest in the problems of literary art, and wrote extensively on the subject, even during the period of his most important political work, the preparation for the founding of the Fourth International. Some of these essays are collected in *Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art*, edited with an introduction by Paul N. Siegel, and published by Pathfinder Press, New York 1970 (\$2.45). This work is in two parts, the first dealing with Trotsky's ideas on critical theory, and the second with his views on the work of individual writers are discussed in detail.

In the first essay, from *Literature and Revolution*, Trotsky discusses two main problems confronting the contemporary artist. The first concerned the claims of the critic Victor Shklovsky that art stood above classes, and could not be seen in any relation to the changing alignments of class forces that determined the outcome of social conflicts and the course of history, and the second concerned the possibility of the existence of proletarian literature.

Shklovsky argues that since the greatest works of the literature of Graeco-Roman slave society and the feudal society of mediaeval Europe still have an appeal today, Marxists must be wrong in claiming that art reflects the class character of the society from which it arose. Trotsky, in reply, discusses the Marxist concept of the objective social dependence and social utility of art.

"Marxism seeks with the same assurance the social roots of the 'pure' as well as of the tendentious art. It does not at all 'incriminate' a poet with the thoughts and feelings which he expresses, but raises questions of a much more profound significance, namely, to which order of feelings does a given artistic work correspond in all its peculiarities? What are the social conditions of these thoughts and feelings? What place do they occupy in the historic development of a society and of a class? And, further, what literary heritage has entered into the elaboration of the new form? Under the influence of what historic impulse have the new complexes of feelings and thoughts broken through the shell which divides them from the sphere of poetic consciousness?" (pp 30-31)

In this essay Trotsky recognizes the rich cultural traditions of Western Europe and the great achievements of bourgeois art and the art of the feudal and slave societies that preceded it. The proletarian socialist revolution does not destroy the gains of the previous epoch, but creates the conditions for a new and more profound understanding of human relations.

"It would be childish to think that every class can entirely and fully create its own art from within itself... Each new rising class places itself on the shoulders of its preceding one. But this continuity is dialectic, that is, it finds itself by means of internal repulsions and breaks." (p 37).

And again: "A work of art should, in the first place, be judged by its own law, that is, by the law of art. But Marxism alone can explain why and how a given tendency in art has originated in a given period of history; in other words, who it

was who made a demand for such an artistic form and not for another, and why." (p 37)

In discussing the problem of proletarian literature Trotsky draws attention to the proletarian dictatorship as an instrument of class rule, the victorious working class. With the triumph of the world revolution the need for such a dictatorship will decline until a truly classless society emerges. In such a world socialist society there will be no proletarian literature, only a classless literature, for the first time since the first creation of private property in primitive times.

Does this mean, then, that there is no place for proletarian literature, for tendentious literature? Does it mean that the bourgeois critics are right, that all art created to advance a cause is non-art, that is, mere propaganda? No, says Trotsky. The very reverse is, in fact, true. It is those bourgeois critics who deny the class roots of art, who assert that art must not concern

intrinsic laws. Bourgeois art developed over a period of five centuries before the democratic revolutions gave political expression to the aspirations of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian art cannot be produced, by command, in a few months or even a few years.

The degeneration of the first workers' state due to the isolation of the revolution in one country did, however, call forth a type of literature that had a definite social function, the defence of the interests of the privileged stratum that emerged in the Soviet Union after the end of the civil war. It was against this counterfeit literature, this literature that distorts reality, that falsifies history, that glorifies the bureaucracy, that Trotsky directed his attack.

"The revolution lays out the ground for a new society. But it does so with the methods of the old society, with the class struggle, with violence, destruction and annihilation. If the proletarian revolution had not come, mankind would have been strangled by its own contra-



Leo Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky at Yasnoya Polyana in 1900

itself with the real world, that true art must be divorced from the social conflicts of the day, it is these critics who have aligned themselves with the ruling class.

In the era of the decline of capitalism, in a world torn by wars, genocide, ruthless exploitation and destruction of the earth's resources, to remain indifferent and to preach the doctrine of a "pure" art detached from all these issues is to uphold the interests of the dominant class. In our own time, during the period of the Indo-China war, it was not those who chose to ignore the war but those who poets and song writers who made themselves the authentic voices of the worldwide rebellion against it, whose work has the greatest claim to be recognized as art.

Such literature is not necessarily proletarian literature. In many cases it is the outcry of the artist who perceives the contradiction between bourgeois ideals and the reality of bourgeois society. A true proletarian art can develop only at its own tempo, and according to its

image and who is more and more in need of this art." (p59)

"Does this exclude the possibility that even in the period of revolutionary dictatorship, there might appear eminent scientists, inventors, dramatists out of the ranks of the proletariat? Not in the least. But it would be extremely light-minded to give the name of proletarian culture even to the most valuable achievements of individual representatives of the working class... Culture is the organic sum of knowledge and capacity which characterizes the entire society, or at least, its ruling class... Individual achievements rise above this level and elevate it gradually." (pp53-54)

Turning to the writer Tolstoy in Tolstoy's *Poet and Rebel*, an essay written on Tolstoy's eightieth birthday, Trotsky discusses Tolstoy's ideas, his achievements, and his influence on subsequent generations. Tolstoy was not a socialist, but a conservative anarchist. He was, nonetheless, a giant who stood at the very zenith of the attainments of bourgeois literature. After analysing the meaning of his work, Trotsky points out that Tolstoy rejected the morality of Tolstoyism, and for the last thirty years of his life stood completely alone.

"And though he refuses a sympathetic hearing to our revolutionary objectives, we know it is because history has refused him personally an understanding of his revolutionary pathways. We shall not condemn him. And we shall always value in him not alone his great genius, which shall never die so long as human art lives on, but also his unbending moral courage, which did not permit him tranquilly to remain in the ranks of their hypocritical church, their society and their state but doomed him to remain a solitary among his countless admirers." (pp140-141)

"Tolstoy did not consider himself a revolutionary and was not one. But he passionately sought the truth and, having found it, was not afraid to proclaim it. Truth in and of itself possesses a terrible, explosive power: once proclaimed, it irresistibly gives rise to revolutionary conclusions in the consciousness of the masses." (p 145)

The poet Mayakovsky presents a more complex and contradictory figure.

"It is not true that Mayakovsky was first of all a revolutionary and after that a poet, although he sincerely wished it were so. In fact Mayakovsky was first of all a poet, an artist, who rejected the old world without breaking with it. Only after the revolution did he seek to find support for himself in the revolution, and to a significant degree he succeeded in doing so; but he did not merge with it totally, for he did not come to it during his years of inner formation, in his youth." (pp 175-176)

To Trotsky, Mayakovsky is not only the slinger of the epoch of transformation, but also its victim. His suicide was the culmination of the inner conflicts produced by the turbulent period through which he lived, and not, as the official critics stated, an accident unrelated to his life and work.

Trotsky analyses the work of Maxim Gorky in some detail, and advances reasons for the superiority of some of his pre-revolutionary writing over his later work even though he committed himself totally to the revolution.

Other essays review the writings of such widely different authors as Winston Churchill, Jack London, Marcel Martinet, Poincaré, Celine, Sergei Essenin, and a new writer of the time, Jean Malauqat. He reveals a warm admiration for Ignazio Silone's novel *Fontamara*, a brilliant novel directed against Italian fascism, and discusses at considerable length a novel of Andre Malraux about the role of Stalinism in China, in an essay entitled *The Strangled Revolution*.

Other essays deal with the independence of the artist, art and politics in our epoch, and the manifesto *Towards A Free Revolutionary Art*.

The work as a whole is a classical study in literary criticism, and is a major contribution to an understanding of the close relationship of literature and politics in the contemporary world.

Socialist Runs for President at UNSW

BY GEOFF PAYNE

Between October 15-19 at the University of New South Wales Kensington campus voting for next year's president of the Students' Union will take place.

Politically, the university has been much quieter than in previous years. The lull in the student radicalisation has been reflected in the fewer numbers of students willing to take part in political activities and interested in student elections and so forth.

However, the debate, discussion and activity which has taken place on UNSW campus this year has not been altogether insignificant. The main events were the polarisation of students around the abortion question leading up to the bill introduced into Federal Parliament by Labor members McKenzie and Lamb; the activities arranged for Gay Pride Week in early September, and the disputes which arose in the last month in Sociology 1 and Political Science 1 with regard to course structure and examination procedure.

The abortion debate on campus culminated in a general meeting of over 800 students voting by two to one to endorse the motions calling for the repeal of all abortion laws and for a woman's right to control her own body and life. It was the only really successful policy-making meeting of the Students' Union this year compared to previous years when the Vietnam war was continuously a focus of mass support.

In recent weeks the role of the president of the Students' Union has been brought into question. Originally the election for this position was scheduled for early August, but some councillors on the Students' Union Council wished to discuss whether the position of president could become an unpaid position, and consequently a part-time one. Later it was decided at a further SUC meeting not to pay a president next year.

What was most disturbing to those who opposed the change was the forcing of a hasty decision, without any coherent alternative and without fully discussing the role of the president. This position could be used to advance the interests of students and the student movement in many important ways.

But so poorly thought out was the attitude of those students wishing to "democratise" the position by sharing the responsibilities around, that after a string of amendments, the motion eventually carried completely contradicted the spirit of the original motion.

The attempt by the majority of the SUC to implement a committee structure, where committees would receive a portion of the budget "to do their own thing" was a reaction to the lack of involvement of students in politics at this time. Instead of understanding the underlying causes of the lull in activity and drawing lessons from this year's activity, the "radicals" on the SUC substituted an administrative manoeuvre for a programme of demands around which students could be aroused out of their apathy. The dissenters present at the meeting moved that such an important change should be ratified (or rejected) at a general meeting of students and this was finally agreed to.

Young Socialist, the leaflet published by the Socialist Youth Club on campus presented the socialist position on the day of the general meeting. It called for the position of president to be a paid one as this would aid student struggles provided the political role of the president was emphasised. The alternative would leave students without adequate political representation and influence against the power of the university administration. The seventy students present decided to reject the SUC's recommendation with many Students' Union councillors now voting against their previous positions.

Previous socialist candidates for president on UNSW campus have waged very successful campaigns in the past although they have missed being elected. The Socialist Youth Club which agrees with the policies of the Socialist Youth

Alliance decided to stand a candidate in the coming election to present its programme of demands in opposition to the right-wing and status-quo policies. It is presenting to students a programme and a strategy which would enable the university to attune more to the needs of the whole of society and real social struggles by the conscious decision of students, staff and campus workers.

In his presidential statement for the student newspaper, *Tharunka*, Geoff Payne pointed out that the united mass action of students could achieve significant reforms of the university that would be in the interests of students and the working class.

Some of the main demands of the cam-

Split-up of Philosophy Department

BY PAUL McLENAGHAN

Although the recent strike in the philosophy department at Sydney University for a course in feminist studies was victorious, it has become quite clear that the struggles in that department are far from over.

The latest event has been the decision of the Vice-Chancellor to split the philosophy department into two departments, a "Traditional and Modern Philosophy" department and a "Critical and Contemporary Philosophy" department. This decision was made upon the recommendation of five staff members (professors Armstrong, Campbell, and Rose;



Women's Embassy during philosophy strike at Sydney University

Successful Chile Forums Held

BY BERNIE MURPHY

The recent military coup in Chile has aroused widespread interest on the Australian left. Many who had believed that Chile under Allende was advancing to socialism along a "peaceful road" have received a shock and are trying to understand how such a disaster came about. Of all the tendencies of the left, only the Trotskyists have been able to offer a clear analysis and balance sheet of the Popular Unity experience and point the way forward. The various academics and the Stalinists have nothing to say, only a betrayal to obscure and cloud over.

In Sydney the Socialist Youth Alliance launched a vigorous forum series on the three campuses. Over the last several weeks forums have been held at the University of NSW, Macquarie University, and Sydney University. At each the attendance was over 30. Dave Holmes from the editorial board of *DIRECT ACTION* was the featured speaker, developing the analysis familiar to readers of this paper. In each case the revolutionary socialist analysis put forward was very well received.

After analysing the development of the events in Chile, Holmes pointed out that there were many similarities to the 1917 events in Russia, but there was a crucial difference. In Russia the Bolshevik Party taught the masses to have no confidence in the class-collaborationist Kerensky regime (a coalition of reformists and bourgeois liberals) and finally led them



Geoff Payne

Dr Hove and Ms Mednis) without any consultation with the students of the department and many staff members too.

The departmental constitution which provides for all staff and students to have equal attendance and voting rights on issues central to the department was ignored. This constitutional power was overruled in the recent philosophy strike, by the echelons of university power and was a strong factor behind the logic of the strike.

The split is disturbing for several reasons. Firstly, the proposed resolution of this tension in the philosophy department could be used as a precedent for dealing with similar situations in other depart-

ments. (If all department tensions are to be handled this way, will the university have twice the number of departments it has now?) Secondly, given the powers of the Vice-Chancellor, it is equally possible that this power may only be the prelude to dissolving the "Department of Contemporary and Critical Philosophy" altogether in the same way as the present decision to split the philosophy department was made - since it is clear from the administration's attitude toward the feminist course is that this type of philosophy is not favoured by them.

Thirdly, if the suggestions of the five staff members who proposed the split are fully adopted no student would be able to take credit courses from both departments either to count as one subject or two. This represents a tremendous restriction on the freedom of students to choose what they wish to study and further reinforces a purely artificial and expedient distinction between types of philosophy.

Lastly, this case represents yet another instance of the hierarchical and authoritarian decision making in the university and cuts across the constitution of the department and the rights of staff and students to decide matters affecting their educational activities.

The students have already begun organising opposition to the split decision as it represents a complete overriding of the power of the department to decide its future.

This new struggle makes it all the more clear, that the struggle for autonomous departments run by staff-student control is going to be a long one, whilst the restrictive university-by-laws, which gives decision-making power to the Senate, the professorial board and the faculties over the departments, continue to exist.

to victory over both the capitalists and their "socialist" allies. In Chile, the influential Communist Party and the Socialist Party were inside the class-collaborationist Allende Government preaching reliance on it. And there was no mass revolutionary party outside to lead the masses away from the march of disaster along the "peaceful road".

Denis Freney's presentation was basically a denial of the points made by Dave Holmes and an attempt to obscure the line which the CPA has pushed in its paper *Tribune* for the last three years, i.e., uncritical support for Allende and the "peaceful road". Belated talk by Denis Freney and *Tribune* about armed struggle and lauding of the heroic resistance of the masses is simply a cover-up of the CPA's rotten record.

Speaking in reply at the end of the meeting, Dave Holmes noted that many rank-and-file members of the CPA did not support their party's line on Chile and were very disturbed by what had occurred. Holmes urged these comrades to struggle to convince the rest of the membership of the complete bankruptcy of the party past and present analyses of the Chilean events.

With the eighteen year old vote and () I would like to subscribe to *DIRECT ACTION* at 10 issues for \$1 () I would like to take a bundle of *DIRECT ACTION* at 1/3 discount to sell NAME POSTCODE ADDRESS

Send to *DIRECT ACTION* 139 St Johns Road, Glebe 2037

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Correction

Dear comrades,

Some factual errors were contained in the printed version of my article on the attack against David Deutschmann in issue No.47 of *DIRECT ACTION*.

Firstly, immediately after the attack SYA did not call only for an investigation by the students through the SRC, but for an investigation by the administration as well. Later, when it became apparent that the administration would not investigate the bashing of Deutschmann, but in instead was considering an investigation into "violence" at La Trobe in general, an investigation which we considered would provide the pretext for a witch hunt against all leftists and would lead to reprisals against students involved in the expulsion of the South Vietnamese envoy, SYA withdrew its call for an administration investigation. This was important also because the rightists on campus had distorted the SYA call and were attempting to confuse students into thinking that we supported a general inquiry.

Secondly, SYA did not circulate a statement for endorsement by all political clubs, to the effect that they disassociate themselves from the attack. Statements issued by all of the political clubs made this unnecessary.

Thirdly, the statement "Student opinion is clearly absolutely against anyone using violence to settle differences of political orientation", should be understood in the context that we do not consider the

refusal to allow the South Vietnamese envoy to speak on the campus to have been an act of violence. We consider that allowing the Thieu dictatorship a public forum on La Trobe would have been an act of support for this mass murderer, and an unfriendly action toward the vast majority of the people of Vietnam. And the students who expelled Quang were acting on the basis of a vote by over 200 students who attended his meeting.

Yours fraternally,
Steve Painter.

Likes Paper

Dear Friends,

I have been subscribing to *DIRECT ACTION* for some months now and generally find myself in agreement with the articles in it. I always read the World Revolution section and your international news with great interest. It is often very difficult, if not impossible, to find out from the capitalist press just what is really going on in other parts of the world.

Your coverage of the coup in Chile in issue 48 was by far the best of any paper I've seen. What occurred there is indeed terrible and shows how fatal it is for socialist to have illusions in the nature of capitalism and its institutions.

Yours for socialism,
J.B.

DA GETS AROUND

In the three years that *DIRECT ACTION* has been going, our readership and influence has been growing and reaching out into new areas. In a situation where we are up against all the power of the capitalist class and its control over the mass media, its very encouraging for the supporters of *DIRECT ACTION* who work so hard getting the paper out to find readers and supporters popping up in new places, not just in country areas of Australia, but overseas as well, from Ceylon, to Canada, to England.

It's also encouraging to see how *DIRECT ACTION* is being seen more and more by our readers as a rallying point to organise against the capitalist system. Last week we received the following letter from a supporter in Bendigo, Victoria.

Dear Comrade,
Now that the disillusionment of the workers with the faked "Labor" government has set in, and they have been exposed as just another system work! I suggest that the time is right for the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League to run a Senate candidate.

At the Senate elections next year we could get a great deal of the workers support by running candidates in our two strongest states, NSW and Victoria. Although we might not get a anyone up immediately, within a few years we could build enough support to get a member into the Senate. The Australia Party, the hobbyhorse of that transport magnate Gordon Barton has been steadily increasing its support since 1966 and is tipped by the capitalist press to get at least one senator elected this next election.

Keep up the good work,
Yours fraternally,
Jim Peterson

the inclusion of parties names on the ballot papers we would get many votes. Many people have read our paper over the past few years and would know about us. We could get a great deal of publicity and eventually a seat in the Senate.

Although we don't plan to stand candidates in parliamentary elections at the present time, its interesting to note that many of our readers do make quite optimistic estimates of our potential influence. The impressive quality of our newspaper often leads people to think that we are bigger and stronger than we actually are, but in comparison with the tasks that confront us, we are relatively weak. It is going to take a lot more hard work and battling by our supporters to build us into an organisation that can carry out those tasks, that can lead a successful struggle against the exploitation, violence and inequalities of capitalist society.

One of the most important steps in building such an organisation is increasing the circulation of *DIRECT ACTION*. You can help us in this by taking a bundle of papers to sell in your area, at your job or school. We send them to you at 1/3 discount, so you only have to sell 2/3 of them to break even. Why not try a bundle of 10 or 20 to start with?

An example of what can be done in areas where *DIRECT ACTION* is not sold regularly is the case of three people from Sydney who went to Newcastle one day last week. They sold sixty at lunch time at Newcastle University, fifteen outside Barton, and others in the shopping centre and around the pub for a total of nearly 150 sold that day.

Like the cigar-smoking bludge above, we're a little embarrassed about having to ask our friends for money. But while he's frittering away his friend's \$36,000, we'll be making good use of the dollars and cents that you give to the *DIRECT ACTION* fund drive. So send us what you can today and help us put out a better *DIRECT ACTION*! Just fill in the coupon below!

I donate \$50. . . . \$20. . . . \$15. . . . \$10. . . . \$5. . . . \$2. . . . \$1. . . . Please send me a receipt.
NAME
ADDRESS POSTCODE
Send to *DIRECT ACTION* Fund Drive, 139 St Johns Road, Glebe, 2037.

DIRECT ACTION FORUMS

Sydney FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 8.00 pm
"THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION" Dave Holmes from the editorial board of *DIRECT ACTION* talks on the enduring significance of the first socialist revolution in history on the occasion of its fifty-sixth anniversary.

Melbourne THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 8.00 pm
"BEHIND THE COUP IN CHILE" Dave Deutschmann examines the background in the recent right-wing coup and the lessons it holds for socialists.

Adelaide THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 8.00 pm
"THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST" Greg Adamson talks on the renewed fighting in the Middle East and analyses the course of events which led up to it.

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

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 8.00 pm
"WAGE FREEZE - THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE" Col Maynard discusses the experience of Nixon's wage-price freeze and the lessons for the Australian labor movement.

HELP CHANGE THE SHAPE OF THE WORLD!

JOIN SYA

If you oppose the Vietnam war and conscription, if you want a socialist Australia, if you support the struggle for women's liberation, the struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, the struggle for national liberation throughout the world - join the SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE.

I would like to join SYA
I would like more information.
NAME
ADDRESS
POSTCODE PHONE
Post to SYA, P.O. Box 160, Glebe, 2037.

We don't like to bludge off our mates, but...

"Could you let me have \$36,000 till payday?"

Like the cigar-smoking bludge above, we're a little embarrassed about having to ask our friends for money. But while he's frittering away his friend's \$36,000, we'll be making good use of the dollars and cents that you give to the *DIRECT ACTION* fund drive. So send us what you can today and help us put out a better *DIRECT ACTION*! Just fill in the coupon below!

I donate \$50. . . . \$20. . . . \$15. . . . \$10. . . . \$5. . . . \$2. . . . \$1. . . . Please send me a receipt.
NAME
ADDRESS POSTCODE
Send to *DIRECT ACTION* Fund Drive, 139 St Johns Road, Glebe, 2037.



Migrant Workers' Conference

BY JIM McILROY

The recent migrant workers' conference held in the Melbourne Trades Hall on October 5 and 7 gave a clear indication of the growing assertiveness of migrants in seeking answers to the special problems they face in the Australian workforce and society in general.

The attendance of an estimated 400, the majority of whom were migrants, represented an important step forward for migrant workers in this country.

At the same time, while the final document accepted by the conference as an expression of aims contained a large number of valuable proposals for tackling migrants' special problems in the workforce, the lack of a coherent plan underlying the conference was revealed starkly in the final session when the final document was to be hammered out.

In the end, George Zangalis from the CPA, acting on behalf of the organising committee of the conference, effectively railroaded through the draft document without even putting several important amendments to a vote. One such amendment, moved by a member of the Socialist Workers League and paralleled by a suggestion from a Spanish woman worker who had spoken earlier, called for a rejection of the fraud of a price-incomes policy as proposed by the Australian Labor Government, since it is aimed effectively at a wage freeze. The amendment supported the demand for a \$90 minimum wage, (as proposed in the draft document), while calling for the implementation of a real counter to inflation through automatic monthly wage adjustments according to a cost-of-living index kept by the ACTU.

The speaker argued that migrant workers, as a big proportion of the lowest paid workers in Australia would be among the hardest hit by a wage freeze. While migrant workers did face special oppression, and divisions do exist among workers in Australia, unity of all workers can best be achieved in action by a struggle around a common programme for common interests. The coming referendums on prices and incomes pose a vital challenge to the labor movement as a whole, and a correct strategy to fight inflation is a vital necessity at this time. The lack of time available to discuss this matter, and the failure to vote on it, resulted in the incorrect strategy of a call for control of prices being adopted by default. This was one important reflection of the lack of political clarification emerging from the conference.

A number of very worthwhile demands were raised in the final document, how-

ever. These included demands that: "...the inhuman treatment, intimidation and arbitrary dismissal, especially after injury and job activity, of migrant workers by employers must be vigorously combated. Awards and safety regulations must be fully explained in the migrant workers' own languages, and then be strictly policed." "Migrant workers must be specially assisted to acquire skills through training and re-training and their overseas trade qualifications should be recognised subject to a local test if necessary." "Unions logs of claims to contain these demands:

- * English to be taught on the job, during working hours, without loss of pay and at the workers' convenience.
- * Establishment of child-care centres at the place of employment, paid for by the employers and the government, and managed by the parents of the children attending the centres." "Female labor should be paid at the rate for the job. Special attention should be paid to the particular problems of female migrant workers."

"No migrant would be denied any social-service payments or political voting rights on the grounds of length of residence and nationality. The trade-union principle of equality of rights must apply in this social and political sphere. Information on all matters related to voting in elections should be available in all languages."

"All information and documents on social services and legal transactions should be in the migrants' languages."

"All 15-24 year old migrants should have the opportunity to learn English and a trade."

All incoming migrants should enjoy the same assisted passage facilities as British migrants."

"Support for the National Health Scheme. Free hospital and medical as well as free medical care for the aged parents of migrants."

"Old age pensions must be paid at 60 years of age and at no less than 75 per cent of the worker's normal income."

"Paid maternity leave for 12 weeks on full pay and paid paternity leave for two weeks."

And under the heading Education: Culture and Language:

"The State education system must fully cater for the English language needs of children and adult migrants as well as for the teaching of migrant languages and cultures. The governments must urgently allocate adequate funds,

strike at Ford's Broadmeadow plant in June demonstrated militancy of migrant workers personnel and other facilities to the working class schools where most migrant children attend."

"All teachers should be thoroughly prepared for teaching in schools in a multi-cultural society. This preparation should include the learning of other languages and knowledge of the social and cultural backgrounds of migrants."

"All newly arrived migrants have the right to intensive English language courses on full pay."

Other demands were raised under the heading Trade Union Involvement. These included: "Election and promotion of migrants of both sexes as union officials and organisers."

Creation of a trade-union education programme for migrants conducted in all languages."

"Employment of multi-lingual personnel in union offices as well as union publications and other important services should be multi-lingual; publication in migrant worker languages of a series of special booklets on unionism and unions, on workers' compensation, long-service leave and other conditions."

The main debate came around proposals for the establishment of special bodies for migrants within the trade-union movement. The draft document (which was accepted) called for: "Establishment of migrant trade-union committees consisting of union members which can meet together and discuss their problems in their own languages and work out what they and their unions can do."

And: "Establishment of a trade-union advisory centre for migrant workers, not confined to social work, but to develop the active involvement of migrant workers in specific and general trade-union campaigns."

Some speakers considered that these proposals implied splitting the migrant workers from Australian-born workers, and developing a separate movement within the trade unions as a whole. But as a number of people pointed out migrants have a very special form of oppression in this society. They need to get together and discuss out their problems in their own language, to develop a consciousness of how to fight their exploitation and the discriminations they face in society. There is nothing wrong in principle with the proposals as outlined, but whether they will work in practice depends on the way in which such committees should develop.

If they are bureaucratically established and run from the top then they will not succeed. If they are able to mobilise

rank-and-file migrant involvement in discussing their own problems and the affairs of the union then they can succeed. Australian workers themselves, and particularly trade-union officials must accept the special needs of migrant workers as a precondition to a real unity.

The experience of the Ford strike at Broadmeadows showed the sort of problems that can arise. Migrant workers who were invariably shunted into the most super-exploited jobs on an ever-accelerating production line became fed up. The overwhelming proportion of those who endured the long strike were migrants. 42 languages were represented at the Broadmeadows Ford plant. One of the most important features of the strike was the obvious spirit of international solidarity — a feeling which can well provide lessons for Australian workers.

Migrant workers form an ever increasing proportion of the industrial workforce. Women migrants especially occupy the worst and lowest paid jobs. Possibly the biggest ovation of the whole conference was given to the Spanish woman who called for the abolition of piece work as an oppressive system which affects migrant women most of all. These women must be able to come together and work out ways of fighting such oppression.

This coming together must be helped along by all possible means. Whether the proposed committees will work in this way remains to be seen.

There were a number of problems with the organisation of the conference which must be reconsidered at next time. The problem of language was important: Some people wanted the conference to be all in one place, all in English. Problems of translation made this impractical. At the same time most of the useful proposals came from the separate migrant language groups into which the conference was divided for half of its time. More time for discussion is required. The final all-in session was too short, too unwieldy, too bureaucratically handled.

The success of this new venture into migrants discussing their own problems can only come about with the broadest participation of the migrants themselves. The broadest of participation and full democracy can only aid political clarification, something which was lacking in the final instance at this conference.

Despite this, the migrant workers conference did represent a positive step forward in bringing together so many interested people around these important questions.