## DIRECT AGTION

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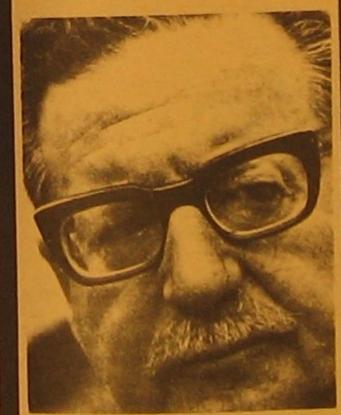
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### NO WAGE FREEZE!

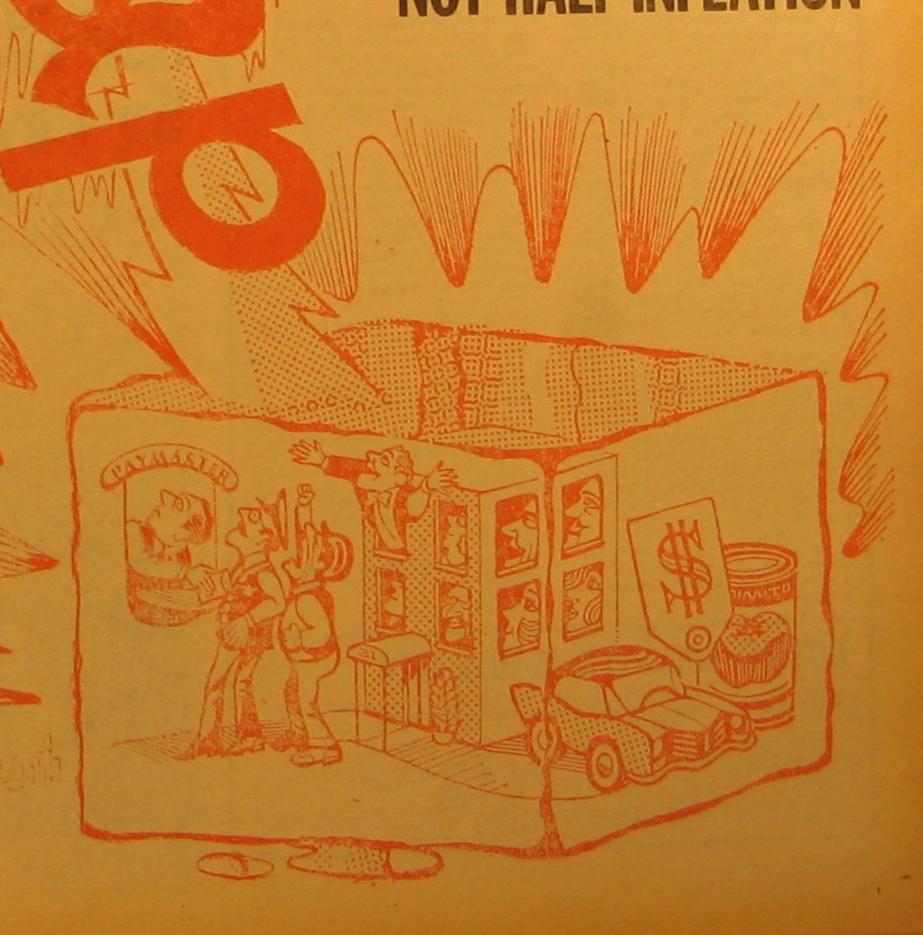
WHITLAM'S PRICES
REFERENDUM FRAUD
WILL ATTACK WAGES,
NOT HALT INFLATION



CHILE



WHAT'S BEHIND THE RIGHT-WING COUNTY



### DIRECTACTION

No. 48, September 27, 1973.

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The reversal of Caucus's earlier decision on the question of an "incomes referendum" amounts to nothing short of a declaration of war. Whitlam's supporters have declared war on the working class and its standard of living. Whitlam's new allies, the anti-working-class DLP senators are an indication of just how far he has moved in launching this offensive.

A two-question referendum is now on the order of the day in two months time. The attitude of socialists on both questions must be clear and unequivocal. We must campaign

Wide-spread scepticism surrounds the Government's attempt to gain power over wages. Workers are overwhelmingly opposed to giving the Government a power to freeze their wages. This has been evident in the opposition to this part of the referendum of Hawke and some of the "left" trade unions. Although this opposition is superficial and intended for rank-andfile consumption only it is a reflection of pressure from below.

Many illusions still persist in regard to other questions in the referendum, This confusion has been aided by the policies of the Communist Party of Australia. This party, which has considerable influence within the trade trade-union movement has come out in favor of the referendum on prices.

But the prices referendum is a fraud. 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.

Labor's record on prices is quite revealing. Judge Moore's inquiry into BHP and the experience of the Prices Justification Tribunal showed just how serious Labor is about controlling prices. So far 480 companies have already been exempted from any supervision by the tribunal. The tribunal itself has already granted a large number of price increases.

Whitlam's sincerity in wishing to control prices is further thrown into loubt by the Government's explicit mphasis on overseas factors as the

main contributors to inflation. The new legislation will have no power whatsoever to deal with them.

Even if the referendum on wages is 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 are opposed to the referendum from an opposite pole to ourselves. 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.

In addition we must take up the struggle to defend our standard of living from the attacks coming from all quarters. In particular we must take up the struggle for a real programme to fight inflation. Monthly cost-of-living increases must be included in all contracts, awards and social security payments.

Similarly we must take up the struggle to force Labor to keep its election promise of repealing the penal clauses.

There should be no such threat directed at the working class by a Labor government, The urgent task for the whole labor movement is to a build the Vote No campaign.

We must learn the lesson of the union movement overseas and defeat the wage freeze by winning this referen-

NO TO PRICE CONTROL FRAUD! NO TO ANY FORM OF WAGE FREEZE!

#### **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.

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HOBART: SYA, PO Box 1255N GPO Hobart 7001.

### Labor Defeated in Parramatta

The Labor defeat in the Parramatta byelection was, of course, predictable. The Labor leadership did not even make an attempt to win the seat. Convinced that the by-election was doomed from the the start they deliberately tried to dissociate themselves from what they regarded was impending disaster.

Following his defeat, the Labor candidate, Michael Whelan, placed most of the blame on the Cabinet's decision to build Sydney's second international airport at Galston, a site which may effect some of the residents in the electorate. This argument had, no doubt, some truth in it. The vigorous campaign by the middle-class, Liberal-voting residents of the area had an impact. All polling booths were staffed by these "Galstonites" which certainly contributed to the Labor defeat.

However, other Labor leaders were more honest than Whelan. The Federal president of the ALP, Bob Hawke while attacking the Galston decision as an "act of political imbecility", also went on to point at other causes. The main one was inflation. Both the effects of inflation and the Government's handling of it were largely responsible for the

The Liberal Party, which ended its period in office with a legacy of 110,197 unemployed, managed to take advantage of inflation. In direct terms, Labor has been only partially responsible for the rapid price rises since it has assumed office. A sizeable proportion of the current inflation can be attributed to the impact of price rises overseas. There is no way that the Liberals could have controlled this inflation either. But Labor has not taken any serious measures to try to combat it.

The workers who turned to Labor in the last elections did so because they wanted a government which would combat both unemployment and inflation. The employers' offensive against the working class has continued. Only the emphasis has changed, namely that unemployment is down but inflation has sky-rocketed up. Furthermore, Labor's promises to control "prices and incomes" i.e., impose a wage freeze, are already being viewed

with suspicion by a significant section of workers.

The 6 per cent swing to the Liberale included at least 2 per cent of DLP voter who had no candidate of their own. For



Whelan campaigning in Parramatta reasons of opportunist personal differences Whitlam preferred to lean back and allude to the inevitable swing against governments in by-elections rather than campaign vigorously.

A government has only won a by-election from an opposition only once in the history of Federal Parliament. This was 52 years ago. The smug attitude adopted by Whitlam and Co, using this justification was unquestionably self defeating, The low donkey vote in the Parramatta by-election only 0.54 per cent shows that interest in the elections was quite high, Labor didn't win the Parramatta byelection because it has already begun to betray its voters. The backtracking on main reason why Labor lost the election,

This is where the lesson of Parramatta lies. A capitulationist policy of backtracking, of pulling back out of a fight, of making concessions to the Liberals can lead only to defeats.

### for Direct Action

new editor of DIRECT ACTION, She has been on the editorial board of DIRECT ACTION since April 1971 and in that time has served as assistant editor and since February this year as managing editor of the paper.

Nita Keig is a long-time leader of the anti-war movement and an activist in the women's liberation movement. An anti-war activist since 1966 she was a founding member and leader of High School Students Against the War in Vietnam in 1968, In August 1972 Nita helped form the Women's Abortion



Action Campaign in Sydney. She has been an activist in the organising and building of numerous anti-war and women's liberation marches and activities since joining the revolutionary movement in 1967.

Since leaving high school Nita has worked as a nurse and on the staff of DIRECT ACTION. She is a founding member of both the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League and is on the political committee of the Socialist Workers League,

Replacing Nita as managing editor is Sol Salby, also a member of the DIRECT ACTION editorial board since April 1971. Sol has been a leading student activist at the University of New South Wales and is well known in this country as an anti-Zionist Israeli who has vigorously defended the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and their right to return to their homeland. Sol has written extensively in DIRECT ACTION on the labor movement and on economic questions,

John Percy, the previous editor of DIRECT ACTION will be remaining on the editorial board but has now taken up the assignment of Sydney organiser of the Socialist Workers League. Another former editor of DIRECT ACTION, Jim Percy, has been replaced on the editorial board by Dave Holmes, now the national organisation secretary of the Socialist Workers League, Percy leaves the board to take up his new assignment as national secretary of the SWL.

prices be also held.

Prepares Ground

for Wage Freeze

The last fortnight has seen the Labor

Government moving closer and closer

Australia, The cover for this takes the

Evidently the Whitlam leadership has

likely to be as successful as this one.

Five months ago, Whitlam was first

incomes and prices. He told a press

conference that Nixon's first 90-day

freeze was effective; it had achieved

In following Nixon's example the Labor

leadership had a major obstacle in its

path. Gough Whitlam has not yet tired

of explaining that the Australian Gov-

ernment is the only government in the

Western world which does not have any

power over prices. There were two ways-

in which this power could be obtained.

dealing with the States or directly by

an amendment to the Constitution.

a successful referendum)

They could acquire it by wheeling and

(Amendments to the Constitution require

The attempt to gain this power by the

at a special Premiers' Conference in

offers made by Whitlam and Federal

declined to agree. In particular, the

Liberal premiers of NSW and Victoria

who control the upper house in their

The constitutional convention gave

tried to offer powers to levy certain

Once again the Liberals didn't trust

the trade union movement, having

always preferred "the big stick".

While Whitlam was hesitating, the

Caucus "left" wasn't so reluctant. An

unofficial "leader" of the left-wing

backbenchers. Senator Arthur Gietzelt

moved an amendment to Whitlam's

report to Caucus, Whitlam proposed

a whole series of referenda covering

such topics as Senate elections and

the principle of one-vote-one-value.

left-wing steering committee of the

NSW ALP moved that a referendum on

Gietzelt, who is also a leader of the

Whitlam another chance. This time he

taxes in exchange for powers over prices

Labor's more subtle ways of controlling

parliaments, stipulated unacceptable

Treasurer Crean the State leaders

first method took place on May 10 1973

Canberra, Despite so-called attractive

tentatively putting forward a freeze on

form of a fraudulant prices referendum.

concluded that no other alternatives are

towards imposing a wage freeze in

Despite his initial opposition, Whitlam soon embraced the new proposals. He "surprised" his colleagues as well as the Liberal Opposition by his quick

Caucus decision was made on Wednesday September 12. By the next day Whitlam was announcing to the press how the bill for the referendum was going to be rushed through Parliament, And rushed it was. By Monday September 17 the bill was introduced, by Tuesday it was carried and by Wednesday it reached the Opposition-dominated Senate.

The events surrounding the passage of the bill through Parliament were almost bizarre. This time horse trading was carried on not with the state I eaders but the anti-Labor parties of the Liberals and the DLP. The negotiations were carried on in a variety of ways; privately, semi-privately and very publicly. They involved not only the capitalist parties but also Bob Hawke who is Federal president of the ALP as well as president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

The Parramatta by-election campaign gave Whitlam an excellent chance to test out the reaction to his proposals. In a public meeting he repeated the message given to the ACTU congress, Except on this occasion he was more specific. The text of his speech, released by his Canberra office was obtained by DIRECT ACTION. In the event, Liberal hecklers prevented him from reading it out. In it however, Whitlam stated:

"Speaking not only as the Prime Minister of Australia, speaking not only as the leader of the Australian Labor Party but also as the leader of the Australian labor movement -- if the people of Australia give us the power to control prices and if our efforts to contain inflation within reasonable limits then fail, we shall receive the full cooperation of the trade union movement in restraining wages and income,"

If the Nobel Prize was ever awarded for arrogance then Gough Whitlam would deserve to win it. He is certainly the Prime Minister but he is not the leader of the Labor Party, but only of its parliamentary wing. There, are also more eligible claimants to the title of the "leader" of the Australian labor

movement such as the president and the main clue was given as to how the prices referendum will pave the way

for a wage freeze.

Whitlam has already indicated that while he is keeping his legalistic options free he is going to concentrate on the openings inside the trade-union move-

Legally, the Government has already been assured by both its own Attorney-General's Department and an "independent authority" that power over prices will mean automatically power over wages. After all wages are the price of labor. The final decision on this score is reserved to the High Court which can only make a ruling after the referendum has been carried and legislation passed and proceedings to challenge the acts have been initiated. There is no deed to mention that the High Court's decision will be too late as far as Australian wage earners are concerned. Neither does the court have a particularly pro-worker

But Whitlam's options are still open regardless of the legal position. Bob Hawke, as president of the ACTU has been, on the whole, helpful. He stated on September 20 that most unions would reduce claims if the Federal Government controlled prices.

"If you reduce price increases, by definition, the wage claim will be reduced" he said. "We give you the assurance that our wage claims will be reduced if the Federal Government controlled prices."

Hawke's statements of opposition to a wage freeze should be taken with a grain of salt. He is believed to have been aware of the legal opinion long before it was leaked to the press.

This is the essence of the Whitlam plan after prices are controlled or more precisely price rises are controlled the union bureaucracy will be asked to cooperate in reducing wage demands. The Arbitration Commission will also have a role to play. During the Parramatta Town Hall meeting Whitlam slipped, while referring to the Liberals: "They don't trust the Arbitration Commission to control wages," No wonder



Whitlam and Cameron have been so penal clauses.

There is no section of the employing class which does not support a wage freeze. The differences between them are purely tactical. Those who do not support Labor's plan prefer to see an immediate 90-day freeze imposed brutally against the labor movement. This is why the Leader of the Opposition, Billy Snedden, is piously arguing against the referendum. He does not think one can rely on the good wishes of the trade union officials. Nor does he believe the measures go far enough,

The great fuss created by the rush to pass the legislation including flying several members of Parliament from overseas and delaying others must have had a purpose beside being a public relations showpiece.

The attempts to push through the necessiry requirements for a wage freeze were the motives behind the Government's activities.

Whitlam, despite being defeated initial initially, tried again on September 25. In order to keep his options open he called a special Caucus meeting on that night. After having reportedly threatened resignation and outlining the deal he had made with the DLP, Caucus reversed its earlier decision. It voted 57-24 for the incomes referendum.

The outlook now is a lot clearer, particularly as the DLP kept its part of the bargain. The legislation is going through the Senate and the referendum is to be held on December 8.

The political struggles involved in defeating this referendum is going to be a key test for the Australian labor movement.

#### PUBLIC MEETING

"THE FRAUD OF PRICE CONTROL AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAGE FREEZE"

Speaker: Allen Westwood

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12, 8,00 pm at 139 St Johns Road, Glebe, 2037.



Nita Keig

ith this issue DIRECT ACTION is sching a campaign against the mpt to impose a wage freeze in ralia. The fraud known as the prices ferendum is only a harbinger of an acomes policy" i.e. a wage freeze The experience of workers' struggle against similar attempts to curb wage lemands overseas has some valuable essons for Australian workers,

DIRECT ACTION is going to publish a series of articles on attempts to impose "incomes policies" in the US, Britain, Western Europe and New Zealand.

In April this year the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam stated in answer to a question on "incomes policies": ... There are different views on the efficacy of prices and incomes policies. But in the short term such as President Nixon brought in, I think six months and then extended for a further period, there is good reason to believe that they can be effective."

More recently in a speech to Parliament Whitlam lamented his lack of power to follow Nixon's example. The US experience is therefore particularly relevent.

The article by Les Evans is a slightly bridged version of an article from the October 1971 issue of the International Socialist Review of which Evans is the editor. It covers the early period of the introduction of the wage freeze,

Later issues will deal with more recent stages of the US wage freeze. (The socalled stages 2, 3, and 4).

Nixon's August 15 economic bombshell

marked an end to foreign and domestic

of the American working class to make

them pay the costs of the deteriorating

position of US monopoly in world trade.

the Administration is most concerned

tion intended to be implemented in

conservative leadership of the trade

union movement who had previously

sought close collaboration with Nixon,

and themselves advocated some form of

wage-price controls. AFL-CIO head

George Meany denounced the Govern-

women, United Automobile Workers

against American working men and

more bluntly still:

war, they can have war."

ment's move as "patently discriminatory"

president Leonard Woodcock put the case

"If this Administration thinks that just by

issuing an edict, by the stroke of a pen,

ing to us they want war. If they want

The labor bureaucrats, however, have

no intention of leading such a battle.

That was amply demonstrated in the

announced, when first the Teamsters,

then the AFL-CIO, and finally Woodcock

officialdom timidly restricted its opposi-

tion to verbal protests at the inequality

of sacrifice. That the sacrifice would

working people - is guaranteed in

advance, and not just for ninety days

but for years to come. To beat back

of a left wing in the unions that can

this attack will require the organisation

throw up a new class-struggle leadership

capable of meeting Nixon and his class

cting alone or merely for his party.

He obtained the endorsement of the

be unequal - in fact all on the side of

himself capitulated to Nixon. The labor

weeks after the wage freeze was

they can tear up contracts, they are say-

practice. This was seen even by the

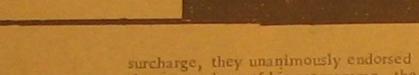
with. That is the only side of the equa-

This is the real meaning of the so-called

wage-price freeze. It is the wage freeze

fiscal policies followed by American

BY LES EVANS



"too little and too late."

imperialism for the past twenty-five years. This drastic and dramatic tactical shift constituted a public admission of the limitations of the power of US capitalism. Faced with the spiralling costs of playing policeman for world imperialism, epitomised by the failure is an admission of the limitation of to crush the revolution in Indo-China, Washington found itself confronted with the reappearance of serious industrial rivals among the other advanced capitalist powers. These rivals have cheaper West-German and Japanese been gobbling up a larger and larger share even of the domestic American market. The political executives of big world market. business and banking thereupon turned to a massive assault on the living standards

In the aftermath of World War II, with the proclamation of the "American ion, into the economies of prostrate Europe and the colonial areas. The faryear boom.

US world economic dominance in the last quarter century bore luxuriant fruits in the spiralling Gross National Product now topping \$U\$ 1,000,000 million (\$A650,000 million) a year. But the very expansion of US military outposts and capital exports abroad have led to a steady outflow of dollars. American lirect investments outside the United States totaled \$US 75 billion (\$A50 billion) in 1970.

The National Urban Coalition in its recently published Counterbudget estimates that some SUS44-billion a



In launching his attack Nixon was not total allocation - is spent to maintain American bases overseas or in direct employing class as a whole and all the military aid to US "allies", This does nain leaders of the "opposition" Demonot include the Vietnam war. While not cratic Party. Although top Democrats riticised this or that aspect of Nixon's all of this money actually leaves the tax proposals or his protectionist import United States (much of it is spent here for equipment used by US troops over-

the centrepiece of his programme, the wage freeze, protesting only that it was

The Great Payroll

Robbery By Les Evans

WHY DID NIXON ACT?

and undermined the competitiveness of US goods. Meanwhile European and Nixon's imposition of an incomes policy Japanese capital have been closing the similar to that of British imperialism in productivity gap and making considerable its dot ge is a dramatic symptom of the inroads on the relative share of the world advanced stage of the debility affecting market claimed by American corporathe American imperialist colossus. It tions. This year, for the first time since 1893, there is the potential of a deficit Washington's power as an agency of world in the US trade balance. Key American counter-revolution and of the tightening industries have been deeply hit by Japansqueeze on the American corporate giant ese and German competition, Automofaced with the ubiquitous profusion of American industry. Yet foreign-made goods in every nook and cranny of the cars now account for over 15 per cent of the cars sold in the US, Japanese auto

century", US corporate power began a period of seemingly unrestricted expanflung structure of US military bases and client regimes followed in the wake of or blazed the trail for the twenty-five-

year - more than half of the Pentagon's

been declining. Nixon claims that his new economic policy is aimed at curbing unemployment and protecting the buying power of the consumer. But the point of Nixon's policy has been to shift the cost of declining American competitiveness and of the Vietnam war onto the backs of the working class. In the first period of his Administration Nixon followed policies designed to induce recession. He raised interest rates, restricted credit, and slashed Federal spending. By driving up unemployment he hoped to threaten and pressure employed workers to agree to

seas), a good percentage is spent abroad

and thus contributes to the long-standing

Inflation of the dollar has jeopardised the

huge holdings of American dollars abroad

exports to this country have been increas-

The advanced nations have been moving

steadily toward a generalised crisis of

overproduction. Those in the weakest

competitive position long ago began to

use the powers of their central govern-

ments to attempt to force down wages to

market. This was the main reason for

de Gaulle's "strong state" and Harold

Wilson's incomes policy, now imitated

Symptomatic of the saturation c, the

the growth in many countries of the

world market in the last year has been

exceptional phenomenon the bourgeois

This combines continuing inflation with

stagnant output and rising unemployment,

In Britain, unemployment is approaching

the million mark, the highest in thirty

years, while prices increased nearly

10 per cent in the last year. Italy's

year. The August issue of Fortune

GNP rose 5,2 per cent last year but is

expected to grow only 3 per cent this

magazine reports that "Germany is have

ing on the brink of a recession, accord-

ing to many forecasters," Japan, after

fifty-eight straight months of expansion,

went into a slowdown last year and the

rate of increase of industrial output has

economists have dubbed "stagflation"

improve their position on the world

ing at a rate of 100 per cent a year!

deficit in the US balance of payments.

Industrial production in the US began declining in mid-1969 and in 1970 economic expansion was slowed to the

smaller wage settlements.

Treasury Connally publicly abandoned even the pretence that the Government favored full employment and set the figure of 4 per cent permanently out of work as an acceptable norm. But even with unemployment at the 6 per cent mark, and far above that in the case of blacks, Chicanos, women, and youth, the Government has not succeeded in forcing the working class into accepting a steadily deteriorating standard of living. To drive unemployment up to

still higher levels might have had the

desired effect but it would entail

ontrols on wage rates.

politically dangerous consequences,

The Administration then switched to the

Earlier this year(1971) Secretary of the

Nixon's main argument for the wage freeze is that wages cause inflation This is a lie. Inflation is endemic und the conditions of steady growth in govement spending - particularly in the ar sector - that characterises all of the advanced capitalist countries. first of the United States. The inflation spaexacerbated by the post-war system Keynesian economic controls - got ment deficit spending to ward off depressions. It is the costs of the A can imperialist intervention in Viet. that have catapulted the rate of US inflation to intolerable limits.

Even a cursory glance at the statistic shows a direct corollary between the massive invasion and occupation of Vietnam and the beginning of serious inflationary pressures. The US Depart ment of Labor's Monthly Labor Review for August 1971 lists the following ye increases in the Consumer and Whol Price Index: For the six years preced Johnson's Vietnam escalation the rate were, 1959, 0.8 per cent; 1960, 1.0 per cent; 1961, 1.0 per cent; 1962, 1.1 per cent; 1963, 1.2 per cent; 1964, 1.3 per cent. A dramatic change is evident as soon as the US "commitment" in Indo-China increased: 1965, 1.7 per cent; 1966, 2.9 per cent; 196 2.9 per cent; 1968, 4.2 per cent; 1969, 5.4 per cent; 1970, 5.9 per cent.

The bourgeois press has been quick to jump on the Nixon bandwagon and point the finger of blame at the unions as the source of inflation. But not so long ago when a political confrontation with the labor movement did not seem imminent the media were somewhat more imparts in their assessments. On July 27, 1970, for example, Willian V. Shannon wrote in the New York Times;

"If (Nixon) is interested in reducing inflation, he will do so by stopping the war in Vietnam and materially cutting back on military programmes.

"Wars and stable prices do not go together. Not even the most adept economic juggling or facile rhetoric conceal that fundamental incompatibi-Htty."

Nor are there any lack of admissions that wages, far from being the cause of inflation, have not kept pace with rising prices. Times economist Edwin Dale wrote (January 20, 1970): "...real earnings have scarcely risen since the present inflation began in late 1965,"

The reality, then, is very different from the way Nixon pictures it. Wages have been effectively frozen for the last six years while profits have been soaring, The August 1971 Monthly Labor Review shows that the spendable average weekly earnings of manufacturing workers have actually declined. The Review provides these figures (measured in constant 1967 US dollars) for the take-home pay of a worker with three dependents: 1965, \$102.41; 1966, \$102.31; 1967, \$101.26; 1968, \$102.45; 1969, \$101.49; 1970, \$99,66.

While wages lost ground, profits stayed consistently ahead of inflation. For the years 1964-1968, before the recession, inflation totaled 12 per cent but aggregate after-tax profits went up by 29 per cent, according to corporate figures which are notoriously understated. The chief beneficiaries of war contracts did far better than the average. GM, for example, increased its profits 62 per cent for those years.

In his announcement Nixon did not dare appeal to the American people to sacrifice for the hated war in Vietnam. He knew better. Just what they were supposed to be sacrificing for he left rather vague. The fact is he aims to make the workers pay for the war and help the corporations maintain their profits.

Nixon has tried to picture inflation as the main culprit in the present monetary and trade crisis (and to blame the workers for the inflation). Even from the purely "economic" standpoint this is false. The crisis of capitalist overproduction and intensified international competition threatens American business on three accounts, of which inflation is one aspect. First must be ranked the technological advances made by Germany and Japan which today in many respects have a more modern industrial plant than the US. This is one measure of the degree to which Washington has siphoned off potential capital investment



in new plants into unproductive warspending and the direct expenditures of the war in Indo-China, Second is the wage differential between American and foreign workers. This is largely a result of the devastation of the last war and the decimation of working-class leadership in West Germany and Japan which kept wages in those countries substantially lower than in the United States.

In France and Italy, the mass communis parties loyal to Moscow must be held responsible for helping capitalism to reestablish itself in the post-war period and acting to discipline the working class to accept low wages to promote national "recovery". Even with the significant wage gains of European workers in the recent period, the wage differential is far from closed,

Inflation tops off the unfavorable position the American monopolies find themselves in. The real cause of inflation is the massive expansion of public and private debt. The immense growth of the government apparatus required by the monopolies to regulate the economy at home and defend their imperial interests abroad represents an expanding unproductive expenditure of national resources.

The state further uses its power of taxation, control of interest rates, bond issues, and printing of new currency to try to dampen the business cycle by pumping new buying power into the economy in periods of slump. All these measures are inflationary because they represent no actual increase in produc-

The most obvious inflationary device is the printing of paper money for which there are no commodities in circulation. In this country the monetary volume rose by 6 per cent in 1970 while industrial production increased not at all. During the first quarter of 1971 the volume of currency went up at a rate that would average 11 per cent on a yearly basis.

The arms establishment and the outsized military machine are required by imperialism's drive to control the countries of the colonial world and to roll back the successful revolutions in the workers! states. They also have a significant economic function in directly guaranteeing industrial profits. Taxes forcibly extracted from the mass of the American people are awarded to pay for contracts to war industry. At the same time government deficit spending piles up a massive debt to the banks, the interest on which is paid through further taxes.

This economy of the "warfare state" inherently produces a condition of permanent currency inflation. Workers In "defence" plants are paid wages for which there is no corresponding increase in consumer goods. These wages, and the corporate profits in this sphere, appear in the marketplace, allowing monopolists to jack up the prices of the relatively limited supply of consumer

Domestic inflation is not opposed but

actively encouraged by the capitalists and their government. It represents an enforced indirect redistribution of the national income - first and foremost to those who set the higher prices, the corporate owners. Particular sectors of the working class suffer the most. Those with fixed incomes are immediate victims: pensioners, government employees who are prohibited from striking, unorganised workers whose bargaining position is weak, welfare recipients. As long as price rises stay ahead of wage increases, inflation also helps the corporations to neutralise the power of the trade unions. They can take back in price rises more than they give out in wage settlements.

The inflation generated by the intervention of the state to prevent depressions through spending for the military establishment, pump-priming, control of interest rates, etc., is further exacerbated by "unexpected" expenses such as the Vietnam war.

weapon to lower the living standard of the workers, it has less favorable consequences for the capitalists in internation. al trade. There it acts to disrupt the equilibrium of the world monetary system system.

Nixon was caught in the unsolvable dilemma between the use of the dollar as an anti-cyclical device in the United States and the use of the dollar as a world trading currency abroad. This important contradiction facing US mperialism was pinpointed long ago by he noted Belgian Marxist economist, Ernest Mandel. As prices of American goods increase, exports decline and the sales of foreign goods in the US go up.

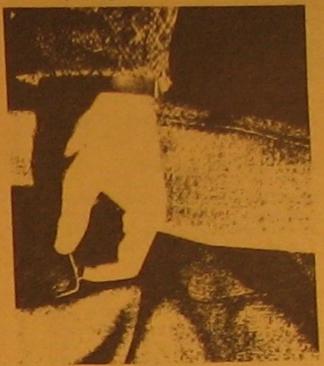
Furthermore, the standing deficit in the US balance of payments necessitated by the needs of imperialist empire convinced foreign capitalists that the dollar was "overvalued" and devaluation was inevitable. No financier, including those heading American subsidiaries in other countries, cared to hold large amounts of dollars - first because they were already depreciating at a rate of some 6 per cent a year, and second because a devaluation in relation to other currencies would drop their worth much further (Nixon has suggested the equivalent of a 12-15 per cent devaluation.)

Under the 1944 Bretton Woods system of fixed currency parities in relation to gold, foreign banks are required to redeem dollars in their own currencies at set rates. This spring saw a run on the dollar that was an important factor in Nixon's decision to halt payment in gold for dollars. In the two days before the West German Bundesbank shut down its foreign-exchange window May 5 it had redeemed between SUS 2-billion and SUS 3-billion worth of dollars. The German bankers decided to allow the mark to float upward in relation to the dollar in the hope of discouraging currency transfers.

In solving that one problem, however, they invited another. Raising the value of the mark in relation to the dollar means that German goods will be priced higher on the world market and be less

competitive with American products. This is what Nixon is trying to blackmail all the major capitalist powers into doing - a large-scale across-the-board revaluation of their currencies to the advantage of American business.

Nevertheless, the continuing inflation and the US balance-of-payments deficit are only a symptoms of the fundamental crisis. Its underlying cause is the private ownership of the means of production. Under capitalism only paying customers count, not human needs. To stay in business, companies must sell their



products at prices that include a substantial profit. Corporations everywhere today are striving to find areas for capital investment and for sales under conditions of market saturation and generalised overproduction. The various governments, the executive committees of the ruling classes, are fighting to carve out more space in the market for their own exports. The conditions are ripening for a revival of the escalating trade wars and competitive devaluations that characterised the 1930s.

The intended victim of the corporations is the working class. The main hope for Nixon, as well as his European and Japanese counterparts, is to significantly reduce the wage package of the workers in order to gain ground in world trade. It is in the light of this objective that the concrete proposals Nixon put forward in his August 15 speech should be scrutin-

NIXON'S PROGRAMME

Nixon announced ten measures that were supposed to halt unemployment, stop the rise in consumer prices, and restore surplus in the US balance of payments.

UNEMPLOYMENT, (1) Repeal of the 7 per cent automobile excise tax; (2) a new 10 per cent investment tax credit to big business; and (3) a \$US 50 increase in the amount of each exemption in personal income tax.

The first two are direct grants to business, The cut in the auto excise tax, amounting to about SUS 190 a car, will reportedly result in a lower price - for the time being. This special subsidy to the auto industry was highly appreciated in financial circles. Despite the "price freeze" - which doesn't apply to stock prices among other things - the value of General Motors stock went up \$US 2, 6 billion the day after Nixon's speech.

The 10 per cent investment tax credit the Treasury estimated, would allow business to cut its tax payments by SUS3-billion this year and as much as SUSS. 5 billion before it is reduced in 1974 to a "permanent" 5 per cent. This comes on top of new liberalised depreciation allowance that are estimated to give the corporations another \$U\$3.9 billion in the year after they go into effect in January. Even the financiers were embarrassed at Nixon's generosity with the public's money. One corporate tax attorney interviewed by The New York Times called the investment credit "a generous dollop of whipped cream ladled on top of an already liberal serving of ambrosia."

The largesse to the individual taxpayer was skimpler. The SUS 50 was not the mount to be deducted from their payment but the amount on which taxes need not be paid: a saving of about \$US 4,50 person a year.

All three of these proposals involving taxation measures must still be approved by Congress.

INFLATION. (4) long-term postponement of proposed dates for welfare reform; (5) a 6-month freeze on raises to Federal workers which were scheduled to be paid in January; (6) a 5 per cent slash in the number of Federal employees;

and (7) the 90-day "wage price freeze." Here Tricky Dick is at his trickiest, Nixon's welfare programme was not expected to be passed by Congress in any case. Under the category of fighting unemployment the President gives away billions to industry to stimulate demand, while under the category of fighting inflation he takes back \$US4, 7-billion from underpaid government workers, including the second installment of the settlement won by the postal workers which was due to be paid early next

A further blow to the poor was Nixon's jettisoning of welfare reform, His 5 per cent job cutback will eliminate 100,000 jobs - Nixon's personal contribution to the fight against unemployment.

The key provision of the whole package is the wage-price freeze. First of all, taken on a class basis, even if the freeze did what it claims to do, only the incomes of the workers and the poor are frozen. Both the capitalist class as individuals and the corporations as institutions start out with major exemptions: Profits, dividends, interest, and stock prices are not included in the freeze. The whole stated purpose of this operation, after all, is to hold down wages and inflation to improve the competitiveness of American goods and increase their sales volume. Profits are a function not only of price but also of the number of commodities sold, If successful, from Nixon's viewpoint, this automatically means a big increase in the income of stockindders, banks, corporate treasuries, etc.

More important is the fact that the price freeze is a fraud. Historically such controls, imposed only in wartime, have failed to hold down prices despite the immense administrative bureaucracy empowered to apply them: Thus, under the watchful eye of the Office of Price Administration during World War II, the Consumer Price Index went up 22 per cent between 1941 and 1945. The tipoff on Nixon's real intentions is the total absence of any apparatus to enforce the price side of the controls. The ball was initially tossed to the moribund Office of Emergency Preparedness, which maintains ten offices on the outskirts of major cities charged with organising the "recovery" in the event of a nuclear holocaust. When it became clear that the OEP could not even begin to answer the telephone inquiries, some authority was shifted to the Cost-of-Living Council and routine inquiries were routed to local offices of the Agricultural tion Service and to the Internal Revenue Service. No special force has been set up to investigate and prosecute violators.

In the absence of such a policing mechanism, business is entrusted de facto with administering both the wage and price freeze. On the wage side the capitalists merely have to invoke the presidential order in resisting legitimate pay demands from workers. They learly have a vested interest in seeing this side of the freeze enforced. On the side of prices, the same businessmen have a vested interest in evading the controls. There are a thousand ways in which this can be done. For the small and medium size retailer and wholesaler there is no effective check what-



corporations there are such standard devices as repackaging, marketing "new" products, model changes, substituting inferior materials, "improved" products, special appeals to the government based on increased costs of imported materials not subject to the freeze, etc.

A good part of foodstuffs are not subject to the freeze at all. This includes fresh fruit and vegetables, fish, and eggs. Thus while farm workers' wages are

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

### IN BRIEF:

VICIOUS FINES FOR ANTI-ASIO

In Melbourne Magistrates' Court on September 12, ALP and Socialist Left member Kevin Healy and Gerry Harant, a member of the Communist Party of Australia received \$200 fines for pasting posters on the fence of a house occupied by an Asio agent. A similar charge against Socialist Left member Joan Coxsedge was dismissed for lack of evidence.

In fining Healy and Harant, the magistrate refused to allow them to explain their actions. He said that all he cared about was the right of people to live in peace, free from harassment..... Like all those people in the black, anti war, womens liberation and socialist movements, who Asio keeps files on, and who have had their peace disturbed by early morning police raids?

LAND OF THE FREE (1)

At the present time there are 1,3 million people in gaols in the United States of America.

LAND OF THE FREE (2)

The suicide rate among Indian people in the United States is ten times the national average, and over half of suicides by Indians are among people under 25

ESPECIALLY WHEN THEY'RE BLACK LIVES.

Following the killing of eleven black workers by police at Carltoneville in South Africa, Colonel L.M. Loots, divisional inspector of police for Western Transvaal was asked whether he thought the cost in lives was high. He replied "Sometimes property means more than lives."

RACISM IN NORTHERN TERRITORY.

Federal Minister for the Northern Territory Kep Enderby, recently revealed that a report by Professor Gordon Hawkins, a criminologist from Sydney University, described the Northern Territory penal system as "...degrading, dehumanising and essentially destructive..." The report also revealed that 75 per cent of prisoners in Fanny Bay Gaol were there for the crime of public drunkenness and that the most were Aborigines.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE.

In yet another triumph for Western civilisation, United States psychological warfare experts have prepared a recruiting poster for Lon Nol's Cambodian puppet army.

The posters, which are on display in the streets of Pnom Penh show a young man in civilian clothes being refused by a prostitute, who tells him: "You don't appeal to me, I only make love with soldiers"

A more truthful version of the effects of the defence of the American Way in Pnom Penh would have shown a heroin dealer refusing to sell to a civilian addict, and saving his wares for soldiers.

DRAGGED OFF SCREAMING AND KICKING, NO DOUBT.

The Melbourne Herald on September 14 carried a report of the battle for the Cambodian city of Kompong Cham. Part of the report describes how "36,000 people (were) put out of action by the battle - 1,000 dead, 5,000 wounded and 30,000 abducted by procommunist rebels". They must be pretty powerful rebels.

WAR OF ATTRITION.

A. Watkins from the Service to Youth Council recently told the Federal commission of inquiry into poverty that some young people who rejected "society" were living off unemployment benefits. He went on to say that many believed that by living off unemploynent benefits they were helping to bring about the collapse of the state. How devious and far-sighted those radicals must be, sucking away the lifeblood of the state at the rate of \$23,00 per week.



"And would you like this gift-wropped?"

MAKING THEM PAY FOR THEIR SINS.

Dr Claire Isbister, a pediatrician at Sydney's Royal North Shore Hospital, recently delivered her views on child care to the 26th biennial conference of the Australian Council of Catholic Women, She told the conference: "Our Federal Government has recently indicated that fathers appear to be unnecessary except as providers of money which the Government now does for unmarried mothers as young as 15 and 16. These girls have no obligation to learn child care so we have them rearing fatherless children in increasing numbers"... Besides, how can they be forced to live as the Lord intended, if the economic compulsion is removed?

ISSUED WITH ICE PICKS?

"The young Australian Trotskyists carry on... often acting and writing as though CPA members were regularly issued with with ice picks," writes CPA national president John Sendy in the September I Tribune. Sendy's article is an attempt to duck our very detailed criticisms of the CPA by claiming they are mere "abuse". We leave our readers to judge for themselves.

Sendy's own polemical methods are not a very good example of principled debate on the left. He constructs a crude amalgam of all "the sundry Trotsky ist groupings." For our part we have little in common with sects like the Spartacist League and the Socialist Labour League and our political positions differ markedly as Sendy well knows. Secondly, Sendy does not anywhere undertake to answer our well backed up points; instead he implies it's all slander.

The divisions on the left are an objective fact. What is needed is programmatic clarity so that people can decide for themselves. The CPA's persistent refusal to answer its critics contributes to confusion, not clarity.

LAW OF THE JUNGLE TO STAY,

In reply to a question by ALP Member of Parliament George Petersen, NSW Education Minister Willis recently said that corporal punishment would not be abolished in NSW schools. He said "children" were only to be lightly caned on the 'and.....Only mildly brutalised.

JUST BEFORE THE BOMBS LAND.

Dr J. Crouchley of the Queensland University physics department said on September 18, that people who criticised the establishment of an Omega base as part of the United States military network in the South Pacific and South East Asia, shouldn't be so worried The base need not be a nuclear target he said, it could be turned off in times of nuclear war.

.... STEVE PAINTER

### **AMA Continues Campaign**

BY GORDON ADLER

The Australian Medical Association (AMA) has recently placed a series of advertisements in daily newspapers warning the public, in lurid terms, of alleged dangers to the privacy and right of free choice of doctors from their patients. In the first of these, a haggard woman is depicted with an expression of anxiety occasioned by the knowledge that that her most intimate secrets are being disclosed to her neighbors because her doctor's records are filed in a centralised computer bank, presumably in Canberra.

In the second, an equally distressed woman about to enter labor is worried because she is not sure whether she will be able to have her own doctor for the delivery of her baby. The General Practitioners' Society (GPS) has generated a storm of protest by portraying the Minister for Health, Bill Hayden, in the uniform of a Nazi stormtrooper.

The AMA, not to be outdone, has launched its secret weapon in the person of Sue Gallie, Miss Australia beauty contest winner for 1966. The AMA hopes to get with it by employing a woman to tell women of the terrible things that will happen to them if Labor is allowed to introduce its health scheme. Such an approach has nothing whatever to do with women's liberation. It is designed to exploit the most primitive and backward sentiments among women in the interest of private medical practice, and relies on an emotional appeal to women to safeguard the traditional values of the family, the home and the role of woman as wife and mother.

The claim of the AMA that computerised records mean loss of privacy to the patient is utterly ludicrous. Computerised records are used very widely in medical practice at the present time, and are certainly vastly superior to the scrappy records kept by many doctors. All records have to be prepared and filed by someone, and nearly always by trained non-medical personnel, yet the AMA makes no complaints about the employment of typists and clerical staff having access to confidential information in the consulting rooms of private

doctors.

The right of free choice of the patient is an even more absurd contention. How many patients have that freedom of choice at the present time? With the increasing spread of lock-up practices and the employment of emergency-call services after hours the number of patients able to choose their own doctor on every occasion is diminishing every day. And in practice, what choice does a patient have when offered the right of consulting one of two alternative specialists whose names he or she has never heard before? Patients naturally have to accept the advice they are given. It is only the rich who can afford to shop around until they find a doctor who pampers their own peculiar

Not all doctors, by any means, approve of the politics of the AMA and the GPS, which, they feel, are dragging the reputation of the medical profession down to the level of the gutter. In Melbourne, a group of doctors formed an association setting itself the aim of projecting an alternative to the conservative policies of these organisations. At the same time, the Australian Association of Surgeons has withdrawn its main objections to Labor's health scheme following the announcement by Bill Hayden that the Government would not insist on the provision of standard ward care for surgical patients.

Hayden's statement represents a retreat in the face of pressure from reactionary elements within the medical profession, however, and is a further step away from socialised medicine, which alone can solve the existing problems of health care. This pressure from vested interests within the medical profession can be overcome by action on the part of all those who stand to gain from the socialisation of medical care. If workers take up these issues and demand that the Labor Government implements the full programme outlined in its election promises, and takes the first steps tion of the AMA and the GPS can be

NATIONALISED MEDICINE!

# Women in Revolt

#### **MORE LEGAL ABORTIONS**

Therapeutic abortions carried out in Sydney teaching hospitals have doubled each year for the last five years, according to gynaecologist Dr Malcolm Stening from Sydney's Royal Prince Alfred hospital.

Dr Stening gave character evidence before a medical tribunal hearing a complaint by the public health department against a doctor convicted of having conspired to unlawfully perform abortions.

Dr Stening said that the attitude towards abortions had changed in recent years both with the general public and within the the medical profession. This resulted in a greater number of terminations being performed in Sydney hospitals.

#### HIGH SCHOOL BEAUTY CONTEST"

A group of secondary students from the Education Action Group (EAG) along with individual supporters of gay liberation and women's liberation organised a picket in opposition to a beauty contest being held at Lakeside High School in Melbourne's northern suburbs. The picketers held placards opposing the beauty contest, chanted slogans and debated with those going into the hall where the event was being held. A favorable response came from a number of students from the school. The following is an extract from the leaflet distributed by the demonstrators:

"Beauty contests by their very nature reinforce the oppression of women in this society. They measure the efficiency with which the education system is succeeding in training women to accept pre-determined and personally stifling sex roles.

"They reduce women to the status of sex objects which are expected to see their primary aim in life as seeking the approval of men by supplying them with physical pleasure.

"Women are encouraged by many pressures to accept the view of themselves as objects existing for the satisfaction of men. Most schools expect lower standards of behavior ind academic performance from women students. Their worth is measured by their looks and their podies as much as by their intel ectual capabilities. It is obvious that most schools train women only or the purpose of becoming unpaid housekeepers and child-bearers. They ignore any potential which vomen possess for other spheres of human endeavour.

"The contest organisers attempt to justify this exploitation of women's bodies by saying that they are doing it for charity. They don't see that in trying to help some people they are in fact creating suffering for others by helping to reinforce the sexist prejudices and discrimination which afflict this society.

"Large numbers of women secondary students are becoming aware of the discrimination and oppression which they face because they are women. Awareness is a beginning, but it will not change the situation. We must fight for an end to discrimination a against women. We must demand:

an end to segregation of schools

on the basis of sex.

\* an end to usage of text books
which reinforce sexist prejudices

\* the use of text books which do not
ignore the important role which
women have played in shaping human
society throughout history.

\* an end to activities such as beauty
contests which degrade women by

reducing them to the status of sextal objects existing for the gratification of men.

"Why should people be judged on the basis of physical characteristics which they were born with and over which they have no control? What has physical appearance got to do with most important spheres of human endeayour and achievement?

"Secondary students should unite to fight against sexism and other repressive aspects of the education system. If you oppose discrimination against women because they are women, contact us at the address below and we can help you make contact with other secondary students who want to fight against their oppression."

#### **WOMEN AND SPORT**

One of America's top women tennis players, Billie Jean King, winner of five Wimbledon singles titles played against Bobby Riggs the 55-year-old ex-champion tennis player of thirty years back who is renowned for his male chauvinism. Riggs is quoted as saying "a woman's place is in the bedroom and the kitchen, in that order."

King and other top tennis women have fought for equality on the tennis court for women, i.e. for an equal amount of prize money for women and men competing in tournaments. Riggs has taunted top women tennis players with challenges to play against him so he could show how the women's brand of tennis is inferior to men's tennis. Riggs has taken great delight recently in



Billie Jean King cavorting before the press cameras in frilly dresses and other supposedly "feminine" regalia,

The Australian tennis player Margaret Margaret Court took up the challenge and suffered a humiliating defeat from Riggs which made King decide to take on Riggs in order to avenge Court's defeat. King defeated Riggs Riggs on September 20 6-4, 6-3,

Although it is good to see this contemptible character meet his match it is unfortunate to see a talented person like King wasting her time in competition between male and female athletics. The fight is not that women have to be "as good as men". It is about equality for women's sports. It is irrelevant whether or not a woman athlete can beat a male athlete in her field. Women's athletics stand on their own merit and women should be given the same opportunities as male athletes regardless of how they com-

... TINA HARSANYI

### The Great Payroll Robbery cont.

frozen, the corporate growers can increase prices at will,

The wage controls freeze in the inherent inequalities of the system: lower wages for blacks, Chicanos, women, and youth. All struggles to rectify these glaring inequities are illegal under Nixon's ban,

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS. (8) a 10 per cent cut in foreign aid; (9) a 10 per cent surcharge on imports; and (10) a temporary halt to the redemption of dollars in gold.

The token cut in foreign aid is merely a notice to the other imperialist powers that they should expect to pick up a bigger share of the tab for the military protection of the world interests of their class.

The surcharge and the gold embargo constitute the opening guns in an international trade war. Nixon aims at a forced revaluation of foreign currency, particularly the Japanese yen, that will sharply curtail the volume of exports to the United States, especially of automobiles. This challenge is most serious for Japan, which held out for a few weeks and then had to capitulate to Nixon's bludgeoning. Some 30 per cent of all Japanese exports to the US are estimated to drop by \$US2.4-billion in the next year.

Bourgeois economists have tried to portray the floating of European currencies imposed by Nixon's halt in dollar redemptions as something new that may result in a more stable "flexible" system of currency exchange. In fact this is an old sign of heightened interimperialist competition during a world crisis of overproduction. One admission of this appeared in a column by John Brooks in the August 25 New York Times entitled "Mr Nixon's Paper Standard,"

"The nearest parallel," Brooks wrote,
"is the permanent suspension of gold
payments by Britain on September 21,
1931. While necessary because of
Britain's economic weakness, that was
not salutary. Chaos resulted. The
pound in terms of dollars quickly dropped
from \$4.86 to \$3.50, trading nations
seeking competitive advantage resorted
to devaluations of their own; confidence
in money waned everywhere, and international trade dried up."

LABOR MUST FIGHT BACK!

The labor movement cannot allow Nixon and his bi-partisan supporters to shift the cost of the crisis of their system onto the American workers. After their initial bluster, Meany and Woodcock have decided to acquiesce in some form of wage-price controls. But the outcome is not determined in advance and will not be decided in the capitalist courts or through lobbying members of Congress. If this country's rulers were convinced



that they could impose their wage restrictions unchallenged they would have opened the fight with a permanent law, not with a ninety-day trial run.

The relationship of forces in the coming struggle, not Nixon's edicts or the resoluteness of the official labor leadership, will determine the outcome in the second phase of the projected wage freeze freeze. One thing must be noted. When the employing class prepared to take on the working class as a whole, they did

not do it piecemeal, one company at a time. They used the direct power of their government, the capitalist state.

From the outset this makes labor's struggle against wage controls political as well as economic. It must be directed at the centre of power in this country, the Federal Government. To win such a fight requires the entire striking power of the whole working class the unorganised as well as the trade unions. It would be the height of folly to believe that each union acting alone could successfully beat back the Government's attack on wages.

To win, the labor movement must adopt an organisational form that can guarantee the broadest unity, and a programme that can mobilise the class for concerted action. What is needed is a congress of labor that can bring together the trade unions and representatives of the unorganised workers, and invite the participation of the allies of the working class: the black, Chicano, and women's movements, and student an lanti-war organisations.

The programmatic demands of such a congress of labor should include:

\* Opposition to any form of wage controls.

\* For an escalator clause in all contracts to protect workers' wages from inflation,

\* For a sliding scale of hours to fight unemployment. This would mean fighting for a shortened work-week for all with no reduction in pay to spread the available work. Concretely this struggle could be implemented by the call for an immediate change in the hours and wages law to set the work-week at thirty hours with no pay cuts.

\* For the unconditional right to strike. This means taking head-on Nixon's proscription of strikes under the wage freeze as well as anti-labor laws such as the Taft-Hartley Act which abrogate collective bargaining rights or exercise government control over the unions.

\* For the immediate withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam. The billions being spent on the war should be spent at home on the needs of working people and the poor.

\* For a Labor Party based on the trade unions. Inasmuch as both capitalist parties have declared their support for this direct attack on the rights of worken the labor movement must build its own political organisation and stop pumping funds into the campaigns of anti-labor Democrats and Republicans.

Shortly after the wage freeze was announced, AFL-CIO officials reported that they were under "increasing pressure from our people in the field" to call a nationwide general strike. Such a strike could be a powerful force in mobilising the class as a whole in a show of strength It could help to build a congress of labor to organise and plan the long-range fight against Nixon's incomes policy.

In addition to the demands outlined above, the congress of labor would have an obligation to throw its weight on the side of the ongoing struggles for social justice taking place outside the organic labor movement — the La Raza Unida campaigns in the South-west, the fight for black control of the black communing in the central cities, the campaign to abolish the abortion laws being waged the women's movement, and the anti-war movement's drive to get the US out of Indo-China.

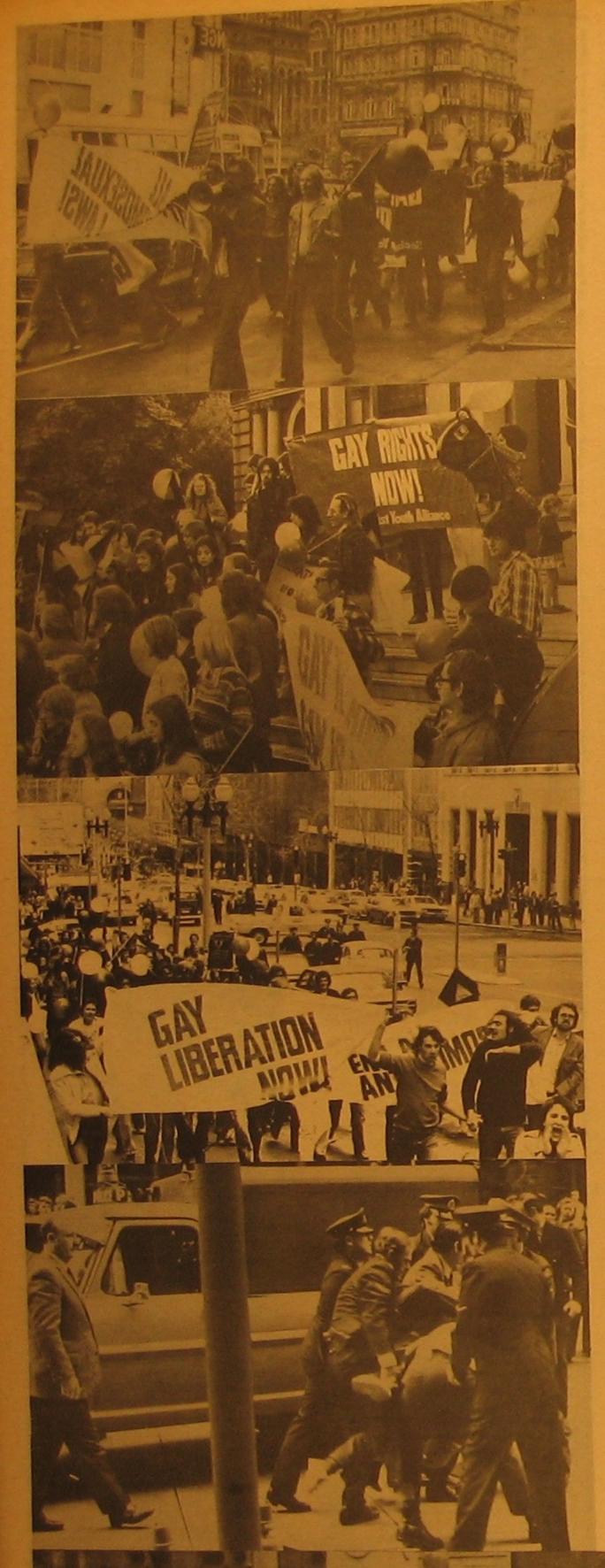
The fight against the wage freeze v not end with the expiration of the nine day controls. In face of the classcollaborationist course of the union officialdom the mobilisation of the ra of labor will have to be carried through under the blows of whatever "permansystem of controls Nixon and his brain trusters devise to go into effect in Nov. ember. This ongoing battle represents new feature in American politics that can lead to the politicisation and radicalisation of the mass of the workin class. If the labor movement is to prevail in this engagement the ranks must begin now in union locals across the country to organise a viable left wing based on a programme of struggle such as that outlined above.

In an aroused American working class Nixon and his backers are confronting a potential power even greater than their own that is capable of halting the capitalist offensive against living standards in 1971 just as labor stopped the attempted union-busting campaign of the bosses in 1945-46.

Subtlety is not a feature of General Practitioners Society propaganda

WILL DECIDE WHAT'S BEST FOR THE PATIENT!

.... THE GOVERNMENT



BY PENNY GULLIVER

The climax to the activities of Gay Pride Week (September 8-16) in Sydney was a demonstration on Saturday, September 15 by 300 people through the streets of Sydney to protest the oppression of homosexual women and men in our society.

It was intended that the march which commenced at the Town Hall would proceed along the footpath of George Street to Martin Plaza and then back to Hyde Park. However, police tried to redirect the march up Park Street (the most direct route to Hyde Park) in order to minimise the impact of the demonstration on Saturday morning shopping crowds.

There was strong resistance to this change of route and scuffles broke out between cops and marchers. The bulk of the marchers then took the lead in taking to the roadway up Park Street and along Pitt Street against the traffic. People weaved in and out between the cars, chanting such slogans as Two, Four, Six, Eight - Gay Is Just As Good As Straight! and Shout It Loud! Gay Is Proud!

At Centrepoint two people were arrested as police tried to move the march back on to the footpath. Support came from builders laborers on the scaffoldings above who threw water on the police as they persisted in trying to disrupt the progress of the march.

Upon reaching Martin Plaza, a wreath was laid in memory of the homosexuals killed by the Nazis during World War II. The death of Dr George Duncan, a homosexual whose mysterious death by drowning in the Torrens River in Adelaide was the subject of an inquiry involving several Adelaide cops, was also commemorated.

Barricades were already set up in the Plaza, in preparation for a ceremony at the Cenotaph later in the morning commemorating the anniversary of the Battle of Britain. As soon as the police arrived, marchers moved on to the steps of the GPO, where they continued to chant slogans.

The police then began dragging people off as the marchers attempted to move back through the barricades and continue on their way to Hyde Park. Some dozen people were arrested, and later fitted with charges of "resisting arrest" and 'unseemly language".

Undeterred by this brutal harassment the march forged ahead up Martin Place and along Elizabeth Street to Hyde Park, where speeches were made condemning the police violence and pointing out how this treatment was symptomatic of the violence and backward attitudes of the whole of the society towards homosexuals,

United by a common anger and revulsion at the police brutality, the majority of the marchers proceeded to Phillip Street police station where most of the arrested were being detained. Solidarity with those inside the cells was expressed by marchers singing songs and chanting slogans. A further two arrests were made by the cops,

From there it was decided to return to the Gay Liberation headquarters at Glebe. When police tried to redirect the

marchers at George Street back toward the Quay, people poured on to three government buses which were waiting the kerb. The buses took off along George Street with flags, banners and placards streaming from the windows followed by a convoy of police vehicle which stretched along two blocks.

A meeting was held at Gay Liberation headquarters to arrange bail for the arrested and to organise witnesses for the them. A press conference was also held later in the afternoon.

Those arrested appeared in court on the following Monday morning and have be remanded to appear on October 17.

The most significant feature of the demonstration was the determination and solidarity displayed by gays in strugglinagainst their oppression. The march an the activities of the preceding week have given inspiration to those many thousands of homosexuals who are oppressed in sexist, nuclear-familyoriented capitalist society.

BY KEN DAVIS

In Sydney, Gay Pride Week began with a speak-out on Saturday September 8. where homosexuals related their persons experiences of the oppression they suffer It was followed the day after with 300 gays and supporters participating in a festival in the Domain which included singing, poetry readings and discussions After these activities there was a spontaneous march to Kings Cross.

During the week a projected "Gay Outrage" in Martin Place provided a focus for police harassment. On Monday about 20 police prevented gays from distributing leaflets and threatened them with arrest for "failure to obey an order to disperse" and "holding an illegal public meeting." On Wednesday, after picketting some psychiatrists' offices in Macquarie Street, gays were harassed by city council inspectors who threatened to call in the "vice squad"(!). Later Richard Jessop, one of the organisers of Gay Pride Week, was arrested by two uniformed police on the trumped-up charge of assaulting a city council officer.

After being arrested his whereabouts was withheld from the other gays in the protest, thus hindering attempts to bail him out. As a reaction to the arrest 30 people demonstrated by marching around the city on the following day. It is noticeable that while gays were not allowed to hand out literature or even protest silently during the week, other groups were not prevented from engaging in similar activities.

On Wednesday night a public support meeting was held in Paddington Town Hall. Speakers representing various organisations included Mary McNish for the Australia Party, Jamie Doughney from the Socialist Youth Alliance, Mil Hourihan of the NSW Teachers' Federation, Judy Mundey from the Communia Party of Australia, the Reverend Norton from the Presbyterian Church and a gay activist from the USA, Wayne Nelson. The meeting was attended by about 250 people.

On Saturday evening a large dance was held at Sydney University. The week's activities concluded with a picnic in Centennial Park on Sunday.

The activities of Gay Pride Week repres ented the most ambitious attempt by the radical gay movement yet to take the consciousness of gay pride to the many

### PRIDE WEEK ACTION

homosexuals who presently suffer from the physical oppression, stigma and contempt imposed on them by this society and its institutions.

BY DOROTHY TUMNEY

On Friday September 14 Gay Pride Week activities in Melbourne concluded with a demonstration of about 200 people, the overwhelming majority of whom were gay. The demonstrators assembled in the City Square and then marched around the city blocks, where leaflets were handed out to shoppers and city workers.

Marchers chanted a variety of slogans such as, Two, Four, Six, Eight - Gay Is Just As Good As Straight; Three, Five, Seven, Nine - Try It Our Way Just One Time, and dialogues like: What are you? - Gay! What does it mean? - Homosexual! Are you proud? - Yes! Will you change? - No! Banners carried in the march included one which read Repeal All Anti-Homosexual Laws, and another, making a parody of prevalent attitudes, simply read Poofters.

Originally the march had intended moving to Flinders Street railway station, however as it approached the station it was stopped by police and redirected back to the City Square.

The week's activity in Melbourne began with an Inaugural Dance on Friday September 7 and the first major activity was a picnic attended by about 150 people held in the Botanic Gardens on the Sunday afternoon,

The next activity was a gay poetry night held at the Guild Theatre, Melbourne University. It was attended by a capacity audience of 200. Poetry read included work by the American feminist by Melbourne gays who read their own poetry. A gay singer also sang a number of his own songs.

Tuesday night saw one of the activities oriented towards the conscious gay population. This was the parents night which was arranged as a meeting between parents of homosexuals and gay liberation-

The speakout planned for Wednesday was cancelled owing to poor attendence. Lack of publicity was probably one of the main factors contributing to this. A paid advertisement for one of the daily papers, The Age, was not printed. This was rather hypocritical in view of the fact that The Age had only recently published an editorial justifying the printing of advertisements opposing trade sanctions on South Africa saying that it printed paid advertising from any source.

It is unfortunate that this particular action was unsuccessful because it had the potential of relating to wide numbers of homosexuals and explaining the nature of the oppression of gays.

Thursday was designated as "schools day" and its major activity was leafletting schools. A forum held at La Trobe University drew a crowd of about 200, Speakers from gay liberation were very well received and the forum was very successful. The leafletting also included a special tour of beats and camp bars in an attempt to reach larger numbers of homosexuals with Gay Pride Week ideas.

#### Adelaide

BY GRAEME TUBBENHAUER

A march through the streets of Adelaide on Saturday, September 15 of 150 gays was the culmination of a week of activity by the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) for Gay Pride Week.

The march moved off with balloons, placards and banners at about 10, 15 am from Victoria Square, Leaflets explaining why lesbians and homosexual men need to assert their rights and march on the streets were handed out to the Saturday-morning shoppers.

Many of the shoppers were too shocked to even abuse the marchers. A truck driver who yelled "bloody poofters!" was greeted by cheers and massed voices yelling "and proud!" Another young man who felt his masculinity being threatened wanted to fight the whole demonstration.

The demonstration arrived at the gardens opposite Elder Park at about 11.15 am. As it was still very early, small groups of gays walked back into the city to distribute more leaflets to the shoppers. Groups of about 20 marched through all the large department stores singing, chanting and handing out leaflets. After the shops closed a speak-in was held and although not well organised was still successful.

Except for one television station (a GAA member is an interviewer with that station), the press did not cover the march at all. As a result the full impact of the march was not felt by a large section of the Adelaide population. Some of the Adelaide press did attend a press conference held the previous Friday, September 7. The press conference which was held at the Women's Centre was the official start of Gay Pride Week,

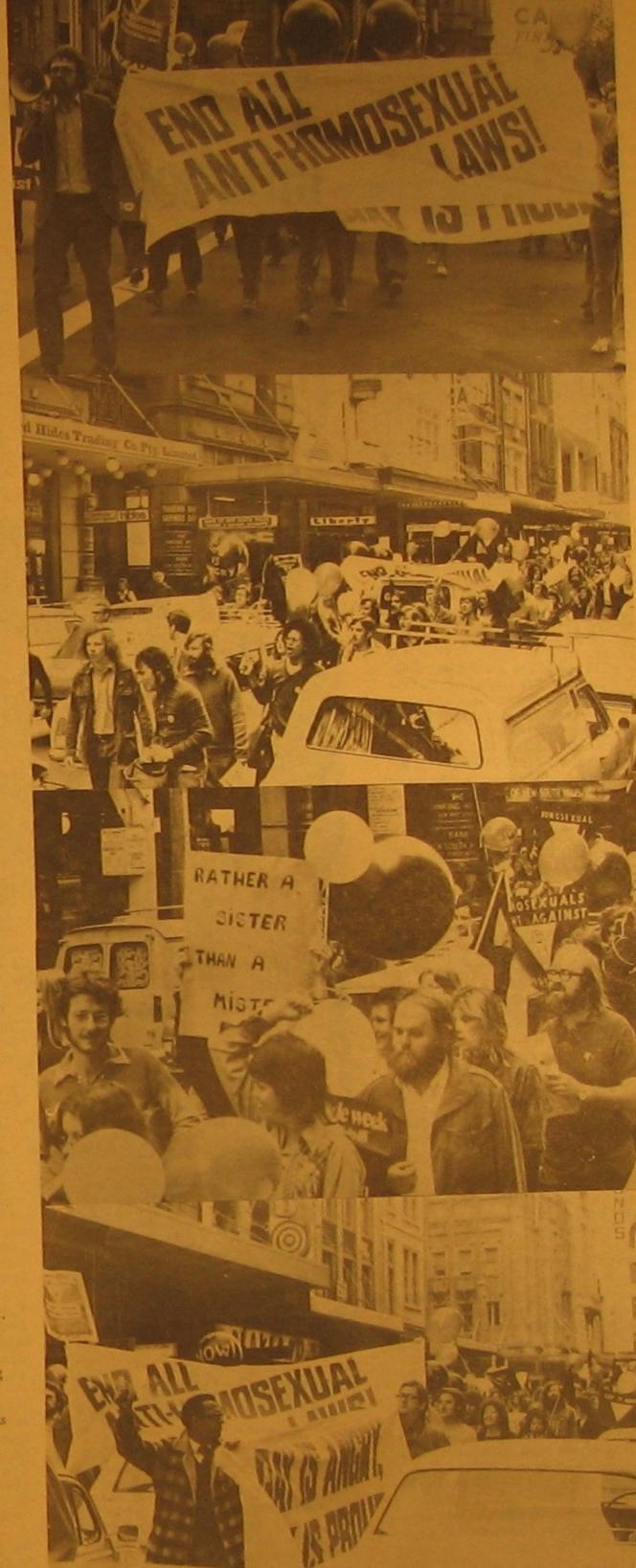
included leafletting of the traditional 'camp" bars and coffee lounges, Hundreds of painted slogans began to appear on walls around Adelaide.

On Monday, four dummies dressed in police uniforms with signs - "Cawley" "Clayton", "Mildenhall" and "Hudson" were hung from the University Footbridge over the Torrens River just near where Dr George Duncan drowned on May 10, 1072. The four police nentioned were "involved" in the nurder of Dr Duncan.

On the same day 60 pink crosses representing the thousands of homosexuals murdered in Nazi concentration camps were planted in the memorial gardens on North Terrace. Needless to say, by 10,00 am the same day, car loads of police removed both crosses and effigies.

On Wednesday about 100 Adelaide University students attended a forum on gay liberation at the university. During discussion time a raging debate developed between a small group of inti-homosexual, sexist, male Christians and the rest of the audience.

Gay Pride Week was the first action of its kind in Adelaide and the first large action planned by the Gay Activists Alliance, During Gay Pride Week gays in Adelaide acquired a feeling of pride and solidarity in our gayness. We showed the people of Adelaide that we re no longer willing to politely remain





At the beginning of this year, in taking account of the change in the economic conjuncture that occurred in 1972, leading to an upswing in all the imperialist countries except Italy, we wrote on January 7 that in spite of the "energy crisis," the expansion of East-West trade, and the reappearance of shortages in the Western food industry, the current "boom" would not last very long. (See DIRECT ACTION 35, February 8, 1973).

Today, a mounting chorus is predicting a recession by 1975, if not 1974. One after another, the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (which includes the governments of all the imperialist countries), the British weekly The Economist, and the West German weeklies Die Zeit and Der Spiegel have alluded to this prospect. And all these Cassandra voices add an especially sombre note to their disturbing (for the capitalist economy) prognostications: Since the current boom phase for the first time involves all the imperialist-countries (again, with the exception of Italy), they fear that the coming recession likewise will hit simultaneously throughout the imperialist

It is the well-known generalised recesslon, whose inevitability we predicted in 1969, that is now haunting the imperialist world.

#### GENERALISED INFLATION

It is true enough that the bourgeois experts emphasise inflation as the root cause of the disease, as the origin of the threats weighing on the international capitalist economy. But this diagnosis contains a healthy dose of ignorance as well.

First of all a healthy dose of hypocrisy: What economist can be ignorant of the fact that the current "boom," far from being threatened by inflation, is rather the most immediate and direct product of inflation? Take a look, for example, at what happened in the United States and in Great Britain (to take only two examples) during the recession of 1969-71 and at how these two countries were able to get out of the recession. There was a rapid expansion of the money supply, which in the United States reached nearly 10 per cent in six months and in Britain reached 20 per cent in a year, without any significant increase in material production. Inflation as a means of "overcoming" recession was the officially declared policy of the bourgeois governments, the central and private banks, and the monopolies of these countries. Without this inflation, the current "boom" would never have taken place.

And also a healthy dose of ignorance:
A permanent inflation that goes on for more than a quarter of a century cannot fail after a certain point, to exhibit the classical acceleration phenomena that economic theory has analysed so many times.

To condemn this or that "technical error" or this or that minister, to blame "trade-union egoism" or "inflation mentality," is to replace explanation with exorcism.

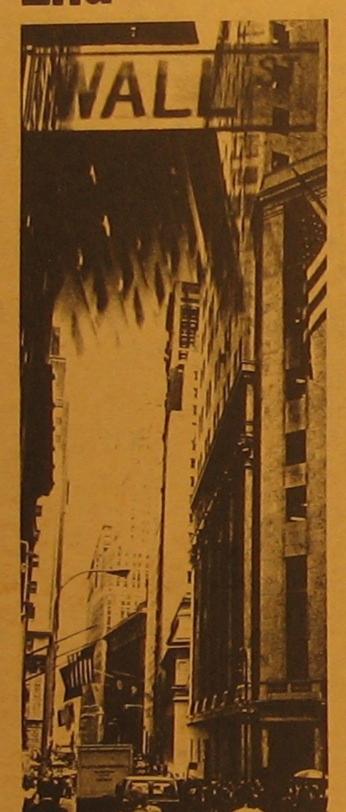
When there is a wealth of means of payment, a search for "real values" is inevitable. So long as this involves only objets d'art, it remains marginal to economic life. But when gold (whose free-market price doubled in one year and now stands at two or three times what it was two years ago) is caught up in the vortex then the economic effects are rather more serious. When there is "revalued" gold and "devalued" paper money, Gresham's law comes into play: Bad money drives good money out of circulation, "Bad money" is above all the dollar, which is less and less hoarded, is therefore circulated more and more, and is in turn subjected to the implacable law of supply and demand, thus progressively depreciating.

#### CUMULATIVE EFFECTS OF INFLATION

But the hunt for real values is much more serious when it touches two key sectors of economic life: real estate and raw materials. In a climate of permanent inflation, buying of land and raw materials becomes increasingly speculative, independent of the immediate needs of the market.

On the New York raw materials exchange the number of speculators has grown ceaselessly during recent years. Getting a "seat" on the exchange now costs several hundred thousand dollars. Price rises on the exchange are becoming dizzying: In the past year, under the double lash of speculation and the economic upswing, prices have risen 93 per cent.

# The Inflationary Boom and its Coming Fnd



#### By Ernest Mandel

But a rise in prices of real estate — and therefore in rent — and of raw materials inevitably has repercussions on the retail prices of all commodities and on the cost of living. Inflation, which had already persisted throughout the 1969-71 recession, and which was accelerated in order to provide an escape from the recession, is now being amplified by its own cumulative effects. Annual increases in consumer prices are reaching from 3 to 4 per cent to 6 or 8 or even 10 per cent.

The cumulative movement of inflation has structural effects on interest rates. Now that governments are trying to moderate the inflation of credit somewhat, interest rates are climbing to exceptional levels; a discount rate of 11.5 per cent in Great Britain; a 12 per cent rate for Eurodollars; a rate of 30 per cent for overnight inter-bank loans in West Germany. The experts are sighing: Credit restrictions are strangling the "boom," And the "pundits" reply: Inflation inevitably

While inflation no doubt partially has

some effects of its own, nevertheless the autonomy of the credit cycle in relation to the cycle of production and sale of commodities must not be exaggerated. Inflation does not "automatically" produce a change in the business cycle, It is the internal forces of the expansion that become exhausted and that, by running down, produce the recession. By turning the credit and inflation spigot on or off at the appropriate or erroneous moment, bourgeois leaders can intensify or reduce the gravity of the recession a little. They can hasten or retard the time of its outbreak. But they can no more ensure a permanent boom than they can prevent a recession from breaking out in the long run.

What ties together the credit cycle and the production cycle is the ebb and flow that governs the the capitalist business cycle: fluctuations in the average rate of profit.

For the capitalist economy, the 1969-71 recession was the most serious one of the post-war period. Unused productive capacity was extremely pronounced. By the same token, once inflation allowed for an upturn, growth could be rapid. The rate of profit went up sharply in the United States and in Germany. Accumulation of capital was powerfully stimulated. So the inevitable happened. Fresh excess capacity appeared; new openings were supersaturated. New declines in the rate of profit appeared on the horizon.

Finally, bankruptcies were cropping up in the German construction industry, threatening to drag down a few banking houses as well. Tight credit policy and high interest rates have been blamed for this catastrophe. But the deeper cause lies in the fact that for the first time since the end of the second world war, while housing units are being built at the rate of 500,000 a year in the Federal Republic of Germany, there are now more than 100,000 newly constructed units that have been neither bought nor rented at the existing prices, that is, at discounted rates of profit.

Another example: Everyone is expecting a change in the market prices of raw materials. "Speculation cannot keep prices going up interminably," the pundits say. The more basic explanation: Having had their appetites whetted by the dizzying rise in prices and profits, trusts with monopoly control of many raw materials have stepped up their investments and have set up the inevitable over-production. For the copper industry alone, an excess capacity on the order of 46 per cent is expected by 1978. Under such conditions, it will not be necessary to wait five years for the price of copper to begin to fall.

#### THE FALL OF THE DOLLAR: BOOMERANG "WEAPON" OF AMERICAN IMERIALISM

One of the most die-hard legends circulating among the strategists of the Cafe du Commerce and other generally well-informed circles that the "free fall" of the dollar is a diabolical war machine invented by American imperialism in order to cut its competitors in Europe and and Japan down to size. Thanks to the continual depreciation of the dollar (which, in the space of a few years, has lost one-third of its value relative to the Deutsche mark and a quarter of its value relative to the yen), American commodities are supposed to become newly competitive.

It cannot be denied that during the last few months American imperialism has scored some points on the trade level, thanks to the devaluation of the dollar. The fate of the Concord, Sabena's buying cheaper American planes instead of French Dessault planes, is eloquent testimony to this.

But for several years we have predicted what would happen in an epoch of capitalism in which movement of capital is more decisive than movement of commodities: American imperialism would lose on the level of capital and property what it won on the level of sales of commodities.

With the latest devaluation of the dollar, a veritable rush for American stock was touched off among the European bourgeoisie. The same bloc of stock could be had for 15, 20, 25, or even 35 per cent less European currency than it would have taken several years ago, taking account of Wall Street fluctuations.

And what bourgeois individuals can do, capitalist companies can obviously do on a much grander scale. In its July 14 1973 issue the weekly Economist published an article with the appropriate

British Petroleum bought the American oil company Sohio; Plessey absorbed Alloys; British-American Tobacco absorbed the huge New York department store Gimbel's for a mere \$U\$ 200 million. Nestle bought out Stouffer Foods from the Litton Industries conglomerate for \$U\$ 100 million (\$A 65 million); Saint-Gobain acquired the firm Certainteed. And this list is far from exhaustive.

As for Japanese imperialism, it went through an expansion of capital exports that drove American capital out of a good part of the East Asian market and disputing important American game preserves like Brazil and Mexico, In South Korea and Taiwan, Japanese trusts are setting up huge complexes in steel, petrochemicals, and ship building In Brazil they are investing more than the the United States is. The Fuji Bank estimates that export of Japanese capital will reach \$A2.25 to 2.6 thousand million for 1973 alone, and it anticipate an annual rate of \$A17 thousand million by the end of the 1970s.

But once again, it is an extrapolation that imprudently ignores conjunctural fluctuations, structural crises, social tensions, and revolutionary explosions.

Even on the commercial level, the devaluation of the dollar has proved to be a poisoned gift for American imperialism. The fall of the dollar has allowed, for example, Japanese capitalists to snatch up greater and greater fractions of current raw materials production at considerably lower prices (in yen) than those American industry has to pay in dollars. The dizzying rise in raw materials prices is no doubt partly a function of that competition.

#### AN ACCUMULATION OF EXPLOSIVE MATERIAL

It could be concluded that American

imperialism should be interested in a profound reform of the international monetary system. But all the debates are turning on the overhead cost of this reform. None of the imperialist powers is prepared to foot the bill for the others. US imperialism cannot guarantee an end to the inflation of the dollar, which threatens to provoke an economic crisis of over-production of unparalleled gravity in the United States itself. But without halting this inflation, how can the convertibility of the dollar be reestablished? And unless convertibility is re-established, little effective reform of the international monetary system will be possible. And the "solution" would be a return to a system of quotas, of barter, and even of the partial economic autarchy that would threaten to suffocate international trade, as during the 1930s.

The crisis of the international monetary system and the exacerbation of interimperialist contradictions that it reflects are today combining with the threat of a recession that will be closer to a generalised recession in all the imperialist countries than any other since the second world war.

But to this accumulation of explosive material for the capitalist system in the economic domain is being added some explosive material in the social domain that is even more threatening to capital.

The coming recession will break out at a time when the European working class is taking big steps forward in organised forces, combativity, and class consciousness. Never in the past have we seen such a simultaneous upsurge of workers' struggles in Italy, in Great Britain, in France, in Spain, and now, although at a slower pace, in West Germany; that is, in all the key capitalist countries of Europe.

The example of the Lip factory is symbolic in this respect. By its present militancy and consciousness, the European working class is resolved — to a higher degree than in 1929 or in 1932 — not to tolerate the reappearance of massive unemployment. During recent years it has demonstrated that it is capable of preventing capital from making it bear the costs of inflation. And it is preparing also to prevent capital from making it bear the costs of the coming economic crisis.

Thus, the elements of an e serious social crisis are cor on the European continent. European proletariat and it this crisis cannot be resolved in a positive manner unless power passe hands of the bourgeoisie, a pable under the present relationship of ing its own class a trions and into the hands of the wor a class, which will be capable of bringing its own revolutionary socialist solutions to the crisis.

#### CHILE: SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

### Behind the Coup in Chile

BY MIKE JONES

The Chilean Popular Unity Government, headed by Salvador Allende Gossens, was overthrown by a military coup on the morning of September 11 this year, exactly three years after the coalition of six parties received a plurality in the 1970 elections.

The nature of the Popular Unity coalition remains a much misunderstood feature of Latin American political life. The six parties involved were the large Socialist and Communist parties (Allende being the leader of the former) together with the smaller Radical Party and the very small Movimiento de Accion Popular Unida (MAPU — Movement for United Popular Action, a split-off from the Christian Democratic Party of former President Eduardo Frei), the Social Democratic Party and the Alianza Popular de Izquierda (API — Popular Left Alliance.)

The Radical Party, which represents the views of the middle and upper-class intelligentsia, was once the predominant force in Chilean politics and ruled the country for several years during and after World War II. In the last few years the Radicals have declined considerably in influence — although they still command some political weight among Chilean intellectuals and liberals — and their entry into the Popular Unity coalition was the only thing that saved them from becoming a third-rate opposition party.

The Communist Party is one of the most Stalinised remnants of the old Communist International in Latin America, ranking on a par with the Communist Party of Venezuela and the old pre-Castro Communist Party of Cuba. The CP consistently represented the right wing of the coalition Government. The Socialist Party, the dominant force in the UP election campaign is a rather heterogeneous grouping ranging fron dissident revolutionaries who opposed many of Allende's policies to right-wing careerists who come quite close to the CP. Allende once stood on the party's left wing but he rapidly shifted to the right after his election.

The Popular Unity received only a plurality in the 1970 elections (36.6 per cent compared with 34.9 per cent for the right-wing Nationalist Party and 27.8 per cent for the Christian Democrats). According to Chilean law, Allende could not assume control unless a majority of Congress agreed. A joint session of the Chamber of Deputies (180 seats) and the Senate (20 seats) was called for a few weeks after the elections. The Nationalists and Christian Democrats held an absolute majority of 58 per cent of the congressional seats, so Allende's victory ultimately depended on them. The vote came down 153 for accepting the results of the election, 35 against. The Christian Democrats had voted en bloc for Allende.

In order to make this possible, the programme of the Popular Unity had to be acceptable to those forces behind the Christian Democrats — the upper-middle class, the industrialists and a considerable section of the military, not to mention the United States Government which backed the Christian Democratic election campaign quite heavily.

Allende's history as a matchmaker between divergent political trends goes back a long way. In the 1930s he was Minister of Labor for the Popular Front Government in which the Socialist Party participated. Unlike its namesake in France, this Popular Front actually received the last minute support of the fascists! The classical popular front governments of the thirties were a device utilised by Stalin to halt the rise of revolutionary militancy in Europe. The Popular Front Government in Spain - which was dominated by the Spanish Communist Party - was the motive force behind the defeat of the Spanish workers fighting Franco and carried out the treacherous massacres of anarchist and Poumist workers in Barcelona. The Chilean version was of the same strain, but fortunately the consequences there were not so grave.

In the early 1960s the Socialist and Communist parties again united with smaller non-working class parties to form the Frente de Accion Popular (FRAP — Popular Action Front) to act as a "left opposition" to the rise of the Christian Democrats. Allende himself stood as the FRAP's candidate for President in 1964 but he was beaten by the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei.

It is true that the 1970 elections were marked by CIA interference to attempt to block Allende's election, but this alone does not qualify Allende as a "Marxist". The unfortunate facts are that the Popular Unity Government moved in any direction but that of socialism. In fact, at times Allende

stand that the army is not controlled by the particular party that happens to have a majority in Parliament at any particular time, but ultimately rests on a clearly defined social base — the same social base that the whole parliamentary and judicial structure of a capitalist state rests on.

during the "bosses' strike" of October 1972. During that month, the major of small proprietors, mainly in the trucking industry, stopped work in protest against the growing weight of public sector of the economy. The bosses' strike effectively crippled the particular party that happens to have a majority in Parliament at any particular time, but ultimately rests on a clearly defined social base — the same protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the trucking industry, stopped work in protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of small proprietors.

Despite the existence of elements in the leadership of the armed forces who favored Allende for one reason or another (elements who were later given a safe-conduct pass out of the country after the coup) the army remained the staunchest defender of private property and capitalist "law and order". In fact, it was probably very fortunate for Allende that military personnel are not entitled to vote in Chile as they might

during the "bosses' strike" of October 1972. During that month, the majority of small proprietors, mainly in the protest against the growing weight of the public sector of the economy. The bosses' strike effectively crippled the country for several weeks. The Popular Unity Government was faced with a real dilemma. It was reluctant to use any decisive measures against the truckers and it is uncertain whether the armed forces and the police would have carried out the Government's orders if it had decided to take a firm stand. The cordons, together with the Central Unica del Trabajo (CUT - Central Labor Union) organised the only effective actions against the "strike" and actually made gains out of it by taking more of the running of the economy into their own hands.

#### THE CORDONS AND THE CUT

There was a lot of friction at that time between the cordons and the Communist and Socialist bureaucracy in the CUT. The CUT leaders claimed that the cordons were unnecessary as they were only a parallel to the already established union movement. In an interview in Chile Hoy (a pro-popular-front weekly) recently, Hernan Ortega, president of the executive committee of the coordinating body of the Industrial Cordons of Santiago, explained the difference: "We want the CUT to function properly, not only to claim to be the highest organ of the workers but to show in its action that it is firmly entrenched in the struggles of the working class. As well, we set ourselves objectives distinct from the ones the CUT has so far set itself; we are struggling for the conquest of power and we believe that we must provide the working class with the necessary leadership for that. The problem with the CUT, and its own leaders realise it, is that it has not changed its structure nor modified its tasks in accordance with the new situation in the country since the truimph of the Popular Government,"

Unfortunately for the workers, their spontaneous realisation of the needs of the circumstances was not shared by the Allende Government. When miners in the El Teniente copper mines near Rancagua, in the north of the country, demanded an increase in pay to offset the 300 per cent inflation that gripped the country this year, Allende saw it as a threat to the new order he was trying to build within the confines of the old. The El Teniente miners were labelled "fascist" and "saboteurs" by the traditional left forces, including the Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionario (Movement of the Revolutionary Left -MIR), the only sizeable group to the left of the Popular Unity.

When the miners marched on Santiago to put their case directly to the Government they were met by Communist Party-organised counter-demonstrations. The only organised left force supporting the miners was the small Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR — Revolutionary Socialist Party, Chilean section of the Fourth International). All other left groups capitulated, leaving the way open for the Nationalist and Christian Democratic parties to make political capital out of it.

Despite all its equivocation and capitulations, the Popular Unity could still have saved the situation as late as June 29 this year when an unsuccessful coup attempt was staged by sectors of the armed forces and the neo-fascist organisation Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom). If the Allende Government had provided the workers with the arms they wanted to defend themselves and their organisations and Allende - against the ever-growing right-wing danger, the September coup would not have happened. Instead, we saw a terrible repetition of exactly the same thing that happened in Argentina in 1955, Bolivia in 1970 and too many other places in Latin America and the rest of the world.

400,000 Chileans march in December 1971 in support of the Popular Unity regime

#### RESPECTING THE CONSTITUTION

dictory directions at once.

seemed to be moving in several contra-

What the more hysterical sections of the Chilean ruling class feared most in 1970 was that Allende would alter the Constitution in such a way as to pave the way for the "dictatorship of the proletariat". Allende, however, lived up to his pledge to "respect" the Constitution which had not been seriously amended since 1925. Even the much vaunted agrarian reform programme was exactly the same as the one proposed though not implemented, by the Christian Democrats.

When the wretchedly poor peasants in the south of the country began to carry out "unlawful" seizures of the landowners' estates, Allende found it necessary to send in the army to teach the ignorant peasants that socialism didn't necessarily mean handing over the means of production to those people whose sweat and blood was keeping the ruling class fat. It might be noted that the majority of these peasants, because of their illiteracy, did not even have the franchise in the 1970 election - perhaps Allende wasn't worried about losing any potential voters by his actions in "respecting the Constitution",

#### THE ARMY AND ALLENDE

Allende's handling of the army showed similar inconsistencies between theory and practice. One would think that a self-proclaimed "Marxist" would underTHE CORDONS AND THE WORKERS

have been able to swing a plurality in

face of the army was a vital factor

The only really positive effects of the

Popular Unity victory in 1970 were the

indirect and unintentional effects it

had on Chilean workers. The workers

were pounded from left and right with

- and a lot of them began to listen,

Allende's victory gave the workers a

wave of nationalisations after the

propaganda about socialism and Marxism

sense of confidence in themselves which

they did not hesitate to express. The

elections only whetted their appetites for

more decisive measures and they quickly

got into the habit of mobilising to defend

quickly became apparent was the need

for a new organisational weapon to put

interests. In early 1972 the first Indus-

trial Cordons were formed in Santiago.

their case and to look after their own

their own interests. One thing that

working towards his overthrow.

favor of the Nationalist Party. Whatever

the case, Allende's equivocation in the

The cordons were exclusively workingclass organisations which grew out of the situation itself. Their primary aim was the placing of nationalised industries under direct workers' control in as democratic a manner as possible. They were organised on a neighborhood basis, each cordon controlling the factories in its district. They were run entirely by the workers themselves and were not linked in any way to the state.

The cordons really came into their own

#### CHILE: SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

### Reactionary Offensive Precedes Coup

BY RON SKINNER

from the moment the popular-front Government was brought to power by the rise of the workers' movement in Chile, the bourgeois parties steadily stepped up their pressure on Allende to force the Unidad Popular (UP - Popular Unity) to retreat and to demobilise and disappoint the masses. The objective of the main bourgeois strategists was to wear away the popular hopes inspired by the UP victory, while at the same time keeping Allende in power as the best means of holding a rein on the popular strata supporting his reformist Government.

Despite the capitulationism of Allende and the Communist Party, which formed the real leadership of the UP, the bourgeoisie's war of attrition involved escalating risks.

In the first place, sectors of the ruling class and the right showed a tendency, in view of the rise of the mass mobilisations, to panic and go too far. The assassination of the commander of the armed forces, General Rene Schneider, on the eve of Allende's inauguration reflected these dangers. The murderers represented a rightist faction in the army. As the tensions grew, it became more and more difficult to make sure that only the right amount of pressure was brought to bear against Allende.

On the other hand, the assaults of the right against the UP regime provoked responses from the workers that Allende could not control and that went further and further toward the irrevocable undermining of the bases of the capitalist system. This two-sided process howed up clearly in the first full-scale est of strength between the Government and the bourgeois opposition in the October 1972 "bosses' strike".

The rightist offensive began on July 25 with the opening of a new bosses' and professionals' strike spearheaded, as October, by the truck owners. The far right tried to give the maximum intensity to the campaign against Allende by launching a wave of terrorist acts, beginning with the assassination of the President's aide, Captain Araya, on July 27.

This new escalation was initiated by the abortive uprising of the Second Armored Regiment on June 29. This revolt touched off a working-class mobilisation similar to the one that responded to the rightist offensive in October. Workers staged a new series

of plant seizures, and the cordons industriales were strengthened,

Following the June 29 attempted putsch, the classical right as well as the growing fascist elements were thinking in terms of a drastic solution. Frei, the Christian Democrat leader spoke to the Senate on July 1. Frei noted the strengthening of the organs of popular power after June 29; and the fact that the workers had managed to acquire some arms. He went on: "The constitution of a popular power means in fact



Allende's portrait on CP headquarters

creating a parallel army", which has to be crushed "before it is too late."

Despite the rightist attempt to topple the Government by armed force on June 29, and despite the multiplying acts of terrorism by the fascist Patria y Libertad, the army turned its main the "parallel army" of the workers.

The armed forces quickly showed their

readiness to use force not only against civilian workers but also against their own enlisted men. Rightist officers in the navy had been preparing for months to play a key role in toppling the Allende Government. The plan was reportedly to use the navy to block the shipment of provisions over water and thus complete the blockade imposed by the truckers. The other part of the plan was to support a series of small uprisings such as the June 29 coup.

However, among the sailors and petty officers the majority sentiment was loyalty to the Government and opposition to a coup. Following the June 29 coup and the start of the popular mobilisation it sparked, special efforts were made to separate the sailors from civilians. At the end of the first week in August a large-scale repression was launched to eliminate "sedition", that is, opposition to the rightist plotting.

About one hundred sailors and workers were arrested and savagely tortured. At this time Allende was swearing-in his "Cabinet of national unity" and the government disayowed the workers in the navy yards and the sailors.

Despite the attempts of Allende and the Communist Party to placate the army and keep it quarantined from the class struggle, committee issued a statement which for the mass mobilisations provoked by rightist attempts to undermine the UP's social reforms inevitably had an impact in the armed forces.

What was required in the situation was the creation of an effective "parallel army" and a systematic orientation to splitting the ranks of the army. Otherwise the danger existed (and finally came to pass) of the bourgeoisie lashing out and imposing an "Indonesian solution" on the working class.

As a condition for accepting a "dialogue" with Allende, the Christian Democrats demanded that representatives of the military be brought into the Cabinet so as to guarantee "observance of the constitution." On August 10 Allende complied and installed a "Cabinet of national security" including most importantly General Prats, the commander of the armed forces.

The military Cabinet didn't work: the entry of the military into the Cabinet and the threat of martial law measures against the striking truckers did not resolve the situation as it did in October; and sections their "evenhandedness" by going after (SP) left wing which was most susceptible instance, the armed forces arrested to mass pressure, would not accept it. On twenty MIR (Movemiento de la Irquiero the other hand the right wanted Allende's complete surrender to the truck owners, which he would not give due to the pressure of the continuing mass mobilisation. On August 18 air force general Ruiz, the Minister of Transport, resigned. Prais left the cabinet on August 25.

At this stage the objective of the main capitalist leaders appeared to be a limited one, As the August 31 New York Times editorialised: "To survive personally and dissolve the present crisis, Dr.

Despite tremendons willingness of masses to fight to preserve social gains, spears were no substitute for guns.

Allende must cut back sharply on his socialist program and get rid of the min isters who have persisted in pushing it b means that circumvent the congress There is no evidence so far that Dr. All ende is either willing or able to accept such conditions,"

For more than five hours on September 4, supporters of the UP marched past the Moneda Palace in downtown Santiage in commemoration of the third anniverary of Allende's election to the presidency. Some 700,000 to 800,000 took part. The large mobilisation came amid reports that a new round of talks between the UP and the Christian Democrats aimed at reaching agreement on ending the anti-Allende offensive had collarse

On September 5, the UP executive the first time expressed solidarity with the detained sailors held by the naw for their opposition to any coup plot and loyalty to the UP Government.

The firmer stand of the UP did not lead to any slackening of the rightist offensive. On September 4 the truckers were joined by the Confederation of Professional Employees who began a stoppage to change government policies. The 40,000 strong National Confederation of Retailers, a small businessmen's group, struck for 48 hours from the same day. A large majority of Chile's doctors and nurses continued their strike begun two weeks earlier.

Acts of violence and sabotage increased. At the builinning of September two headquarters of the Communist Party in Valparaiso and near Santiago were destroyed by explosion and fire. These and other acts appear to have been the work of the fascist Patria y Libertad, Roberto Thieme, one of its leaders, was arrested on August 26, and was indicted on September 2 on charges of "unlawful association." The authorities demonstrated Revolucionaria -- Movement of the Revolutionary Left) members near Temuco after discovering an underground grenad factory.

The rightist offensive culminated with the military coup on September 11. Upon first hearing of the coup Allende announced that "a sector of the navy" had rebelled, and declared, "I am no awaiting a decision from the army to defend the government," But the army had already made its decision.

CHILE: SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

### Rightist Terror Takes Heavy Toll

"The armed forces and the police are united to begin the historic mission of liberating our fatherland from the yoke of Marxism," said an early radio broadcast of Chile's new military rulers. The junta which seized power from Salvador Allende's Popular Unity Government on September 11 brought together all branches of the capitalist armed forces army, navy, air force and the national police. Army general Ugarte has been appointed as the new President and a largely military Cabinet set up.

The "historic mission" of the military junta quickly won the support of the Chilean capitalists and middle classes. The Christian Democrat and National parties have issued statements approving of the coup. In a gesture of confidence in the new regime, leaders of the crippling truck drivers' strike, which has been going on since July 27, went on radio to call it off. The strike of the owner-drivers had won extensive support. from the Chilean urban middle classes,

Richard Gott reported from Santiago on September 22 (London Guardian) that in the southern town of Temuco "as elsewhere, the urban middle class is unable to restrain its delight at what has been happening. 'We'd prefer this than to ave the Russians in, ' is one typical example of the views of the supporters of the new regime."

There are many similarities between the coup in Chile and the bloody coup staged w the Indonesian generals in 1965. The desirability of an "Indonesian solution" (i.e., of a wholesale massacre of the oft) had been discussed in the right-wing ness before the coup. One similarity as the claim of the new rulers that the eft had planned massive assassinations of the leading rightist political personnel, ie mintary chiefs, etc. The Melbourne

Herald of September 18 reported:

"Military intelligence uncovered the

safe of the Under-Secretary of the

assassination plot and found plans in the

interior, Daniel Vergard, the spokesman

said. All the plans would be published

ater, he added ... 'Thousands of people'

The 15,000 left-wing foreigners in Chile

were to have taken part in the operation,

the regime has shown a special determi-

ation to deal with the large number of est-wing resugees in Chile, One of the

haven for political refugees from all

ver Latin America. One of the most

amous of these was Hugo Blanco, the

Peruvian Trotskyist leader, who finally

settled in Santiago after being hounded

nother by the authorities. The September 18 Sydney Morning Herald

declare the determination of the regime

o persecute "extremists and foreigners".

from one Latin American country to

eported that junta Interior Minister onilla went on national television to

gains won by the masses under the Allende regime was that Chile became

had been earmarked for assassination,



According to a report in the Sydney Morning Herald of September 24 some 7000 persons have been detained by the regime. The principal leaders of the left parties are still being hunted by the junta: Carlos Altamirano of the Socialist Party, Luis Corvalan of the Communist Party and Miguel Enriquez of the

Peasant land seizures often went beyond Allende's land reform

(MIR) are still at large.

Revolutionary Movement of the Left

Interior Minister Bonilla explained that

silence". He went on to say: "This

recess is necessary because there was

Chile must undergo a period of "politica

tremendous hatred in Chile and political

dialogues cannot be allowed until con-

ditions have changed." This is his way

of saying that the polarisation of Chilean

the normal mechanisms of parliamentary

democracy and these would therefore be

suspended until the generals had crushed

the left and workers' movement.

From all the available accounts the

workers have put up a desperate if improvised resistance to the coup, parti-

cularly in the industrial belt around

Santiago. The street fighting was so

ferocious early in the coup that News-

in 1968. Newsweek (September 24)

"The brunt of the military attack it

reminded of the Tet offensive in Vietnam

week's Santiago correspondent was

society could no longer be contained by

Sumar Textile Factory in Santiago's industrial zone was repeatedly bombed by air force planes. One report said that more than 500 were killed in that lactory alone." The September 21 Sydney Morning Herald quoted from eyewitness reports

in the Swedish paper Dagens Nyheter that in Santiago "at least 900 died in army attacks on three factories, and that hundreds of smaller attacks were hade on factories, most of them taking to 50 lives. 'Those who resisted and survived were later executed, ' it said. There is too little information currently Workers in a textile factory equipped with only small arms held off the army for a day. They capitulated, but overnowered a busload of carabineros sent in to arrest them, seized a heavy machine- and heroism before and after the coup. gun from the bus, and held out for three nore days. When finally obliged to surrender, most were shot, their bodies carted off during the curfew. "

A vivid picture of Chile under the heel of the counter-revolution is given by Richard Gott reporting from Santiago on September 22 for the London Guardian: "Shock is perhaps the best word to describe the state of mind of former supporters and sympathisers of the deposed Popular Unity Government. In spite of all warnings, it seems that very few people were really prepared for the ferocity of the counter-revolution ...

"(In the southern town of Temuco) Hundreds of people have been arrested, accused of nothing more than co-operation with the Allende Government, Lists of local people wanted by the army are read over the radio, and edict No. 30 of the local government states that for every innocent dead, 10 detainees will be killed. The army and the paramilitary carabineros make persistent searches for arms, and in one poblacion, or shanty town, two small children were killed as a warning. Supporters of the previous government have had their heads shaved, and this applies not just to young people

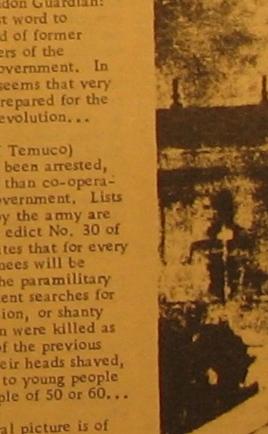
"(In Santiago) the general picture is of continuing clashes between the inhabitants of the shanty towns and the police in their search for arms. In the port of Valparaiso the resistance seems to have been stronger and there is still no telephone contact with the port.

"The police have apparently been given the task of entering the shanty towns an unpopular job for which the army does not wish to receive the odium. The stronghold of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) at Neuva Habana has apparently not been touched, possibly because the police fear to enter at this stage.

have been asked to give themselves up, and they are now threatened with the death penalty if they do not do so. Latin American embassies sympathetic to Allende, principally Cuba, Mexico, Peru and Argentina, are full of refugees.

"There is every sign of the situation getting worse. The new regime has announced that all arms must be handed in to the authorities by Sunday. Those found possessing them after that date will

available for us to be able to predict just how far the generals will move against the workers' movement. The workers have shown a great combativity But they have been terribly betrayed by their leaders. It will take time for the lessons of the defeat to be assimilated by broad sections of the labor movement and a new revolutionary leadership to be constructed.



but to middle-aged people of 50 or 60...

"There is now a long list of people connected with the Allende Government who



appeared was concentrated on factories that in recent months have been turned into arsenals by leftist workers. The The new Government has outlawed the parties of the left and closed the Congress.

Tanks in front of presidential palace

#### CHILE: SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

### Where the Communist Party Goes Wrong

BY DAVE HOLMES

On Wednesday September 12 a demonstration of some 60 or more people was held outside the US consulate in Sydney's Pitt Street, Originally, the demonstration, organised by the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), was called to support "the people's Government of Chile, under attack from imperialism and local reaction." Three years ago the Popular Unity Government of Salvador Allende first came to power. When the Popular Unity was toppled by the military coup that very day the demonstration became an opportunity to denounce the reaction and express solidarity with the embattled workers and peasants of Chile.

The meeting was chaired by the CPA's national secretary, Laurie Aarons, Among the other speakers were CPA trade unionists Laurie Carmichael and Joe Owens, and Socialist Party of Australia leader Bill Brown. Almost all the speakers expressed confidence in and support for the political line which had been followed by the Popular Unity regime up to the time of its fall. Only two speakers, Mike Jones of the Socialist Workers League (SWL) and Mal Price of the Communist League gave any real analysis of what had happened and why the Popular Unity had fallen despite the mass worker and peasant support it enjoyed.

When each of these two speakers had concluded, Aarons used his position as chairperson to attempt to refute them. After Mal Price had finished Aarons attempted a demagogic refutation of his criticisms of Allende and his Government. Allende, said Aarons, had been killed by the imperialists and went on to the effect that therefore his politics must have represented a real threat to imperialism. Regis Debray, no friend of Trotskyism, once said it very well martyrdom is not a political argument.

While Mike Jones was speaking Eric Aarons heckled from the sidelines and are you on!"

Jones made it crystal clear that the SWL was with the Chilean masses but that their leaders had delivered them, bound hand and foot, to the counter-revolution. It is these leaders - Allende, the Communist and Socialist leaders, that the CPA defends. Eric Aarons has gained some prominence of late. He has written a book (Philosophy For An Exploding World) which breaks with Marxism on a number of questions, has defended it against Bill Brown (representing Stalinist orthodoxy), and in general poses as one who has broken with Stalinism and is exploring new ways to a better world. The reality is, as this little incident shows, that in his practical politics he remains firmly in the Stalinist camp.

#### TWO BASIC DECEPTIONS

In this respect Eric Aarons exemplifies the position of the Communist Party as a whole. As the test case of the Popular Unity experience in Chile shows, the CPA, despite its claims to the contrary, still defends the key Stalinist positions.

From the September 4, 1970 victory of the Popular Unity Government in Chile the CPA has spread confusion and illusions about what was really going on in Chile. The CPA has peddled two key Stalinist deceptions:

1) That the Popular Unity was a socialist government which was capable of realising socialism.

2) That it was possible in Chile to realise socialism in some way other than the classical norm, i.e., by a peaceful, parliamentary road.

A leaflet distributed by the Sydney CPA to advertise the demonstration refers unequivocally to the "Socialist Government" in Chile. The September 9, 1970 Tribune commented that Allende's success "marks a tremendous advance in the direction of a socialist transformation n Chile." Malcolm Salmon concluded his article on Chile in the September 23. 1970 Tribune as follows: "The odds at present seem just slightly better than even that the world is about to witness Latin America's second 'very different'

essay in socialist transformation."

WAS THE POPULAR UNITY SOCIALIST?

The CPA has been deliberately vague on just what the Popular Unity coalition really was. Malcolm Salmon describes it as a "coalition of Left parties."

However, the previous Tribune had listed these "Left parties" without comment and we see that the three major parties are the Socialists, the Communists and the Radicals, But the Radical Party isn't a "Left party" at all. For some thirty years it was the leading party of the Chilean capitalists and although that role is today played by the Christian Democrats and the National Party, the Radicals remain a capitalist

The Popular Unity coalition was thus a coalition between the leading workers' parties and a bourgeois-liberal party. Not surprisingly its programme did not break with capitalism. The correct



Luis Corvalan "No sir, we continue and vill continue to support keeping our armed institutions strictly professional,

name for such a class-collaborationist formation is a popular front as against the Leninist idea of the united front where a revolutionary workers party enters into limited and specific alliances for action without for a moment giving up its independent role. We should not be confused by the reforms which the Allende regime carried out. Some of these were very important but none of them was incompatible with capitalism - nationalisation (with compensation) of the copper mines, the implementation of the agrarian reform (begun under the previous Christian Democrat Government), etc.

Despite its state sector, the Chilean economy remained a capitalist economy and the state of the Chilean capitalists remained basically intact. Allende's Government didn't dissolve the army or the police, the essential elements of the capitalist state. In short, Allende's Government operated within the capitalist system.

#### THE CONDITIONS FOR SOCIALISM

Some writers in Tribune tried to get around this problem. Bill Gollan went to Chile late last year and wrote two articles for Tribune on his return. In the October 31, 1972 Tribune he wrote:

"What is being attempted is to lay the social, economic and political foundations for a socialist transformation, within a predominantly capitalist system, and without taking revolutionary powers to repress the opposition." In his second article on November 7 Gollan was even more explicit: "The

immediate future for Chile is not seen by the major parties of the left there as a socialist one, but a structurally reformed society as a basis for the building of a socialist order."

What does this nonsense mean? What is this "structurally reformed society" which appears to be somewhere between capitalism and socialism? In reality, it is not possible to get to socialism by way of "structural reforms" of capitalism the capitalists won't let their power be whittled away like that. What are the real "foundations for a socialist transformation"? General economic conditions for socialist revolution have existed since 1914 - the productive forces are developed as far as they can under capitalism and now stagnate and decay. And Chile is no exception; only a socialist revolution can further develop the country's productive forces to meet the real needs of the masses.

What about the subjective conditions? In Chile the masses were becoming more and more combative and conscious of the need to press forward to the expropriation of the capitalists and establish a socialist Chile. Time and time again the masses mobilised in support of the Government and against the rightists.

The night of the failed June 29 coup in Santiago, for example, 700,000 workers marched through the city (for the second time in eight days) demanding that Allende dissolve the rightist-controlled Congress and put the military plotters against the wall. Factories were seized by the workers who demanded that they be added to the nationalised sector of the economy. It was not the heroic worker and peasant masses who were found wanting in Chile; it was their so-called leaders. These leaders engaged in demagogic deceptions about socialism but when the masses came up against the reaction they restrained them and kept them defenceless.

The key political condition for the socialist revolution in Chile was and which would carry out the systematic mobilisation of the masses and prepare them for the inevitable class confronta-

#### A PEACEFUL ROAD?

The second key reformist illusion from the arsenal of Stalinism which the CPA peddled along with the Popular Unity reformists was that Chile could a chieve socialism by a new road, that is, by peaceful and legal means without shattering the capitalist army and police.

The first issue of Tribune after the coup (September 18) continued this deception, referring to the "Chilean experience ... and its attempt to find a peaceful road to socialism..." It is true that Marxists prefer a peaceful transition but it is equally true that to argue that this is possible, especially in a semi-colonial country such as Chile is a criminal and cruel deception of the masses and it is they who will bear the brunt of the counter-revolution.

Again consider the above-mentioned CPA leaflet, It begins: "The Chilean army has broken its solemn yow to respect the Constitution ... " That is Marxism? Marx and Lenin taught that the state is above all "a body of armed men" and in Chile the army, unchanged by the Allende victory, remained a capitalist army dedicated to the preservation of capitalist rule in Chile, Its adherence to the bourgeois constitution was always subordinate to this. Who could doubt that if ever the capitalist class considered that the Popular Unity Government was no longer able to restrain the masses, that the army would stage a coup. In the period following the abortive coup of June 29 the majority capitalist opinion had reached this conclusion and the army acted.

The masses had to face the counterrevolution unarmed. At every critical point in the class struggle Allende and the Popular Unity reformists chose to placate the right and the army. Military officers were brought into the cabinet on several occasions, talk of arming the workers was denounced as a "provocation" (to the army!). The Government, for instance, disowned and slandered sailors and workers in the navy yards at Valparaiso who were brutally tortured by the

refused to take part in any coup against the Government. A revolutionary leadership would have insistently raised the demand for the arming of the work and peasants, for the formation of popular militias.

The CPA denies the charge that the Popular Unity Government and its leaders failed to organise the arming of the masses. This pathetic lie appears is the editorial of the September 18 Tribune: "...contrary to the prejudice belief of some Australian radicals, the Chilean workers had been arming and organising under central co-ordination for many weeks to resist the coup. ... A few considerations are sufficient to explode this claim.

In the first place, even if Tribune's claim were true, why had the worken' leaders only begun armed preparations in the last few weeks? The confrontation with the army had been on the agenda as a very real variant from the moment of the Popular Unity victory. i.e., for some three years! Only hope, less reformists, blind to the reality of the class struggle could claim that the coup was a product of the last few weeks.

Then, we offer to our readers an example of the ideas of the Chilean Communist Party (CPC) on the matter of the bourgeois army and popular power. The CPC was the strongest party in the Popular Unity and the party with the strongest base in the working class, CP secretary Luis Corvalan was reported in the July 31 issue of the pro-popularfront weekly, Chile Hoy (as quoted in Intercontinental Press of September 10, , 1973), as saying: "Because the workers took some immediate security measures against the recent attempted coup and maintained these precautionary measures some reactionaries have begun to send up a howl, thinking that they have found a new issue to use to drive a wedge between the people and the armed forces. They are claiming that we have the orientation of replacing the professional army... No sir, we continue and vill continue to support keeping armed institutions strictly professional, Corvalan is of course referring to the army of the Chilean capitalists. Does he want to replace the bourgeois army by popular militias? "No sir ... " Tribune's claim is so hollow there is little point in going on.

#### A "DISRUPTIVE" STRIKE?

One last Communist Party position we want to deal with concerns the strike of the workers at the state-owned El Teniente copper mines, The 4-month strike (from April 15 to July 1 this year) for a wage adequate to maintain their living standards in the face of the huge inflation (163 per cent in 1972) was bitterly opposed by the Popular Unity Government and every left grouping apart from the Chilean Trotskyists. This struggle was reported extensively DIRECT ACTION 45 (Crisis For Allende Regime in Chile by Mike Jones).

In an obvious reference to this event the editorial in the September 18 Tribune says: "Reactionary circles, amply sur ported and guided by the CIA, organi disruptive strikes and boycotts by sn business and some sections of workers at home..." The right "supported" this strike to sow confusion but this wa only possible due to the default of the lest parties. Tribune's slanders echo those of the Chilean Stalinists and reformists. After all, if Chile is creating the conditions for socialism then strikes can be "disruptive". By such stands the reformists divided and demoralised the Chilean masses,

#### THE ONLY ROAD

There was no "second road" to socialism in Chile nor is there now. The road to socialism in Chile was only an can only be the classical revolutionar one - the massive organisation of the workers and peasants into organs of popular power (block committees, workers councils, peasant leagues, action committees), the formation of armed popular militias which would face the capitalist army and police a decide the question of which class rule in Chile. And the indispensable instru ment for the realisation of this Lenine strategy is a revolutionary party.

#### WE DETVAND PICKET LINE FEDERAL ACTION TO PREVENT

### **Builders Labourers**

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

Elections are presently being held for official positions in the New South Wales branch of the Builders' Labourers Federation. The elections are being contested by two groups both claiming o be left wing.

One of the groups consists of supporters of the present State leadership of the BLF which is centred around secretary Jack Mundey and president Bob Pringle.

Under the leadership of Mundey and Pringle, the BLF has taken a firm stand in defence of the rights of its members in industrial disputes and has used the power of the union to support people struggling against some of the most obviously oppressive aspects of capitalist society. The BLF's policy of imposing green bans on building projects which threaten to despoil park lands or needlessly destroy large numbers of houses, is well known. Mundey and Pringle have both given their support to the struggles of the Aborigines to overcome the heritage of almost two hundred years of racist genocide, and recently the BLF refused to allow any construction work to continue at Macquarie University until one of the university colleges lifted the ban which it had imposed on a student because of the fact that he was a homosexual.

The Mundey-Pringle leadership has taken a militant stand in defence of the charges, the meeting overwhelmingly rights of many people who are oppressed carried a motion of confidence in the limitations should be pointed out. The onsistent emphasis on workers' control as failed to raise the question of nationalisation. There is no guarantee for a long-lasting workers' control application without nationalisation. The BLF has failed to take up this demand on several occasions particular during the permanency dispute. Nevertheless, in recent years the BLF has been the most militant and intrantigent trade union in defence of the rights of the oppressed in this country.

At times its green bans have provoked llander campaigns from the press, but it has not buckled under such pressure.

Opposing the Mundey-Pringle leadership s a group of supporters of the Federal secretary of the union, Norm Gallagher. If Gallagher's supporters win control of the NSW branch they will have overcome the last stronghold of their opponents. The Gallagher supporters, led by John McNamara, have concentrated their campaign around charges of malpractice

Bob Pringle said of the McNamara group: group: "They have a hide raising charges of financial malpractice in view of the fact that three members of this group (including McNamara), stood down from the executive in 1967 when the union was \$13,000 in the red and had only 2500 members." He went on: "The positions were filled by Tom Hogan and myself. Now we are financially healthy and have 10,000 members, which represents 45 per cent of the national membership.'

The oppositionists have claimed that the union leadership has failed to inform he rank-and-file builders' laborers of he various bans imposed by the BLF. fringle denies this, he says that numerous mass meetings have been called to Bouss such questions. He goes on to add that the question of the bans was no longer the major one facing the membership of the BLF.

The BLF also has a policy of helping women to get work in the building ndustry and the oppositionists oppose

In both cases it seems that the opposition group is attempting to appeal to parochialism and prejudice in its campaign. The BLF policy of helping women to find work on building sites poses a challenge to the view of women as weak and inferior creatures which is promoted by the capitalist's servants in the press and the churches.



L to R. Mundey and Pringle

Faced with the allegations of the opposition, the Mundey-Pringle leadership called a mass meeting of rankand-file union members on Monday September 24. After discussion of the past actions and present policies of the leadership. The method used by the BLF leadership in dealing with such charges highlights their role as popular leaders of what is at the present time the most democratically-run union in the country.

#### Commonwealth Fight Job Threat

Australian Government workers in different parts of the country have responded strongly to the Labor Government's threat to lay off workers in defence establishments, following the defence cuts foreshadowed in the Budget.

The daily press has been distorting the aims of the workers by painting them as opposing the defence cuts. Quite the reverse. On every occasion, Federal workers have overwhelmingly endorsed the principle of reducing expenditure on armaments in favor of new civil work programmes for the public sector. But they want to keep their job. In fact, they want to extend public enterprise into areas now monopolised by the private

This has been made clear in two recent mass protests against the job threat. Melbourne, on September 18, a big meeting in the Festival Hall, (possibly 5000 strong), overwhelmingly passed a motion which read in part: "While welcoming the reallocation of military spending into areas of education, health and social welfare which have been sadly neglected for the past 23 years, the rally expresses concern that no consideration was given to providing Com monwealth workers with alternative wor

"We determine that:
1. Common yealth workers will not accept the dismissals.

2. Commonwealth shop stewards and our union officials should continue to neet to review the situation . Regular reports be made to mass

meetings at all establishments and that a further stop-work meeting be immedlately called if any dismissals are threatened.

4. Further, we suggest that workers at all industry. all establishments contribute to a fighting fund to finance the campaign to save The NSW Industrial Commission had all jobs and Commonwealth establishments."

representative who wanted to call for defence cuts to be reversed,

oped a strong system of shop stewards over the years. These have played a big action. The output of electricity was role in building the campaign. They effectively lobbied the Australian Council of Trade Unions and Federal Labor Parliamentarians in the course of their campaign. The pressure from the ranks was so great that Bob Hawke, the ACTU president, and Harold Souter, its secretary, competed with one another to appear to be more concerned with the their case.

The result of the lobbying was the acceptance of a postponement of the job cuts by the Defence Minister, Lance Barnard, while a committee was set up to "investigate alternative work programmes". It is rather late, however, for the Labor Government to begin investigating, after the cuts had been announced,

The Federal workers will have to be wary of losing ground through this "investigation". They have already found out that united, militant strength can win victories, where reliance on ACTU leaderships wins nothing.

The struggle of the Cockatoo Island naval dockyard workers in Sydney produced a similar lesson. The 1000 workers who met on September 5, demanded an end to the job cuts. While supporting the defence cutbacks, they called on the Labor Government to use the docks for civilian ship repairs.

But the campaign will have to be maintained at full pitch. Only an adequate political strategy can achieve this. The lack of such a strategy was demonstrated in two ways at the September 18 Melbourne meeting. A speaker from the floor suggested that the campaign against the job cuts should include the fight for a 35-hour week. The reply from the organisers was that no-one had given the question any consideration They didn't seem likely to either. Again, a suggestion was made for a mass demonstration from the meeting to the Australian government offices in the city. Such a demonstration could have been the largest in Melbourne since the Clarrie O'Shea struggle of 1969. But the organisers did not push the matter, and it was allowed to lapse.

In both cases, the lack of a strategy and a perspective of militant struggle were shown. But the Federal workers have clearly proved that they are willing to fight if the openings are made,

#### 35-Hour Week Fight By NSW Power Workers

The campaign by NSW power workers for 35-hour week has reached a new stage. The power workers whose case has been before the NSW Industrial Commission for well over a year have decided to take some serious action in order to achieve their objectives.

The case of the electricity workers has been watched closely by many unionists The current strategy of the Labor Council of NSW (and the ACTU) calls for this shorter working week to be first achieved by selected industries. The council

strategy calls for the 35-hour week to be achieved by those workers whose industry show the highest growth in productivity. The power industry is just such an

already ruled against the power workers once before. The current case dragged on for a long time. It even had a birth The meeting totally ignored a right-wing day cake presented to all those involved on the occasion of the first anniversary of the case. Earlier this year, around the middle of June, the workers Federal Government workers have devel- employed by the State Electricity Commission of NSW took some industrial marginally reduced.

> On that occasion the NSW Government adopted scare tactics. It attempted to divide the working class. It tried to do so by putting unwarrented and severe restrictions on the use of electricity. That move backfired, however, as even employers opposed the nonsensical effort which led to so many workers being laid off.

Now, the SEC workers have decided to take action once again. This time their campaign is run more on a rank-andfile basis. 51 union delegates to the States Labor Council's 35-hour week committee resolved on September 20 to progressively reduce output of electricity until all State electricity workers are granted a 35-hour week.

The action unquestionably reflecs rankand-file dissatisfaction with the way the Labor Council was handling the dispute. As was to be expected, the commission ruled against the workers. Similarly the Government has launched a campaign of intimidation, a campaign including

### Conference

The conference will be held on October 5 & 7, 9 am to 4.30 pm

Trades Hall Council Chamber, corner Lygon and Victoria Streets, South Carlton,

THE AIMS OF THE CONFERENCE To bring together workers, especially migrants, to discuss in their own language -

1. The problems of migrants workers and their views on wages, conditions, strikes, and on measures to enable them to participate iffectively and fully in the affairs of their unions and job organisations.

2. To develop mass consciousness of the migrant workers' position in the working class and the Australian society.

3. The building and consolidation of the fighting unity of all workers, against the common enemy, the monopolies.

4. To call on the trade unions to act on such proposals as -

Establishment of Migrant Workers' dvisory Councils to work with union leaderships at all levels.

b) Establishment of a trade union nigrant centre.

c) More extensive use of the migrants' own languages on the job, in union offices and in union publications. d) English to be taught on the job, in orking hours and without loss of pay. e) Regular trade union schools and lasses for migrant workers.

f) Establishment of direct working elations with the trade unions of the igrants' country of origin,

Recognition of migrants' bona fide An acceptable immigration policy.



Mao, Lin and Choo

### 10th Chinese Party Congress

INTRODUCTION BY JIM McILROY

The case of Lin Piao has been a significant event in recent Chinese history. His demise and fall from favor was the culminating event of the post-Cultural Revolution consolidation in China, the return to bureaucratic "normality". Whatever the truth of his alleged coun attempt, one thing is clear. His removal facilitates the strengthening of the Mao Tse-tung/ Chou En-lai faction in the Chinese Communist Party with the elimination of an apparent "left" faction around Lin and within the People's Liberation Army. In the light of this it is necessary to regard any official Maoist account of "Lin's plot" and his subsequent death very sceptically, as the following article by Les Evans shows.

The fall of Lin Piao has created conster-The Maoists in Australia and elsewhere have had further fuel added to their internal ideological crisis by these events. How can "Mao's faithful comrade-in-arms" of 1969 become a traitor, renegade and "fascist" in 1973? Why was there no discussion, no open debate on the matter inside China? Is this really socialism? Is it workers' democracy? Is not the bureaucracy, which was capable of carrying out despicable acts in fereign policy (Bangladesh 1971, Ceylon 1971, Vietnam 1972), equally guilty of suppression of all political opposition and of all democracy?

To Maoists who took Mao's rhetoric during the Cultural Revolution as the real thing these recent revelations must come as a shock. Many of them will be further influenced to rethink their attitude to the Maoist leadership in China, to analyse its roots in its Stalinist heritage, and come to correct conclusions about the need to overthrow this regime and replace it with true workers" democracy, and with an internationalist foreign policy.

Despite the dubious nature of Wilfred Burchett's "massive dossier" as a correct account of eyents in China, the Communist Party of Australia's paper Tribune fails to express any reservations or doubts about it at all, "Its authenticity is assured" says the September 4 Tribune, This is later clarified in answer to a letter to the September 25 Tribune. correctly criticising the previous account, by the editorial statement that what was really meant was that Burchett's account was "authentic (i.e. a reliable summary) because of his long-standing acquaintance with leaders such as Chou En-lai. Whether the document itself is accurate is another matter, on which we have no knowledge."

No reservations, no attempt to analyse the situation in China or offer a different interpretation of the alleged events described by Burchett: Hasn't Tribune got any views on the power struggle in

Elsewhere in the September 11 Tribune the of the bureaucracy that they enjoyed the Chinese CP Congress Results are given through a verbatim quote from the ficial Hsinhua newsagency press release, The communique called upon all member addition of a few younger members to "put the task of criticising Lin Piao

and rectifying style of work above all others." Other Stalinist epithets such as "the Lin Piao anti-party clique" are quoted by Tribune without the slightest attempt by Tribune to comment, let alone criticise.

Tribune's totally uncritical attitude to the propagandist outpourings of the Chinese bureaucracy are a further reflection of the turn by the CPA back towards "the international communist movement". (i.e. world Stalinism). The failure of Tribune to express one iota of criticism of the Chinese Stalinists shows their true priorities and ambitions in this regard.

The official communique describes the Communist Party, held in Peking on August 24-28, as "a congress of unity, a congress of victory and a congress full of vigour," It is understandable that a party that has gone through two major plits and purges within its topmost leadership in less than seven years would want to convey such an impression of well-being. What lies beneath the surface is undoubtedly more complex.

The congress, only the third since 1945,

was perhaps the shortest in the pary's history. Held behind closed doors and without advance notice, its deliberations were confined to an extraordinarily small two-item agenda; a brief political report by Premier Chou En-lai, which was primarily devoted to reviling former Defence Minister Lin Piao, hero of the previous congress of 1969; and a revision of the party's constitution presented by a relative newcomer to the leadership, Shanghai "model worker" Wang Hungwen. A new central committee, political bureau, and political bureau standing committee were elected,

The congress had several limited and specific purposes. These did not include any discussion of national economic policies. Chou's comments on this question were limited to four sentences: 'Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements in culture, education, public health, science and technology," (Hsinhua, September 1 despatch). The very generality of the claims suggested their ritual character,

The real business of the congress con-

sisted of the public and official posthumous expulsion of Lin Piao, and his surviving supporters, from the party; the declaration of an anathema against the young radicals who took Mao's demagogic pronouncements against bureaucracy during the Cultural Revolution for good coin and tried to implement them; the reassuring of the secondary echelons support and protection of the top leadership; and the organisational preparation for the eventual death of Mao by the nembers of the Chinese Communist Party the party's leading bodies - "successors" to the aging leadership.

#### The Indictment of Lin Piao

Chou's enumeration of the charges against Mao's former "close comrade-in-arms" followed the usual Stalinist technique of

"Lin Piao and his handful of sworn followers were a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique.... The essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they they pursued and the criminal aim of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat they launched were to usurp the supreme power of the party and the state, thoroughly betray the line of the uinth congress, radically change the party's basic line and policies for the entire istorical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and bourgeois classes, which our party, army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionsm and reaction to oppose China, Comnunism and revolution." (Hsinhua, September 1).

Without some genuine evidence - not supplied by Chou or the Chinese press it is, of course, impossible to know whether Lin actually plotted a coup against Mao in September 1971. It is noteworthy that none of the survivors of the alleged attempt were permitted to appeal their expulsion to the tenth party congress. Nor has there been a public trial, even a frame-up show trial of the type staged by Stalin in Moscow in the 1930s, in which some attempt to present the Government's case could be made.

Lin's record, going back to the 1920s, is that of a military commander and Stalinist official. The claim that he sought to institute a "feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship" is not only politically absurd but highly damaging to the CCP leadership itself. Lin, after all, joined the party in 1925. He was one of the leading Stalinist generals during the Kiangsi Soviet period. He participated in the Long March. And he was the chief commander of the Maoist forces in the decisive battles in Manchuria in 1947-48 that smashed Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang army and led to the Maoist victory in 1949.

This is not to mention Mao's appearances at Lin's side during the Cultural Revolution, the chairman's adulatory praise for his "close comrade-in-arms," and the inclusion of Lin's title to the succession in the party constitution adopted at the ninth congress in April 1969.

Chou was aware that his listeners were all too familiar with this record. This led him to seek to obliterate Lin's accomplishments from the very beginning:

"Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist, con-

spirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our party not just for one decade but for several decades." His proof was to dredge up a long-forgotten criticism of Lin by Mao in January 1930 - when Lin was twenty-three year old! The full import of this kind of reasoning is difficult to grasp at one shot,

The Maoists claim that China is a social ist society. They insist that their party consciously and carefully selects cadres on the basis of the clearest and most revolutionary programme in the world. This is not true, of course: The CCP is a Stalinist party run on bureaucraticcentralist rather than Leninist democrat centralist lines. But imagine the impac even in a bourgeois party of an announce ment that, for example, Winston Churchill was really an agent of Hitler who, after defeating Hitler on the battlefield sought to assassinate King George VI in collaboration with the house of Hapsburg

Chou's explanation of Lin Piao's programme and motives is the crudest kind of conspiracy theory of history, to be swallowed only by those gullible enough to believe anything,

#### Burchett's Inside Dope

It is two years since Lin allegedly died in a plane crash in Mongolia while trying to flee to the Soviet Union. It has taken the Maoist hierarchy that long to come up with what it evidently considers to be a convincing explanation of the events surrounding Lin's downfall,

It should be remembered that the first public announcement of Lin's death did not come until July 1972, and then it was made to the world press through the Chinese embassy in Algiers and was not published inside China, Chou's report is the first presented to the Chinese people that attacks Lin by name. (For the last year, however, the Chinese pre has carried articles repudiating the policies of "Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers, " a code word for Lin Piao.)

The Western press has again been private leged to receive a major "leak" in advance of the Chinese people, divert attention from the political qu tions raised by the top-level purge of Lis and the many high-ranking military officials who disappeared with him, lurid account of Lin's plot has been peddled to various publications by veteran Maoist camp-follower Wilfred Burchett. It appeared in full in the August 20 Far Eastern Economic Review and in the New York Maoist weekly Guardian. A shorter version was published by the New York Times.

Datelined Peking, this semi-official document purports to contain all the inside dope, even including a dig at Lin's "rather sinister-looking wife who with her down-slanting eyebrows, like a villain from Chinese classical opera," Burchett bases his account, says, on a "massive dossier on Lin Piao waverings, ambitions and feudal-type plotting" that is evidently circulating a select clientele inside China, althou

has not been published in any public orm. The dossier, Burchett writes, thatters the image of Lin Piao created himself and his closest followers,"

This category is evidently not supposed to include Mao, although the chairman imself gave the boost to Lin's fortunes during the Cultural Revolution and has yet to utter a word of public criticism of his former personally selected heir.

Mso is gotten off the hook by virtue of letter he is supposed to have written in July 1966 to his wife, Chiang Ching a principal leader with Lin and Chen Poto of the Cultural Revolution - expressing vague distrust of Lin ("Certain of his ideas greatly disturb me..."). Mao nevertheless was responsible for the 1969 change in the party constitution making Lin his official heir. The breach is upposed to have come at the second central committee plenum of the ninth central committee in August 1970, which which rejected Lin's proposal that he fill the vacant post of head of state formerly held by Liu Shao-chi. As Burchett puts it, "Lin turned into a classical, feudal-type conspirator from that moment on,"

From that moment, indeed, the tale begins to resemble the script of a James Bond Film, with Lin cast as the notorious evil-doer. It seems that a coup was to be staged on the night of September 12, 1971, preceded by the assassination of Mao. Trusted subordinates were engaged to blow up Mao's train on a trip from Shanghai to Peking. Luckily for Mao, the wife of the soldier entrusted with pushing the button was a doctor. "She gave him an injection which produced a temporary severe blurring of his eyesight at a moment when hair-breadth co-ordination of eye and hand was decisive. So he did not touch off the explosion. And his wife informed her party branch committee".

Two other attempts the same night were similarly thwarted. Lin, meanwhile, knowing the jig was up and that he would soon be traced, decided to flee to Russia.

With a few close associates, Lin drove to Peitaho airport east of Peking. Chou En-lai had issued an order that no planes could take off without signed authorisation from himself and Lin Piao. Lin bluffed his way past this obstacle, But just as his plane was taxiing for takeoff "a suspicious member of the fuelling crew parked a huge fuel truck squarely across the runway." Why an ordinary member of a fuelling crew would become "suspicious" of the comings and goings of his country's Defence Minister - after the plane had been cleared for takeoff by the airport officials - and then risk killing Mao's designated heir on the basis of his suspicions is not explained.

Lin's plane, having used up too much fuel evading the blockade, ran out of gas before it reached its destination in Mongolia and crashed, killing all aboard (except for several passengers who Burchett darkly hints were shot en route in a "gunfight").

Burchett concludes with presumably unintentional irony:

"In any case, it is one more extraordinary episode in the drama of the Chinese

revolution, not to mention another of those triumphs which Mao Tse-tung continues to bring off against all odds."

#### Why the Purge of Lin?

Until there is some independent confirmation, it would seem only wise to treat with considerable scepticism the claim that Lin sought Mao's death. One of the central aims of the Cultural Revolution was the replacement of the political bureau, led by Liu Shao-chi, with the personal regime of Mao, in the pattern of Stalin's consolidation of his personal dictatorship through the purges of the late 1930s. Lin Piao served as an instrument in the elimination of the Liu

Burchett's tale of the fuel-crew technician, if there is any truth to it at all, suggests a different interpretation from the one the regime chooses to place on it. It is understandable that Lin, discovering himself slated for elimination, might attempt to flee. Who but a member of the secret police under explicit orders would threaten the lives of high government officials by risking the destruction of their plane in the way described? And isn't "died trying to escape" the classic formula forsilencing an embarrassing prisoner?

From the standpoint of method there are other indications that more remains to be told, both about the fate of Lin Piao and about the underlying considerations of the tenth party congress. Lin, after all, was Mao's designated heir. Even if he had been denied the post of head of state, he had only to wait for Mao's death to assume the leadership of the party. What concrete policy differences did he hold that brought him into conflict with Mao and Chou and made him so impatient? This is a murky area. Unlike Liu Shaochi, whose distinct policies can be gauged by the actions of Peking in the years 1959-66, Lin was intimately associated with Mao's name until his disappearance.

Obviously the predominance of the People's Liberation Army in the provincial revolutionary committees was a major factor, although an organisational one. But this near hegemony has been only slightly reduced by the purge of Lin's followers. Military figures such as Yeh Chien-ying, de facto Defence Minister, and Li Teh-sheng, por the army, are prominently represented in the newly elected all-powerful standing committee of the politbureau.

More specific charges (without mentioning Lin by name) were made in the August 1972 issue of the CCP's theoretical journal Red Flag, which accused Lin (referred to by the code words "Liu Shaochi and other swindlers") of fostering "ultrademocracy, disregard of organisational discipline, absolute egalitarianism, individualism, and 'small-group' mentality." He has also been charged with opposing the elevation of the Soviet Union to the status of public enemy number one, insisting instead on equal billing for the Kremlin and American imperialism. He was said to have opposed, as a corollary, the detente with Nixon ("Chairman Mao's revolutionary diplomatic line") at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution,

The truth of these charges is difficult to evaluate. By associating these "sins" with Lin's name, the party leadership can declare them to be heresies without inviting embarrassing comparisons with many of Mao's promises and appeals during the Cultural Revolution. The campaign against "ultra-leftism" has been energetically pursued in the Chinese press since Lin's fall. It is certainly convenient to link the deceased "traitor" with the more immediate opponents of the the party's monolithism among the intellectuals and the students who are still being deported to remore areas of the countryside.

The tenth congress thus marked a definitive break from the anti-bureaucratic verbiage of the ninth congress. This was signified not only by the choice of epithets hurled at the corpse of Lin Piao, but by the expulsion of Mao's long-time

Piao and the relatively small policy shift indicated above. In the fight with Liu Shao-chi, many of Liu's supporters were purged from the leadership and from the party. Clearly, many officials who had worked under Lin and Chen feared similar reprisals. The need to ensure stability - primarily to prevent the masses from intervening in the intrabureaucratic dispute as they had done to some extent in 1966-68 - was predominant in the staging of the tenth party

The Need for

This was one of the reasons for the much publicised rehabilitation of a number of high "Liuist" officials at the congress. Thus Teng Hsiao-ping, one-time party



personal secretary Chen Po-ta, a guiding light of the "leftist" phase of the Cultural Revolution. In defiance of all the known facts, the recent congress denounced Chen as, among other things, a "Trotskyite", despite his long literary career as a sycophant of Stalin and Stalinism.

These charges are not really aimed at either Lin or Chen, or any other sector of the bureaucracy. They are meant to outlaw the more radical of the Red Guard groups and their sympathisers, an action organisationally symbolised by the recent resurrection, under firm party control, of the moribund Young Communist League.

The attacks on "ultra-leftism" have had another target as well, however, and this is what has made the lower echelons of the bureaucracy " 'asy and in need of reassurance. In addition to the genuine radicals and "egalitarians" who have received a drubbing, the Maoist high command has had to make a small but significant retreat from certain of its super-centralising projects of the Cultural Revolution projects it now brands as "ultraleft" and blames on Lin Piao and Chen

One of Mao's intentions in opposing the "material incentives" favored by Liu Shao-Chi was to hold down wages in general (he was never opposed to a large spread in the wages paid, granting the bureaucracy a font of special priveleges).

The Chinese press for some years has called on the masses to practise "plain living" and "frugality". Nevertheless, under the impact of bad weather from 1971 onward, the regime was forced to raise the rice for industrial crops and to advocate equal pay for women farmworkers in order to win their contributions to the labor force.

Furthermore, a retreat was made in efforts to centralise decision-making at the commune rather than village level, This was a pet Maoist project initiated in 1958 during the Great Leap Forward. During the retreat under Liu Shao-chi from 1959 onward, the communes, while existing in name and performing some functions, yielded most of their decisionmaking power on wages and the disposal of the crops to the village-centred production teams.

In the Cultural Revolution a less ambitious effort was made to return to the commune-centralised administration of the Great Leap period. This was not particularly successful and was abandoned after the drought hit in 1971. Party cadres who continued to follow the previous line came under attack as "ultraleftists", although in reality they were the opposite: super-Stalinist centralisers.

Mao and Chou sought to limit as much as possible the dislocations arising within the bureaucracy from the dumping of Lin

secretary-general, was re-elected to the central committee after being dropped in 1969, as was Ulanfu, former political boss of Inner Mongolia. In fact, no fewer than thirteen members of the committee dropped in 1969 were restored in 1973.

The returnees, however, like those who survived the 1969 purge, are part of the aging and ossified old guard of Chinese Stalinism. The required image of stability could not be maintained without some show of preparation for a transition in leadership on the death of Mao and Chou. This was a major concern of the tenth party congress. Unfortunately for Mao, such a transition is incompatible with the supercentralised that can tolerate no independent claimants to leadership.

Thus, for example, when it came to electing the standing committee of the politburo, the two new figures who had won some notice in the course of the Cultural Revolution and survived the Lin-Chen purge, were passed over: Chiang Ching and the prominent Shanghai journalist Yao Wenyuan (the only member of the outgoing politburo under fifty years old) failed to secure reelection. The most likely explanation is that they were too closely associated in the popular mind with the "leftist errors" of the Cultural Revolution.

The solution hit on by the bureaucratic tops was the inclusion in the leading bodies of several young apparatchiks who had distinguished themselves on the organisational plane in recent years. The most prominent of these is Wang Hung-wen, a "model worker" from Shanghai, who was given the honor of presenting the report on the constitution and of being photographed on the podium next to Mao and Chou. It remains to be seen if this method of creating "leaders" will provide any future for Chinese Stalinism when the old guard is gone,

With the exception of Wang Hung-wen, who is thirty-six, and Li Teh-sheng, who is in his late fifties, the rest of the standing committee is not exactly notable for its youthfulness or for its provision for "revolutionary successors." It includes Mao (79), Yeh Chien-ying (73), Chu Teh (86), Chang Chun-chiao (60), Chou En-lai (74), Kang Sheng (69), and Tung Pi-wu (86).

On the foreign-policy front, the congress reaffirmed the class-collaborationist course pursued by Peking in the past: continued detente with Washington; attempts to organise a bloc of the smaller workers' states and capitalist powers, especially in the under-developed world, against the "super-powers" (the US and the USSR); and the singling out of the Soviet Union as China's principal enemy. The voice of proletarian internationalism did not get the floor at the tenth congress of the Chinese



Photograph and caption courtesy of China Pictorial



### New Cambodia Bombing Threat

On August 15, the US bombing of Cambodia came to a "halt" in line with legislative amendment approved by Congress on June 30. Intensive bombing of Cambodia continued right up to the last minute, indicating Nixon's reluctance to acquiesce in the decision.

The bombing halt marked the end of 160 consecutive days of bombing during which more than 240, 000 tons of bombs were dropped. Between January 28 and August 11, some 35, 410 sorties were flown, at a cost of \$U\$422.8 million, according to the Pentagon. During the last four and a half years, just over half a million tons of bombs were dropped on Cambodia, including those dropped during the secret bombing campaign of 1969-70.

The end of the bombing leaves the crumbling Lon Nol regime dependent on its 250,000 - strong army and its small air force. According to an Associated Press dispatch in the August 15 New York Times, "well-informed sources" in Saigon claim that the Thieu regime recently flew several thousand soldiers of Cambodian descent to Pnom Penh. It is unlikely that this will ribute much to saving Lon Nol.

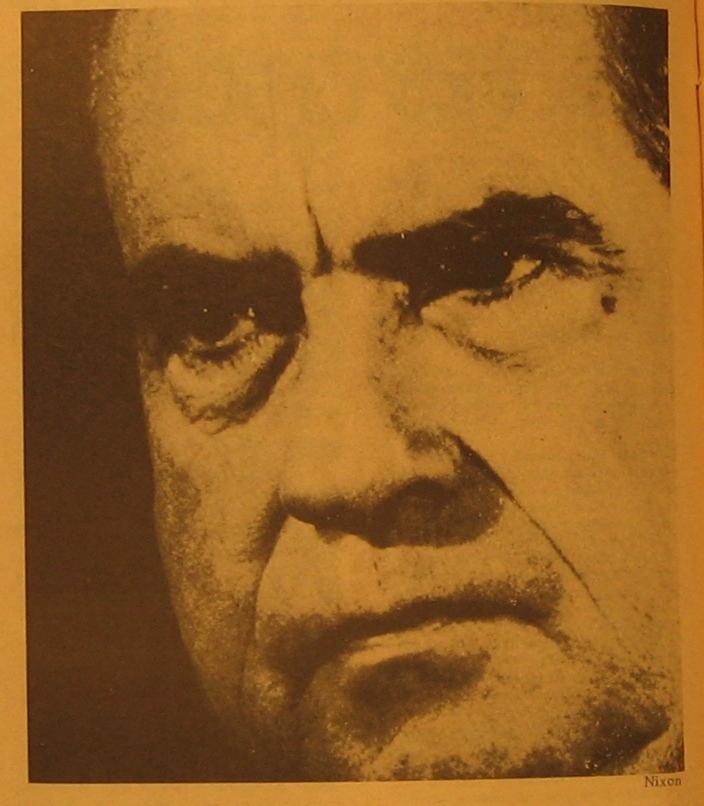
Despite the bombing halt, up to 400 fighter-bombers and 175 B-52s will remain on call in Thailand, on Guam, and aboard carriers, prepared to resume raids "if Congress authorises them." Defence Department "guidance" sent to US field commanders allows military assistance and "humanitarian" air operations to continue in Laos and Cambodia, including "non-combat flights" to deliver military assistance: and "humanitarian supplies" to territory controlled by "the duly constituted governments of Laos and Cambodia,'

"Unarmed reconnaissance flights for the purpose of gathering intelligence" will be permitted over Laos and

In a statement issued on August 15, Nixon reiterated his denunciation of Congress, already expressed in an August 3 letter to congressional leaders, for forcing the bombing cut-off: "...by its action Congress has eliminated an important incentive for a negotiated settlement in Cambodia and weakened the security of Cambodia's neighbors in South East Asia and has eroded the structure of peace in Indo-China laid down in the (Paris cease-fire) agreements of January 27. " Nixon accused Congress of undermining "the prospects of world peace by raising doubts in the minds of both friends and adversaries concerning the resolve and capacity of the United States to stand by international agreements when they are violated by other

Nixon's statement contained a strong warning to the North Vietnamese leaders against extending aid to the Cambodian rebels. He said he would take "appropriate action" to deal with and to the "settlements reached after so much sacrifice by so many for so

Nixon's stress on the "North Vietnamese threat" and Congress's alleged "abandonment of a friend" was repeated by Cambodian ambassador Um Sim at a Washington press conference on August 21, where he stated that the Lon Nol regime would request the resumption of combat aid if Hanoi should increase its direct involvement in the Cambodian war. Thus the stage is clearly set



for the resumption of full-scale US bombing of Cambodia should the liberation forces, who already control more than 80 per cent of Cambodia, move to deal a final blow to the Lon Nol regime.

On August 16, in reply to questions raised by the Senate Armed Services Committee, Deputy Secretary of Defence William Clements Ir explained how the Saigon regime could help Pnom Penh offset the effects of the bombing halt by the use of Saigon's US supplied military equipment: If such equipment were openly used in support of the Lon Nol regime, this would be a violation of US law and Washington could not replace any material destroyed or used up, But if Saigon merely "defends" itself inside Cambodia against North Vietnamese "sanctuaries" allegedly threatening Saigon, use of US supplied equipment would be "legal" (and the equipment replaceable).

In a letter to Senator Symington dated August 14, Clements explored the question of whether Saigon would be regarded in violation of US law if it directly helped out Pnom Penh knowing that expended material would not be replaced. He concluded that it would not, and that in any case Saigon could claim it was using equipment supplied before 1971 when the relevant law was enacted.

The hearings of the Senate Armed Services Committee have produced further revelations about the secret bombing of Cambodia carried out by Nixon in 1969-70. A top secret Pentazon memorandum, dated November 20 1969, was released to the committee or August 9. It specifically approved falsified reporting of the secret B-52 raids

in 1969, and was written by General Wheeler, then Cairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; it was personally initfated by then Defence Secretary Melvin Laird, Both Wheeler and Laird originally denied all knowledge of any falsified reports. The documents provided for B-52 strikes against clandestine targets inside Cambodia, with other B-52s attacking normally assigned targets in South Vietnam and Laos, "Strikes on these latter targets," the memorandum said, "will provide a resemblance to normal operations, thereby providing a credible story for replies to press inquir-

A total of 3630 B-52 sorties were secretly made over Cambodia between March 1969 and May 1970, and more than 100,000 tons of bombs were dropped, 1967 Pentagon memorandum released to the committee authorised similar cover strikes in Laos.

At an August 10 news conference, Laird explained that he had not sanctioned "the falsification of any Air Force, , " Navy or Defence Department records, but had merely authorised "a separate reporting procedure" for the bombing

This "reasoning" was repeated by Nixon in an August 20 speech to the national convention of the right-wing Veterans of Foreign Wars, He acknowledged publi for the first time that he had approved the secret bombing raids in Cambodia, and justified them as having been necessary to protect American lives. He added that if he were faced with the same situation again, he would make the same decision.

### Soviet Dissidents in Frame~up Trials

Another campaign against the democratic osition movement in the USSR is er way. The frame-up trial in August of Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin, wo prominent dissidents was followed by their staged confession at the Moscow Journalists' Club which was broadcast on Soviet state television.

In this press conference, Yakir and Krasin dmitted to having carried out subversive ctivity against the Soviet State. However, just before he was arrested in lune 1972, Yakir had declared: "If they beat me, I will say anything. I know that from may former experience in camps. But you will know that it will not be the real me speaking,"

Yakir's "recantation" had prompted thirty-two correspondents from thirteen countries to appeal jointly to the Soviet Foreign Ministry for the right to attend and observe the trials. This request was ignored and the trial remained completely closed, the only reports of the proceedings being those issued by the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press department and by the Soviet newsagency TASS. This makes it obvious that the Soviet bureaucrats feared the repudiation of the confessions if outside observers were idmitted.

In 1937 Yakir was imprisoned, at the age of fourteen, his crime being that he was the son of an "enemy of the people", Iona Yakir, one of the top Red Army generals whom Stalin executed for illegedly serving Hitler, the Mikado and Trotsky. He was released under the ost-Stalin amnesty of 1954.

Since the Khrushchev era, he has coninually criticised the Kremlin for their retreat from "de-Stalinisation" - the re-introduction of psychiatric confinements of dissidents, confessions extracted by torture, threats to the lives and families of the dissidents etc. In 1969 he helped form the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR, s broad-ranging group organised to defend arrested dissidents.

months before coming to trial, Krasin was held for eleven months. Soviet law specifies a nine-month maximum for pre-trial confinement.

The trials were aimed at intimidating he entire democratic opposition, which s centred around The Chronicle of Current Events. For more than eighteen nonths the bureaucracy has been arresting, threatening and harassing leading ectivists in the numerous opposition

Yakir and Krasin were tried under Article 70 of the Russian criminal code which covers "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Both have been sentenced to three years prison and three years exile. Their alleged confessions present the defendents as leaders in a foreigninspired, anti-Soviet conspiratorial and subversive organisation.

Krasin and Yakir admitted to having ties with such anti-Communist foreign organi- Minister of Labor under the military sations as NTS (Narodno-Trudovoi-Soyuz, Popular Labor Alliance), thought to be based in Frankfurt, Germany. But the total content of the "confessions the probable results of months of interrogation and torture, only amounted to the statement that Yakir had had contact with the NTS, but didn't necessarily support its views, and that he had received some literature and that this included some discussion of Russia.

If the opposition were able to publish their writings other than by the laboriou method of typing out carbon copies then they would not be forced to rely on loreign printing presses.

The confessions of Yakir and Krasin are sald to implicate Andrei Sakharov physicist who played a major role in the development of the Soviet H-bomb, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Nobel Prize winning novelist. Both have openly criticised the bureaucracy's repression despite continual threats made to their lives and those of their families. Sakharov was instrumental in the establishment of the Moscow Human rights committee formed in January 1972 when the repression of dissidents was stepped up. He has also been concerned by the East-West detente.



Krasin and Yakir at Moscow Journalists Club

democratic opposition. Andrei Amalrik, the historian, and Pyotr Grigorenko have ocen re-sentenced to serve second, vison terms. Zhores Medvedev, a biologist has been sent into involuntary exile. Since January 1973 many arrests have been made in the Ukraine aimed at silencing the opposition there to the Russification of universities. Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov have been critising these repressive actions of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The August 18 Tribune in reporting these events in the Soviet Union declares: "It is hard to see why the current crackdown has been instituted, The present Soviet leaders having attained Russia and Eastern Europe that expose a number of successes of foreign policy, possibly feel more confident to take

action against internal opposition."

However, it is more likely the fact that much of the opposition has arisen in protest to the so-called "successes" in foreign policy. Sakharov warned at a Moscow press conference last month that rapprochement without democratisation is very dangerous. It might lead to very grave consequences inside the country and contamination of the whole world with an anti-democratic character."

For the bureaucrats of the Soviet Union no compromise with democracy is possible inside or outside Russia: their whole power and privileges would be imperilled. They must silence any attempt to expose their undemocratic, repressive rule over Russian society and their crimes against the world proletariat, especially the revolutionary movements of the Third World in their policy of peaceful co-existence with the capitalist

The repression is not aimed at preventing the dissemination of information about Western society which the bourgeois press claims would be a serious threat to the Soviet and its ideals. On the contrary the Soviet press fails to propagate the image of the decadence and oppression of the West. Watergate, the supreme example of the bankruptcy of the capitalist system and of the inability of capitalism to stick to its own rules received only scanty coverage.

What the bureaucrats are afraid of is not more information on the virtues of free enterprise but the growth and spread of the democratic movement within the Kremlin's crimes and this movement's links with left-wing supporters elsewhere.

### Argentine Workers Occupy Factory

BY MIKE JONES

KGB, or by it."

More than 1000 workers staged a fourday occupation of the Concord Fiat 21-24. The occupation began when the factory management refused to pay the workers. It quickly developed into a struggle between the workers and the trade-union bureaucracy.

Fearing reprisals by the authorities,

Solzhenitsyn stated: "If I am declared

killed or suddenly mysteriously dead,

been killed with the approval of the

Coinciding with the trial of Yakir and

itsyn. Scientists, writers, musicians,

workers and farmers, with an obvious

against the dissidents, including such

poken critics of state repression in the

The trials of Yakir and Krasin are only

part of a new attempt to repress the

people as Sholokhov, who were out-

lack of spontaneity have come out

conducted against Sakharov and Solzhen-

Krasin was a massive press campaign

then the world can conclude that I have

Cordoba, the third largest and most heavily industrialised city in Argentin has been a focus of radical activity since 1969 when the factories exploded in a two-day occupation of the city by the workers, a confrontation with the cops and finally with the army. The workers in the Fiat factories were the leaders of that action (known as the Cordobazo) and many others since. The factories have their own unions, the Sindicato de Trabajadores de Concord (Sitrac - Concord Workers' Union) and the Sindicato de Trabajadores de Materfer (Sitram) which are both controlled by anti-bureau cratic rank-and-file leaderships. The two unions have for some time been attempting to affiliate to the metalworkers' union known as Smata but the dictatorship, San Sebastian and the present Minister of Labor Otero have refused permission for them to do so. Both ministers told the workers that they had to affiliate to the heavily bureaucratised Union Obrera Metalurgica (UOM - Metalworkers' Union) which is controlled by the right-wing Peronist labor leader Rucci. The UOM has several times attempted to enforce this ruling by sending thugs to disrupt anti-bureaucratic meetings in the factories,

On August 21 a general meeting of the workers at Concord was called and a vote was passed to occupy the factory. Three key demands were made; immediate payment of salaries, recognition of the Provisional Commission (a rank-and-file body) and immediate affiliation to the Smata, and guarantees that there would not be any reprisals. The workers immediately occupied the factory, taking 80 hostages. Students and workers from other factories organised large demonstrations of solidarity as soon as the occupation began,

The following day (August 22) the cops cordoned off the factory and refused to allow anyone to enter. At 10,00 am, Jose Paez, the Workers' Front candidate

for the presidential elections and a longtime activist in Sitrac-Sitram, arrived at the factory. He was immediately "detained" by the cops and taken to the local gaol where he was kept incomfrom the nearby Perkins Fiat factory marched on Concord to declare their solidarity. The column was attacked by cops using tear gas.

August 22 was the first anniversary of the massacre of 16 young political prisoners who had attempted to escape from Rawson prison. The prisoners had been apprehended at Trelew airport and were taken from there to the local gaol.

They were later lined up outside their ells and shot. A demonstration of 1500 workers and students paying homage to the sixteen marched to the Concord factory where they were attacked by the cops. The size of the demonstration and the militancy of the workers caused the cops to retreat. Paez, who had recently been released, was greeted with wild applause by the demonstrators.

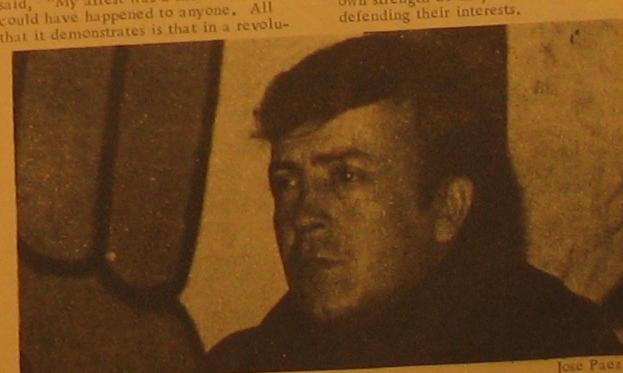
The next day 1000 workers once again broke the police cordon and marched to Concord, Afterwards, 8000 demonstrators assembled in the city to hear speakers from different political parties, Paez, speaking for the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST - Socialist Workers Party) and the Workers' Front, aid, "My arrest was a minor event. It ould have happened to anyone. All

(the PST - M.J.), a candidature is not a place in which to be comfortable, but one more position of struggle. It also shows that this Government (the Peronists - M.J.) also suppresses the labor movement and the left when it doesn't go about applying the brakes to the workers' struggle. This is what Peron, Balbin and Carcagno want.

"The important thing is that this struggle by Concord teaches us a big lesson: the left and working-class forces are capable of uniting (even though a few are missing), when it is a matter of fighting against the bosses. It is a crime that this unity in struggle is not also maintained in the political field. For example, in the coming elections the left is once again divided; and this is an asset for the regime. We have to break this disunity so as to come to an agreement and vote together."

On August 24 another general assembly of the Concord workers was called. The bosses backed down and promised to pay the workers and not to take reprisals while the provincial Government agreed to put pressure on the Minister of Labor to allow the workers to affiliate to Smata. The workers decided to end the occupa-

The Concord occupation taught the workers another lesson in revolutionary politics. Only by relying solely on their own strength do they have any hope of





Victims of US bombing

Portuguese Atrocities in Mozambique

BY PHIL JEANS

International actions have followed recent revelations about atrocities carried out against the people of Mozambique by Portuguese imperialism.

Reports of the atrocities have reached the world via Spanish priests and missionaries operating in Mozambique. The July 13 London Times published a "diary of events" compiled by Spanish priests. It mentioned that the White Fathers, a Roman Catholic body quite seperate in organisation and nationality from the Spanish missionaries, has a 400-page dossier of atrocities which claims that the known victims add up to several thousand,

The "diary of events" tells of reprisals by Portuguese troops following the execution of an African chief by FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) on April 27, 1971, and of subsequent killings and torture in 1971 and 1972.

According to the report, the Portuguese Army on May 4, 1971 rounded up African workers, torturing them and forcing them to confess their relationship with FRELIMO. One man was killed and two priests had to bury the body.

On May 7, 1971, soldiers and an agent of the Directorate-General of Security (DGS) heat, tortured and murdered fourteen African men, whose only crime had been to give corn and other food to FRELIMO guerrillas. The murdered men were from the villages of Catacha and Kapinga. The priests saw the graves and spoke to survivors including one man who had been forced to dig the graves. They reported:

Some twenty feet from the grave we found a human head with hardly any flesh on the bones, (and) ribs, legs and parts of hands. The man from the village said that some of their companions had not been shot to death but beaten, tortured and cut up. He showed us big sticks full of blood with which the victims must have been beaten." Empty Portuguese Army ration tins were found

The same day troops killed seven Africans in the nearby village of Mahanda, and another four in the village of Antonio on May 8.

The diary continues: "We wish to point out that the dead were African farm laborers, peaceful villagers. Among them was not a single guerrilla."



Details are given of tortures, beatings and murders that occurred in October 1971 in the villages of Guvansere, Kampemberumbe, Kariwi and Traquino (also known as Nyambidzo), which lie along the river Dack.

The report gives details of how the Rhodesian Army didn't want to miss the the pretext of chasing FRELIMO guerrillas who had entered Rhodesia and carried out actions, the Rhodesian Army swept through villages killing and torturing those they suspected. The priests took film of the burnt bodies left by the troops and forwarded it to the capital to be developed.

In November 1971, Portuguese comman-

dos burnt 50 huts in the area of Buxo and burnt alive sixteen women and children who had committed the unfortunate crime of "being there."

Further torturings and killings are reported for April and March 1972 and further action from the Rhodesians in April 1972. From the report it is clear that the priests and missionaries who teach the Africans to "turn the other cheek" have found it a difficult doctrine to enforce in practice.

Coinciding with Portuguese Premier Caetano's visit to London reports of a Portuguese "My Lai" appeared, where it is alleged that the Portuguese mass murdered the inhabitants of a village near Wiriyamu. It is thought that over 400 people were killed there and it was Portuguese troops behead captured African even alleged by a child who escaped, that the troops played football with some of the heads.

No doubt, the list of Portuguese crimes in Mozambique, and the other countries upon which they impose their brutal rule, such as Angola and Guinea-Bissau is endless. The activities of Caetano's fascist regime in his own country would he's ordered an investigation of the allegations to be carried out. In the pas this has been by the commander in chief of the armed forces in Mozambique!

Revelations about these attrocities has given rise to protest actions throughout the world and calls for the cutting of all economic and diplomatic ties with the Government of Portugal.

### Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa Interview With Black African Militant

Imbarashe Mumbengegwi Is a postiduate student at Monash University. le is from Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and is resident of the African Students Union of Victoria, as well as president of the African Australian Association at Monash. He is a member of ZANU Zimbabwe African National Union). He was an organiser of, and central peaker at, the demonstrations against he visit of the Portuguese trade mission eld in Melbourne on September 17 and 11. He is interviewed here for DIRECT CTION by Barry Simpson and Jim

While the views expressed do not ecessarily reflect those of DIRECT ACTION, the interview is published for the information of our readers. The interview has been edited for space reasons without the participation of Mumbengegivi.

DIRECT ACTION: Could you give some hich have grown up in Southern Africa, od where they have arisen from?

MUMBENGEGWI: In fact most of the iberation movements in Southern Africa started off in the fifties. They were all barned and reappeared in new forms,

But what is important about all these movements is that they all started as enstitutional and peaceful organisations using the standard tactics of mass demonstrations and civil disobedience committed to non-violence completely. But in the early sixties when most of Africa was becoming independent there was more and more pressure on the Portuguese, on the whites in South Africa, and in Rhodesia to surrender power to the

And as the demonstrations on the part of Africans became much more intense, nuch more intimidatory in terms of int, the white regimes in Southern Africa reacted with extreme ruthless-Sharpeville massacre,

there were even worse massacres. In Angola in 1962-63 up to 30-40 thousand Africans were massacred and at the time it did attract world attention, but then nothing much came out of it. And the same in Mozambique. Up to 10-15 thousand were massacred in 1962-63

med force. This is when we started to recruit young people and train them in the use of weapons and in fact prepare

limits to which they can go, especially considering that Frelimo and MPLA, are making massive gains, and there are indications that in fact the Portuguese are losing control. This alarmed the Smith regime and South Africa very much. This explains why the Rhodesians have been going to Mozambique and to Angola to fight, because they feel the Portuguese are about to give up. This is very important because if the Portuguese are defeated it will open a very wide front for the Zimbabwe guerrillas. Since December last year, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) has been very effective indeed, and about a third of the country in the North, Northeast and eastern areas of Zimbabwe. This has been possible because Frelimo is now virtually in control of the northern region, and this makes it easier for the Zimbabwe forces to operate.

DIRECT ACTION: Since the Labor Government has come in to power in Australia it has passed a number of resolutions that give support to the liberation movements in Southern Africa. To date very little has been seen of action from the Government. What prospects do you see coming out of the situation with the Government?

MUMBENGEGWI: Any action coming from Australia I would expect to come from the trade unions rather the Govern ment. The Government is full of good words, but very little good action.

This was illustrated in fact when they

were visited by the chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union, While he was allowed to see members of the Government at the highest level, the situation was made very clear. One of the ministers openly said to him: "We are very much in sympathy with your cause, we are very much in support of what you are doing, but here in Australia, in tangible terms, all we can do is to talk. But we can go no further than this for the simple reason that the Liberals would get back. Once the Liberals are back, you will not be back to square one, you will be back to square minus three because the Liberals will not even allow people like you to come "Don't push us too hard, you will on embarrass us and do yourselves no good either," So I do not expect anything to come from the Australian Government,

DIRECT ACTION: What sort of action would you support. Do you think things

revolutionaries in Africa and what sort of trade union action would you like to

MUMBENGEGWI: Definitely demonstrations are good in that the revolutionary forces are very, very sensitive to any sort of support which they get anywhere else in the world. When the Portuguese delegation is here for example, and these actions are taken it has a very morale-boosting effect and the Portuguese themselves know that there are sections of the Australian community who do object to what they are doing. The effect this is seen as having on the morale of the Portuguese themselves also is a morale booster for the revolutionary forces. Nevertheless the revolutionary forces appreciate more concrete forms of support.

Now on the part of the unions, they have a powerful control over what goes in and out of the country. I am sure they could organise boycotts of South African goods, things like this. Again it only means success if it can be organised in cooperation with other international organisations. Otherwise it could be done as a token gesture to boycott, perhaps, South African shipping for a week, like after the shooting of the African miners last week, or something of that nature to register a protest. This action is always appreciated, its not useless because morale is as important in any war as material means. The revolutionaries will be greatly appreciative of any morale boosting exercises the Australian people might like to do.

DIRECT ACTION: You mentioned the shooting of the eleven miners. What do you see as the development coming about in South Africa at the moment. We have noticed strikes and growing movements among the blacks. What do you see as developing there?

MUMBENGEGWI: It is definitely a change of mood among the Africans, After Sharpeville the Africans were completely shaken and intimidated but now the African people in South Africa are beginning to create a new awareness - they feel a growth of power. The with the growth of the revolutionary movement in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The Africans have taken up arms and they are fighting, This movement will spread and develop the liberation struggle to every area of Southern Africa.



regimes, was there also any political MUMBENGEGWI: Ah, yes, most defin-

tely: if you look at the African states

to create. As a result most of Africa

ists, as they were before independence;

Portugal, by any standard, is a small

wars and they've been able to spend

because Portugal is essentially an

more than 50 per cent of their budget

on that war. They can afford to do this

unsophisticated country. The Portuguese

themselves are very poor, and the Gov-

emment can afford to spend so much of

power. So far they have been able to

deploy something like 160-170 thousan

hich gained their independence through

they haven't achieved economic independence nor have they seriously tried to create socialist societies although they pay lip service to socialism. DIRECT ACTION: More recently the ideas have come up of the necessity to the white regimes of Portuguese colonie

and Portugal itself. How important in overall terms do you see Portugal and the Portuguese territories of Mozambique MUMBENGEGWI: .1 think . in fact, Mozambique and Angola are strategically two of the most important areas in the system for the white regimes in Southern Africa and they're probably also the most vulnerable because

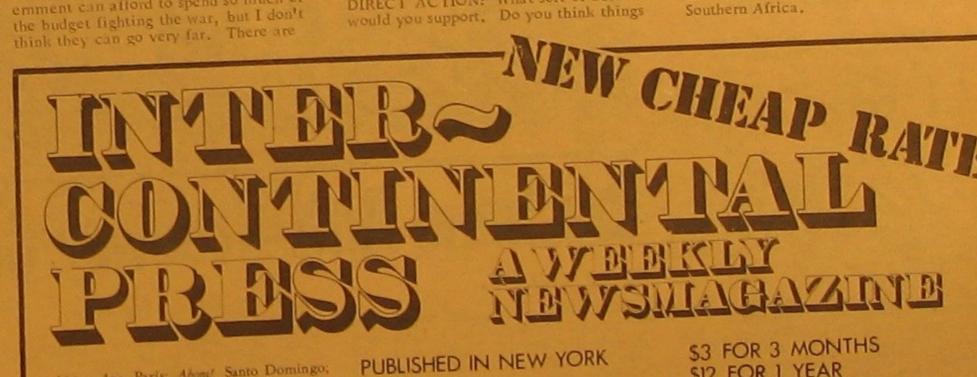
ness leading to massacres such as the But in the Portuguese colonies of course

After these acts of uncompromising

DIRECT ACTION: Could you elaborate

MUMBENGEGWI: In fact, the role of big business is very important to maintaining the white regimes in Southern Africa since these regimes ensure that big business makes maximum profits. The white regimes ensure that the African people will not form themselves into unions and therefore big business can exploit the Africans. The unemployment among Africans in South Africa forces the Africans to work for practically nothing, and there is nobody to compel them to pay more and so it is very profitable for big business to operate under white regimes. They could not do this if an African government took over because immediately the legislators would say, "OK you must recognise that this is the minimum standard of living required, and you must pay that minimum." That is, if they aren't nationalised, because the chances are that when the liberation movement took over, its first step would be to incorporate all foreign interests and take over. Of course, big business is going to fight against this, so the government wants to see these conditions maintained.

DIRECT ACTION: Together with this change of strategy, which was to a large



Afrique Asie, Paris; Abonal, Santo Domingo; Arantada Sacialista, Buenos Aires; Bandeu Ress. Mexico City; Bandiou Rossa, Rome; Bolomia, Havana; La Briche, Lausanne; Chronale of Current Events, USSR; Direct Action, Sydney: Ettalast, Teheran; La Gasche Brus- read each of the above newspapers, sels: Hurches, Hong Kong, Inprekon, Stuttgart, Investia, Moscow; Klausbampes, Aarhus, Challenge, Toronto; La Rai, Calcutta; Libera- and the language skill, you would still tion, Montreal; Menta, Montevideo; Mayonia, miss the special quality that makes Santiago de Chile, Merario, Santiago de Chi- Intercontinental Press stand out from le; The Militant, New York; Le Monde, Paris; other weeklies - analyses of events by La Nacion, Buenos Aires; The New York Times; our staff of experienced political writ-Paring Review, Permanente Revolution, Berlin, German Federal Republic; Pranda, Moscow; tensationale, Paris; El Rebelde, Santiago de Chi- and interview that appear in Inter-Ic, The Red Mole Landon; Road Ghent, Bel- continental Press. Most of these are gium; Rouge, Paris; Revolucion Persona, Lima; not easily obtainable elsewhere. Revolucion Socialista, New York; Rude Pravo, Prague; Sakai Kukumoi, Tokyo; Socialist Action, Wellington, New Zealand; Voz Marcista, Caracas; Vnj Nederland, Amsterdam; Was Tun,

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### 11 Die at South Africa's Happy

South African police shot dead 11 African rocks and home-made weapons. miners and wounded 27 others on September 12 following a riot at Deep Levels gold mine at Carletonville, near Johannesburg, International protests have condemned the shootings as akin to the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, where police fired on a demonstration killing 69 and wounding 176 people.

The similarity ends here, however. For while Sharpeville brought about a prolonged period of quiescence on the part of the African and colored masses, the Carletonville riot is but the latest indication of increasing militant opposition to the apartheid policies of the racist Vorster regime. It follows last year's Ovambo strike in Namibia (South West Africa), the militant strikes of African workers in Durban last February and recent student and worker upsurges in Johannesburg

The riot followed the exclusion of 100 machine operators from a 46 per cent wage increase, on the grounds that they were the highest paid workers in the mine. Indeed, African miners at Deep Wells are the highest paid in South Africa. But this is a dubious distinction for the machine operators who earn about \$56 a month plus keep.

Supported by many of the miners, the machine operators demonstrated against their exclusion. The management reterated its refusal to pay them, and called the police. After ordering the demonstrators to disperse, police opened fire. The miners then retaliated with

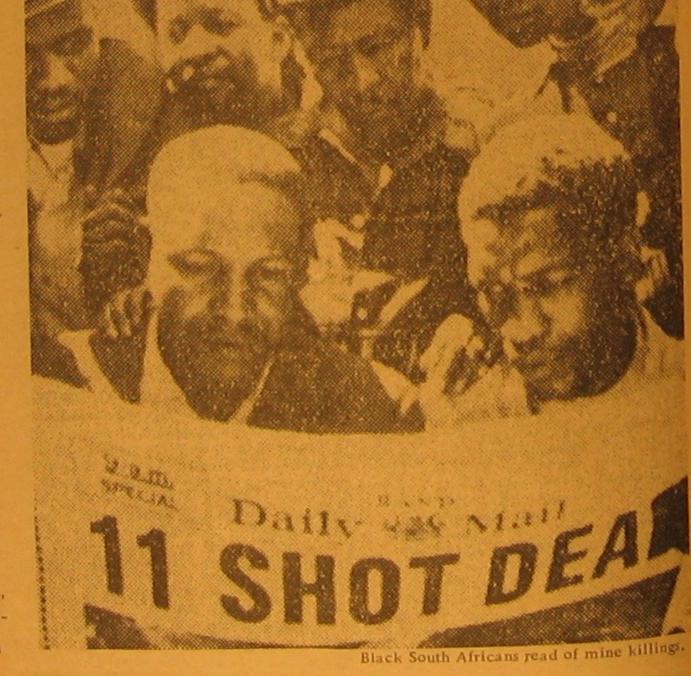
The shooting caused an immediate outcry in South Africa. Students picketed the Johannesburg offices of the Anglo-American Corporation, which owns the mine. The outcry has forced Vorster to order an official inquiry into the riot.

Vorster, of course, is already convinced that the police acted "with considerable restraint." He denounced the miners as not being engaged in strike action; "They were a looting mob out to destroy life and property.'

The forces of reaction were not reassured by Vorster's rationalisations however. Despite assurances that gold production had not been affected, the South African Stock Exchange made a sudden downward plunge following the riot.

The bourgeoisie has good reason to be apprehensive. Deep Levels mine produces about \$60 million worth of gold a year. It has previously been held up as a model mine, "the happy mine",

The Carletonville riot has given the lie to that description - and has thrown all sectors of the ruling circles of South African apartheid into a quandary in the process. It is quite clear that the miners rioted when they found that the "reforms" offered them fell far below their expectations and only brought home even more strongly the repressive conditions African workers experience under apartheid.



### Psychiatric Nurses Strike in Queensland

BY DAVE O'NEILL

Members of the Psychiatric Services
Division of the Queensland Hospital
Employees Union (HEU) have just
emerged from a bitterly fought 19-day
strike. The strike began at the Challinor
psychiatric centre in Ipswich when the
Health Department broke an agreement
with the local branch of the HEU. The
agreement was to equalise the number of
men and women appointed to the senior
position of "charge nurse". When the
agreement was broken, the 250 HEU
members at Ipswich walked out.

Two days later, HEU members at Wolston Park centre in Brisbane staged a 24-hour stoppage in support of the Ipswich strike. When this did not produce a settlement, the Wolston Park HEU members struck again, this time indefinitely. HEU members at hospitals in Toowoomba and Charters Towers also struck shortly after.

The dispute quickly broadened to include several other areas of discontent for HEU members: the holding up of a claim for an extra week's annual leave, the slow progress of the hearing of a pay claim, wage inconsistencies between members in various sections and the proposal to attach psychiatric annexes to general hospitals, staffed by general nurses.

During the strike, the HEU was subjected to a vicious and concerted propaganda and strike-breaking campaign by the press and the Government. The press carried on a slander campaign, claiming that the nurses were acting callously and irresponsibly, and eagerly took up claims by the Government that the union was discriminating against women, that the agreement over which the strike started had never existed and that the whole thing was merely a demarcation dispute between two unions.

The Government's strike-breaking tactics included use of scab labor and use of school students. In order that the patients do not suffer when the mion is on strike, the HEU accepts the use of voluntary labor by hospitals during strikes.

However, during the recent strike, the government employed labor, and paid "gratuities" instead of wages. The labor used during the strike was thus voluntary in name only. In Ipswich students from local schools were sent to the psychiatric hospital to help run it. Private schools which were involved in this scheme apparently are to receive donations from the Government.

In addition to use of scab labor and a massive propaganda campaign, the Government secured a court order declaring the strike illegal and imposing fines of \$1000 a day while the strike continued and \$100 a member. The union ignored the court order.

In the face of this massive government campaign, the HEU members stood firm. The HEU called upon workers at federally-controlled Repatriation Homes for support and also appealed to the Trades Hall Council (THC) to consider closing down hospitals by calling out THC members involved in cooking, providing transport and providing other services. The repatriation workers responded with a 24-hour stoppage. The HEU also appealed to the nationwide Hospital Employees Federation of Australia (HEFA) which responded with a threat of a stoppage by its 50,000 members.

The involvement of the repatriation workers and the HEFA brought the Federal Labor Government into the dispute. The Queensland Country Party Government was not pleased with the involvement of the Federal Government, The Queensland Government has been one of Labor's most bitter opponents and it probably feared that Labor would use he dispute to attack the State Governnent. As a result, State Health Minister Tooth began negotiations with a perspective of making concessions. As the negotiations began, HEU members at Foowoomba and Charters Towers returned to work, but the Ipswich and Brisbane hospitals remained on strike, determined not to relieve the pressure on the Health Department.

Unfortunately, while the repatriation workers and the HEFA stood with the HEU in the strike, another nurses' body, the Royal Australian Nursing Federation

(RANF) did its best to break the strike.

The RANF is a body made up of underpaid general hospital nurses with a leadership which has shown repeatedly that it will dance to any tune which the Health Department cares to play.

The RANF has small branches in some of the psychiatric hospitals. RANF members continued to work during the strike and took over jobs normally performed by HEU members. The activity of the RANF members was rightly considered by the HEU members as scabbing.

After 19 days on strike, the HEU returned to work with an agreement by the Health Department to hear the pay claim and the claim for an extra week's leave within a week. It also had made clear

that the agreement which initially sparked the strike must be adhered to. The psychiatric nurses award makes clear that working conditions such as existed at the Ipswich hospital can only be established through agreements with the union. In attempting to break the agreement, the Health Department acted illegally.

A significant feature of the strike was the fact that it was led by women. While the HEU leadership is all male, large numbers of the nurses are women, and it was the militancy of the nurses which forced the union leadership to fight. The HEU members were not intimidated by attempts to impose massive fines on the union, threats by the Government to deregister the HEU or by the concerted

slander campaign run by the press

Although the HEU did not win all of the demands, it did not buckle in the face of the government campaign, and in fact it forced concessions out of the Government, which early in the strike appeared completely intransigent. The support which the HEU members received from hospital workers in other spheres was vital to their victory.

Despite their victory however, the HDJ members still face the long term prospect of possible redundancy and liquidation of their union through the Government's plan to integrate psychiatric hospitals into general hospitals, particularly if general nurses are used to staff the proposed annexes, rather than train psychiatric nurses.

### Portuguese Trade Mission Protest

BY JIM McILROY

The Portuguese trade mission to Australia stirred a broad opposition in this country. The recent revelations of Portuguese massacres in Mozambique (see pages 20 and 21 of this issue) caused a wave of revulsion in Australia and around the world against the colonial policies of the Caetano regime.

In Melbourne the campaign was expressed in two demonstrations in the city streets. The first on September 17, drew about 200 people. A rally was held in the City Square followed by a march, with stops outside big corporations, such as Anglo-American, which

have a big stake in Southern Africa, and support the white-settler regimes there. The police, for no reason at all, decided to break up the march by force. The totally peaceful demonstration was set upon, and people were arrested. This violence by the police was in no way provoked and merely showed hostility towards any attempt to express dissent in the streets.

The main speaker was Simbarashe
Mumbengegwi, an African militant in
Australia, who stressed the role of
Portuguese colonialism and the demand
for African liberation, (see interview

Pickets were organised to greet the Portuguese officials at the airport and at their hotel,

The second demonstration on September 21 was larger with about 400 people. The police were accordingly more reloctant to move in and a militant peaceful march took place. Banners calling for No Ties With Portuguese Colonialism and Support African National Liberation led the way. The most popular chants included: Portugal Out! and Freedom for Africa! Leaflets were distributed to rush-hour crowds explaining the political situation in the Portuguese African territories.



### Brisbane Anti-freeway Campaign

BY IAN NORMAN

Action has been stepped up in Brisbane to prevent the destruction of the inner suburbs by freeways. On September 16 about 50 anti-freeway activists and residents threatened by the freeway system held a rally and march which culminated in the occupation of a vacant house which had been resumed for demolition by the Main Roads Department of the State Government. The house is at Hurworth Street, Bowen Hills and is in the path of the proposed northern freeway which is part of a grossly extravagant network of freeways planned for Brisbane.

If the plans are carried through, Brisbane will become more and more dependent upon private motor cars for commuter transport. The freeway system is designed for a city about five times the size of Brisbane and part of the transport plans has been the phasing out or, at best, the non-improvement of public transport facilities. Trams have been eliminated from Brisbane streets, the railway system is of poor standard and has not yet been electrified, and the bus service is infrequent and subject to rising fares ( a consequence of attempts to run the buses on a profit or break-even basis in competition to

Of course, the main beneficiaries of the massive expenditure of public funds required to carry through the freeway programme will be the motor-car and petroleum companies. If the programme is carried through it will help consolidate the stranglehold that these powerful companies have on Australian cities and will result in increased noise, pollution and wastage of land on the space-consuming motor car. The result could be a nightmare like Los Angeles, USA, where two-thirds of the central city area is covered by roads, highways, parking lots and garages.

Compensation of victims of the freeways has been based on the so-called "market value" of the houses. However this amount is invariably below the amount that home owners would ask if they had been selling in a normal situation. Furthermore it does not account for the inconvenience and hardship feit by those forced to break community ties, or for increased travel costs for those who have to shift further out into the suburbs to get a house for the amount they are paid. There is no compensation at all for evicted tenants.

The only opposition to the occupation came from the Labor Party-controlled Brisbane City Council which cut off

electricity supplies to the house. In a style reminiscent of the State Premier, Bjelke-Petersen, the ALP alderman responsible for electricity supply, Alderman Dutton explained: "Rules are rules and they are being maintained in this case the power will be cut off." (Courier Mail, Sept. 19) However electricity was quickly restored to the house with the assistance of the Electrical Trades Union who have offered their support to the anti-freeway activists.

In contrast to the attitude of Alderman Dutton, Kerry Keating the president of the Queensland Young Labor Association and an ALP candidate in the next elections for State Parliament, has spoken out in support of the occupation and urged support of the occupation and for the anti-freeway campaign.

The occupation of the house is the latest phase of a long, developing struggle against the servants of the motor-car, petroleum and land-development business interests--the Main Roads Department. The occupied house is to be the headquarters for the activities of the Brisbane Freeway Protest and Compensation Committee which aims to develop the support and activity of other residents affected by Brisbane's freeway plans in a campaign to stop the freeways.

#### Ligue Communiste Petitions Presented

BY TIM Mell RO

A further development in the campaign which has been carried out so far in Australia in defence of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International was a delegation to the French consul in Melbourne on September 20.

The delegation presented petitions protesting the banning of of the Ligue by the Pompidou Government, and the imprison-ment of two leaders of the Ligue, Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset (both of whom have now been released). The petitions contained several hundred signatures including prominent individuals in the ALP, trade-union movement, academics, student groups, Labor youth and leftwing organisations. Those signing included Dr Jim Cairns, Minister for Overseas Trade in the Australian Government; Dr Moss Cass, Minister for Conservation and the Environment; and Bob Hawke, president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and of the ALP.

The delegation also presented to the consul the text of a motion passed at the Melbourne meeting organised by the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend the Ligue Communiste. This motion condemned the ban and the gaoling of the two Ligue leaders and called for the removal of the reactionary legislation under which the Ligue had been dissolved.

Members of the delegation included prominent trade unionists, George Crawford, Victorian secretary of the Plumbers and Gasfitters Employees' Union and immediate past-chairman of the Victorian State branch of the ALP; Jim Roulston, Victorian State president of the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union; and Ken Carr, Victorian secretary

of the Federated Furnishing Trades
Society, and secretary of the 26 "rebel"
unions group (many of which have only
recently re-entered the Victorian Trades
Hall Council). All three are leading
figures in the Socialist Left of the ALP.

Other members of the delegation were Jim McIlroy, Melbourne organiser of the Socialist Workers League and David Deutschmann, Melbourne regional

The delegation was met by a reception party of about 20 policemen, including plain-clothes police. Apparently the authorities were rather concerned about the degree of opposition which the French Government's policies had aroused in this country. This was further evidenced by the initial reluctance of the police to allow the two non-unionist members of the delegation to enter. Later, they were allowed inside.

George Crawford commenced by informing the consul that Bob Hawke, while he was unable to be personally present, had fully endorsed the demands of the petition and supported the delegation. Crawford outlined the reason for the delegation and requested assurances on the future intentions of the French Government over the continued banning of the Ligue Communiste. None were made, however. Crawford later discussed the question of the ban on French companies in Australia imposed by his union while the French nuclear tests continued.

Overall, however, the delegation and the petitions expressed the breadth of support which the campaign for defence of the Ligue and against the Pompidou Government's policies have gained in this country.



If you oppose the Vietnam war and comcription, 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.

ALLIANCE.

I would like to join SYA

I would like more information.

NAME.

ADDRESS.

POSTCODE.

PHONE.

Pogt to SYA, P.O. Box 160, Glebe,

#### DA GETS AROUND

DIRECT ACTION is coming to be recognised in a large number of Melbourne's city and suburban hotels Regular routes are covered with each issue and many regular readers are resulting. The reaction to DIRECT ACTION sellers is usually very friendly and often the regulars shout the hard-working sellers a beer and stop to discuss the paper or other points of interest. Sometimes the reaction can even be too friendly, One comrade while approaching customers in a hotel with a band and dance floor was invited to dance by a woman who had just bought a paper. He declined, but not to be put off she dragged him out on to the floor and they danced until he could escape.

An area not usually considered for selling political newspapers is the secondary schools. DA sellers go to schools in the mornings before classes start and approach students and teachers as they enter. Overall response is good from both students and teachers. A morning's work (usually involving only half an hour)

can result in about 15-20 copies being sold at one school. People with full time jobs can often find opportunities to sell when they would otherwise not have time by selling DIRECT ACTION on the way to

"Reprinted with the kind permission of the editor of DIRECT ACTION" reads the acknowledgement on the article entitled MANIFESTO — Towards a Free Revolutionary Art", reprinted from issue 47 of DIRECT ACTION in the latest issue of Tharunka student journal of UNSW.

There has been at least one response to the call in the last issue of

DIRECT ACTION for people to take small bundles and it is a somewhat unusual story.

A student at UNSW who answered

the call for more sellers sold for a total of 6 hours at Parramatta. For the first 4 he talked to one person, for the next hour he talked to someone else and in the last hour he sold 20 DIRECT ACTIONS.

() I would like to subscribe to DIRECT ACTION at 15 issues for \$1
() I would like to take a bundle of DIRECT ACTION at 1/3 discount to sell NAME.

#### DIRECT ACTION FORUMS

Sydney
at 139 ST JOHNS

ROAD, GLEBE.

Friday, September 28, 8.00 pm
"THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND MAOISM TODAY"
John Percy, editor of DIRECT ACTION, looks at the
development of the Chinese revolution with particular
emphasis on Mao's foreign policy.

Friday, October 12, 8.00 pm
"THE FRAUD OF PRICE CONTROL AND THE
STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAGE FREEZE" Allen
Westwood, member of the DIRECT ACTION editorial
board will discuss the Whitlam Government's plans for
a wage freeze and the task of the campaign in
opposition.

THE LI
Keyin W

at 140 QUEENSBERRY movement

Thursday, October 11, 8,00 pm
"THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN AFRICA"
Kevin Wertheim describes the present liberation movements and analyses future perspectives of the struggle.

Thursday, October 25, 8.00 pm TO BE ANNOUNCED

Adelaic

shop Hall, 287 RUNDLE ST.,

ADELAIDE

STREET, CARLTON.

Thursday, October 4, 8,00 pm
"BEHIND THE COUP IN CHILE" Jamie Doughney,
national secretary of the Socialist Youth Alliance,
looks at the background to the coup and the lessons
it holds for socialists.

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



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

Like the cigar-smoking bludger on the right, 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.

Our DIRECT ACTION fund drive for \$5000 continues. In order to acquire some much-needed equipment, namely a headliner and a new typesetting machine we have to raise money from

somewhere.

A friend offered to donate a dollar for every dollar we raise up to \$2500. We aim to raise the full \$5000 in order to take full advantage of this offer.

Donations have been coming in regularly but it is hoped that we might get some really substantial donations before we close the drive. We depend on you, our readers to be generous and to contribute so that our plans don't stay on paper.

donate \$50\$20\$15\$10 lease send me a receipt	
IAME	
DDRESS	POSTCODE

Send to DIRECT ACTION Fund Drive, 139 St Johns Road, Glebe, 2037.

#### DIRECT ACTION

#### More Watergate Gangsters Indicted

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

"The time has come to turn Watergate over to the courts." So exhorted Nixon in his Watergate speech on August 15. There are now certainly enough court cases in progress for us to judge how successful Nixon has been in submerging the explosive revelations of the Watergate scandal in legal effluvia.

It now seems likely that the ultimate decision on Nixon's Watergate tapes will be made by the Supreme Court, following unsuccessful attempts by the Administration to secure a compromise out-of-court settlement. The fact that Nixon rejected a proposal for an Administration representative and Watergate prosecutor

Cox to jointly determine what tapes are relevant to Watergate — a compromise which falls a long way short of the unrestricted publication of the tapes which the situation demands — is clear proof of the dilemma which confronts the ruling class as it searches for a way out of Watergate.

Nixon's decision to "tough it out" implies a strategy of continuing efforts to hamstring the Senate Watergate committee and special Watergate prosecutor Cox, hoping that the public will eventually tire of the scandal. When and if that point is reached, Newsweek magazine reported in its September 10 issue, Nixon is expected to fire Cox and sweep the whole affair under the rug:

"The underlying premise...was that Nixon could hold off a fihal (court) decision (on the Watergate tapes) with various delaying tactics — appeals on the constitutional issues, the merits of the case, perhaps even Judge Sirical's evaluation of conversations on the tapes — and spend the time rebuilding his public support. By then the thinking goes, he could argue that any Supreme Court ruling closer than 8-1 or 7-2 in favor of Cox was not the 'definitive decision' he had promised to obey; given enough public exhaustion with Watergate, he might even get away with it. 'Whol's going to lead the charge at that point?' asked one White House operative. 'The Chief Justice? The Attorney-General?



Daniel Elisberg

"The tough-it-out strategy currently taking form counts even Cox and Richardson (Nixon's current Attorney-General) expendable; the White House is no longer quite so tremulous as it once was at the reaction that would surely follow if the two men whom the President himself brought in to clean up the Watergate mess should suddenly depart with their mission unaccomplished, "Cox couldn't have been dumped a month ago and if he quit now or was fired, and if Richardson quit in protest, it would be tough to handle," said one insider, 'But it would be less tough further down the line."

Nixon also faces another battle with Congress. The Watergate scandal has provided the Democrat-controlled Con-gress with an opportunity to reassert its power which in recent years has become more concentrated in presidential hands.

While Nixon has usually vetoed these bills, his loss of credibility, as a result of Watergate, with its corollary of increased popular pressure on Congress, has enabled Congress to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to override Nixon's vetoes.

The acquittal of the Gainesville Eight, members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War who were found not guilty on all counts of a conspiracy indictment (see DIRECT ACTION 47, September 13, 1973) has provided important lessons for anti-war activists. The indictments were based on fabricated "evidence" supplied by FBI provocateurs who attempted to get the VVAW to organise terrorist actions.

Leading VVAW member Mike Damron provided a particularly telling account in an interview published in the September 14 issue of The Militant, a revolutionary socialist weekly published in New York, reflecting the views of the Socialist Workers Party.



Mitchell testifying during Senate Watergate hearings

A major clash now looms on proposed legislation to increase the minimum wage to \$U\$2.20 (\$A1,43) an hour. Even if passed the bill is unlikely to make great inroads into inflation, which is expected to reach twenty per cent this year, Nixon has nevertheless denounced it as "inflationary". (According to Nixon any increase in spending other than defence spending is "inflationary".)

#### MORE GANGSTERS INDICTED

In the meantime time is catching up with the rest of Nixon's gang, John Mitchell, Nixon's former campaign director, is now on trial to answer indict-ments of perjuny and illegal campaign seending.

In another potentially explosive development four of the Watergate burglars, Frank Sturgis, Eugenio Martinez, Virgillio Gonzalez and Bernard Barker, have reversed their previous guilty pleas to the Watergate bugging and are now pleading not guilty and demanding a new trial. They filed statements with judge Strica alleging that they were the victims of a "cruel fraud perpetrated on them to obtain their participation in the (Watergate) activities,"

Nixon's former top aide John Erlichmann is on trial for perjury, burglary and obstructing justice. The perjury charge arose out of Erlichmann's assertion, subsequently disproved, to a grand jury last June that he did not authorise and had no knowledge of the breaking into the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist in 1971.

Another disclosure which proved that the break-in was part of the Nixon Administration's yendetta against Ellsberg in retaliation for his publication of the Pentagon Papers was the disclosure of the transcript of a phone call from the White House "dirty tricks" expert Charles Colson to Watergater Howard Hunt in which Colson said:

"We might be able to put this bastard (Ellsberg) in a hell of a situation...we should go down there and nail the guy cold,"

The chief FBI informer in the VVAW, William Lemmer, was considered by Damron before his exposure to be his closest friend. Damron detailed numerous attempts by Lemmer to involve the VVAW in terrorist actions. For example Lemmer suggested that the VVAW use a meeting at which Dean Rusk was to have spoken to discredit the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), another radical group. The plan suggested by Lemmer was to disrupt Rusk's speech and blame it on SDS.

Damron suspected that Lemmer was prepared to actually "blow something up and blame it on SDS," Damron talked Lemmer out of a bomb attempt, but fell for the old trick of pitting movement groups against each other, by planning with Lemmer to fabricate a bomb threat and blame it on SDS, Damron continued:

"So Bill (Lemmer) wrote out the bomb threat in longhand and I clipped the letters from the newspapers...and pasted together this bomb threat,"

A month and a half later Damron w arrested. The police said they four his fingerprints on the bomb threat. Damron spent 30 days in gaol.

"I'm sure that the bad name the left has is a result of provocateurs. Of course, that's why the provocateurs are there."

#### WATERGATE AND THE LABOR BUREAUCRACY

America's conservative labor bureaucracy greeted the Watergate affair with silence. The bureaucrats' silence on Watergate was motivated by more than inertia, or even diplomacy, which is their trademark so far as their dealings with the American ruling class is concerned. No, what motivated the bureaucrats' silence on Watergate was simple political survival.

Take the attitude of the president of the Teamsters' Union, Frank Fitzsimraons, for example. At the height of the Watergate controversy Fitzsimmons stated, "There is no time like the present to support our leaders and uphold the dig-

nities and morals of our country."

Fitzsimmons' charitable, to say the la attitude to Nixon, was in part motivo by the fact that the leadership of the Teamsters' Union donated \$115100.00 (\$465,000) to Nixon's election came. This bureaucratic leadership is also currently engaged in helping the goment suppress a strike in Californis, the United Farm Workers' Union, to extent of assisting scab labor and even inspiring goon squads to attack the far workers' picket lines.

By such reactionary methods the Tean-ster bureaucrats have won a few conces-ions from Nixon. The chief of these wan Nixon's calling off of an investigation into alleged links between the Teamus-leadership and the Mafia,

Not all the bureaucrats can afford to remain silent, however. The tremeatradicalising effect of Watergate on the American working people has forced some sections of the bureaucray to attempt to relate to this upsurge, for fear of losing the allegiance of rank-ar file workers.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CR (American Federation of Labor/Congarge of Industrial Organisations — the American equivalent to the ACTU) attempted to pay lip service to the widespread revulsion at Watergate in a Labor Day speech, Meany only referred to Wastergate indirectly, but expressed his "coscern" at Nixon's repressive methods which were being directed with increasing ferocity at the trade unions. Meany solution however was simply to elect more Democratic politicians to Congres — not a very inspiring solution when are recognises the role that the Democratic Party has played in suppressing the struggles of the American working people.

A rather (unintentionally) humorous comment on the Watergate affair was made by Vice-President Agnew — who experiencing some problems of his own as a result of Watergate. At a Republ fund-raising function held in Illinois o September 8, Agnew attacked the Eviconmittee and defended his boss with not very flattering comparison. Lynd Johnson, Agnew said, once told Nison that "the presidency is like being a jackass caught in a hailstorm — you've just got to stand there and take it."

