

Number 28

CONTENTS

US out of Haiti! 3

No peace for Bougainville 4

Jim Newman 4

Britain's tory Labour Party 5

Almost another imperialist war against Iraq 5

No nostalgia for Gough Whitlam

November 1994

East Timor fights on!

On November 30 1975, the bourgeois nationalist, peasant based, FRETILIN with the support of the overwhelming support of the Timorese people declared East Timor independent and established the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Like Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, East Timor had been a Portuguese colony. Following coup in Portugal by the radical Armed Forces movement, there had been a massive destabilisation of Portuguese society. In Portugal during 1974 and '75 there had been a situation of dual power. There was both the militant organisation of workers and peasants and the capitalist state was still intact. There was a potentially revolutionary situation. This could only be resolved through the emergence of revolutionary leadership. Unfortunately the failure of leadership led to the revolution's defeat. As elsewhere reformists and stalinists tied workers to the capitalist state. However, the weakening of Portuguese imperialism gave the colonies the chance to break free.

Of course there was a strong movement for independence in East Timor. FRETILIN was the main political force of those in East Timor who desired independence. FRETILIN started off as a reformist social democratic workers party. It had betrayed its class origins to become a party of small plantation owners. Although it still had a working class base, small farmers came first. Essentially FRETILIN become recognised as the national liberation front of East Timor. However the declaration of independence was somewhat belated. FRETILIN had tried everything to avoid declaring independence. This included appealing to the former imperialist power Portugal to once again take full control. FRETILIN appealed to Portugal the United Nations and even the Liberal Party shadow minister for Foreign Affairs Andrew Peacock. These vacillations seriously hampered the struggle for independence. FRETILIN appealed to bourgeois authority. And in doing so it showed Indonesia its weakness. FRETILIN'S diplomatic negotiations seriously hampered the preparation of Timorese workers and peasants to fight Indonesia.

FRETILIN's sell out to the middle classes meant that it could not appeal to those in Indonesia with a real interest in opposing the repressive Indonesian state —the working class of Indonesia. And

FRETILIN's imperialist lobbying seriously hampered the education of the Australian working class for direct action against Portugal and Indonesia for Timorese independence.

Unlike other Portuguese colonies East Timor has a mortal enemy — Indonesia. And the Indonesian state as a warm and loyal ally — Australia. Successive Australian Governments have betrayed East Timor. Indonesia is not a nation. Rather it is a prison house of nations. The Indonesian junta fears any small nation in the area asserting its independence. This could inspire other nations to break free from the junta's iron grip.

At first imperialism feared a strong and united Indonesia. Indonesia's first President Sukarno made strong anti imperialist rumblings. However after the coup which murdered millions including the Communist Party of Indonesia and Chinese. And after the blatant pro imperialist right wing turn by Suharto, the imperialists soon realised where their bread was buttered. The imperialists have consistently backed the Indonesian junta which represses Chinese, national minorities, communists and the working class. Any challenge or threat gets dealt with brutally, the imperialists fear that an independent nation such as Timor might defy their authority and inspire either nationalist destabilisation or revolution throughout Indonesia.

The Australian ruling class have played an important in the repression of Timor. In January 1973 less than two months after he became Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam went to Jakarta. There he assured Mr Suharto that his government believed in a strong Indonesia. The Whitlam Government maintained close ties with the Suharto regime. Mr Whitlam stated that he did not consider an independent East Timor to be "viable". His public statements hinted that his Government would appease any invasion. Many months before final intervention it was clear what Indonesia intended. Throughout Indonesia there was a mass propaganda campaign based on lies about so-called "persecution" of the pro Indonesian stooge party APODETI. It was on this basis that the junta was whipping up war hysteria. The Whitlam Government continued military aid to Indonesia. The CIA was also involved in manipulating within Timor, an UDT APODETI alliance to cover for Indonesia and attack FRETILIN.

When in opposition the Liberals feigned opposition to Labor's sell out of an independent East Timor. However after usurping office the Fraser Government ensured the DRET bank account could not be operated and forcefully closed down FRETILIN. Andrew Peacock made an agreement to do this with Adam Malik Indonesian Foreign minister. Ever since the Liberals have made no pretence at supporting Timor. It's been all the way with Indonesia. Within the Labor Party there was formal support for Timor. However this was repudiated at the 1984 Federal ALP Conference where the Hawke right wing put the boot in. The Hawke Government, like the Whitlam and Fraser Governments previously went all the way with Indonesia also. These days Gareth Evans is telling the world that East Timor Independence is "not an option". The Keating Government is acting as Suharto's international attorney whitewashing their bloody brutal record of murdering almost one third of the population of East Timor. In 1988 Australia discovered that backing Indonesia could be immensely profitable. Australia and Indonesia agreed to divide up the massive oil deposits in the Timor Sea, Of course, the Timorese would receive nothing as Australia and Indonesia share the booty.

Australian Governments have betrayed Timor. The record of the Australian left has been better. The Communist Party of Australia was influential in building solidarity groupings. Although other

groupings were involved CIET and AETA were consistent with the CPA variant of the popular front. The CPA essentially tied the movement to FRETILIN. This meant they made respectable appeals to the likes of Andrew Peacock, the Portuguese Government and the United Nations. For their broad rallies the CPA welcomed Church people and the Australian Democrats. But to their credit, the CPA did organise some class struggle solidarity. When Indonesia invaded the wharfies black banned Indonesia. Seamen and postal workers also carried out direct action. But the action was always subordinated to the popular front. The CPA could not build a movement based on class interest. The Timor Moratorium which the CPA was instrumental in building was always dependent on the ALP left, The Australian Democrats in order to become a broad mass movement. As the ALP clarified its pro Indonesian position there were less and less respectable lefts to call on to give the movement a respectable cover. The CIET attempt to find an anti war wing of the bourgeoisie failed as all sections of the ruling class knew that their interests were with Indonesia. They put the interests of capital before such moral issues as mass murder and invasion of an Independent state. The Timor solidarity movement has also suffered from the collapse of the Labor left and the Communist Party, and the preference of radical middle class left for the anti uranium movement. By the early Eighties their activity became occasional and spasmodic.

So what now for the Timor solidarity movement. Fortunately the concerted effort by Australian and Indonesian Governments to whitewash the issue, and get public opinion solidly behind the suppression of the Timorese has failed. This is partly due the horrendous Diii massacre where FRETILIN supporters were murdered in cold blood. And partly due to exposures from media and journalists such as John Pilger. There is a bit of public discontent on the issue. But it is not sufficient to build a movement. The latest upsurge of protest is organised by the Timorese community including Australian based supporters of FRETILIN and UDT and the middle class protest organisation Resistance, the youth wing of the Democratic Socialist Party. These protests are even less linked to the working class than those organised by CIET influenced by the CPA.

At an ISO public meeting on Bougainville and Timor Resistance members argued totally against any orientation to the trade union movement at all. Their reasoning was that because ACTU relations with Indonesian Government controlled unions made any orientation useless. Resistance have never had an orientation to drawing class lines in solidarity. When Resistance was founded back in the sixties, the founders believed in the theory of neocapitalism. The consequence of this theory was that because of continued working class prosperity, the class contradiction was no longer the decisive contradiction. The new leftists believed in a student and youth vanguard radicalised by "alienation". In the Vietnam Moratorium they argued for broad mass movements which did not specifically identify with the Vietnamese National Liberation. To this broad movement they welcomed Church people and Democrats. When the Timor Moratorium Resistance then renamed Socialist Youth Alliance rejected "Solidarity with Fretilin" advocating the broader "Indonesia out of East Timor". After the Sandinista regime took power in Nicaragua Resistance drew up the consequences of their adaptation to radical nationalism by junking any adherence to Trotskyism. As a consequence we have a green middle class hippie youth movement. Resistance may argue that their orientation is due to betrayals of the unions to the Keating Government. But don't believe them! Resistance is a middle class organisation antagonistic to the working class.

Communist Left and ISO members pointed out that unions had a rank and file whose interests were not in common with the leadership's betrayals and to write the working class meant depriving the

Timorese people the only force that could make a decisive difference. ISO support working class action but they clarify that they don't counterpose it to protest politics. ISO want both. What this means is that whilst some ISO members might organise some workplace action they won't put this in the context of independent working class interest. Effectively they are organising the working class wing of the popular front. They nostalgically identify with the militant wing of the Bring the Frigate Home Coalition.

Things may be more difficult with the degeneration of the left — especially with the gross capitulation of the trade union bureaucracy. But it is not too late to organise black bans on Indonesian trade and shipping. However we must not base ourselves on bureaucracies. Rank and file workers have an interest in taking action. We must supply them the arguments. We must show that they have a class interest in acting for East Timor self determination. By standing up against the imperialist offensive in East Timor we can stand up against the capitalist offensive against unions, unemployed, Black people, and migrants. all exploited and oppressed in Australia.

Appeals to public opinion, Church leaders and Christian morality, and middle class radicalism will not change the Government's mind. Australian capitalism has a material interest in propping up the Indonesian junta and maintaining its reign of terror over the peoples of Indonesia. We must show workers that they've their interest in fighting imperialism. The Australian working class was decisive in liberating Indonesia from the Dutch. A similar movement based on direct working class action could liberate East Timor. The Communist Left is committed to building a militant workers movement to fight Indonesian aggression and Australian complicity.

US out of Haiti

Since Kennedy sent in the marines against Castro and established a US base at Guantanamo Bay, The US has considered that it has a divine right to impose its will over the people of Central America. The USA was behind the coup in Chile. The US backed the reactionary Contras against Sandinistas in Nicaragua. The US invaded Grenada and imposed a military dictatorship. The US is behind the economic blockade of Cuba aimed at starving the bureaucratic workers and peasants state into submission. The US imposes on the people of Latin America right wing dictators to enforce its imperialist exploitation of super profit.

Usually when the US invades it is to impose or defend a right wing dictatorship against the threat of revolution. The US invasion of Haiti appears different. For the first time you have an intervention apparently to defend an elected left wing government against a right wing military coup. Is this a change of heart? Is the US intervening to defend the left to be consistent with defence of the right in the name of democracy elsewhere? No the imperialists are intervening for their imperialist control. Their stated concern for democracy" is just a fig leaf.

President Aristides is a popularist. He was elected with the support of the proletariat and poor of Haiti. He was committed to radical reform in their favour and was elected on that programme. As a reformist he had no answers when the state machinery ruthlessly usurped power and military dictatorship re-established. The military was of course doing what it was trained to do by the CIA.

Now it is a novel way for the USA of dealing with a revolution by effectively politically capturing its leadership. But that is what the US has done. Elections are being called. And no doubt Aristides will

be once again elected. But so what. Because his power is based on US imperialism he has no choice apart from obeying its orders. The US is flooding the public service with economic advisers who will "advise" Aristides to carry out policies which serve the US.

America is demanding its pound of flesh. Already Haiti has "agreed" to privatise cement and sugar milling. These are Haiti's main industries currently owned by the government. America is offering aid but the price of this aid is economic policies which serve America. Woe betide if Aristides defies their dictates. The US is keeping the reactionary state intact lest it comes in useful against Aristides again. Lieutenant-General Raoul Cedras, who was once denounced as a brutal usurper is now described as "honourable". The US know that they depend on the Haitian army to defend their interests. In no way do they want the Haitian state to be threatened or weakened. They are not in principle against military coups. But to defend their interests, their control of Haiti they must appear to be opposed to this one.

There will be further mass unrest as poor Haitians realise Aristides is delivering for the rich. The US is no doubt looking forward to using his authority to maintain "order" on their behalf. This they hope will demobilise any potentially revolutionary opposition. This might happen unless a revolutionary party is built from the Haitian exploited and poor to smash the state and establish workers and peasant's power. Aristides entered the Haitian state to serve the exploited and poor. He has become the captive of not merely the state but US imperialism.

US imperialism must be opposed everywhere. No matter what stated or real reason the US may give for an intervention the net result will be the misery of imperialist super exploitation policed but a bloody repressive state apparatus. Usually this is a full blooded dictatorship. Haiti is given courtesy of the US the fig leaf of democracy. Make no mistake, when this becomes too much of an inconvenience this will be torn away. There was absolutely nothing altruistic about the US intervention in Haiti. It must be opposed by class conscious workers not just in the US but throughout the world.

No real peace for Bougainville

For the Bougainville this has been a long and bloody war. Many thousands of civilians have died due to shortages of medicines and from the fighting itself. The Papua New Guinea Government backed by Australia has maintained a reasonably effective blockade. Australia and Papua New Guinea have put the profits of CRA and the stability of PNG before the people of Bougainville. The Bougainville struggle has suffered from isolation. International solidarity has been minimal. Peace, even at imperialism's terms was beginning to look an attractive proposition. Even if CRA returned to plunder the land at least there would be medicines to stop mothers dying in pregnancy.

The new PNG Prime Minister Julius Chan appeared to be magnanimous in supporting a peaceful and honourable solution. But the appearance was deceptive. PNG and Australia don't merely want peace. They want the total capitulation and destruction of the BRA. Initially the BRA agreed to divide the island. Some of the island to remain under the control of BRA and some of the territory under the control of PNG armed forces. They also agreed to an "independent" occupying force including troops from such places as Fiji and Vanuatu. This was a very big concession. It could have meant in practice that BRA faced two opponents both implacably opposed to Bougainville self-determination. In reality this "independent" force was under the control of Australia.

However the Bougainville people have discovered that the imperialists are not to be trusted. The PNG Armed forces have not withdrawn from areas from which they promised. Also they could not guarantee the safety of BRA representatives at the peace negotiations. For this

BRA representatives boycotted the peace talks. BRA intelligence discovered an Australian PNG plot to assassinate BRA leaders. Of course PNG and Australia are making plenty of propaganda headway about the "refusal of the BRA to talk peace". What they aim to do is divide the BRA rank and file from its leadership and divide ordinary Bougainville people from the BRA. And to use this isolation to murder the BRA leadership. Imperialists can only be trusted to support exploitation and the repressive state machinery necessary to maintain that exploitation. The only time they will come to the peace table honourably is when they are being defeated.

This is a war made by Australia. It was the forces of the Australian administration of New Guinea who backed Conzinc Riotinto when it expropriated the land from the Panguna people. It was Australia who accepted the boundary imposed in an agreement between imperialist Germany and Britain. Bougainville is part of the Solomon Islands Archipelago. and the people have far more affinity with Solomon Islanders than Papuans or Nuiginians. It was Australia who refused to recognise Bougainville independence which the people declared before that of Papua New Guinea.

In Australia we must realise that despite the rhetoric of "peace talks" the war is going on. And we the class conscious proletariat must oppose any direct or indirect intervention by the Australian Government. We must oppose the imperialist plunder of CRA ripping off and destroying the land of the peasants of Bougainville. working class action for Bougainville self determination is extremely urgent.

Jim Newman

Jim Newman has become a hero and a martyr. He has been projected as a diligent crime fighter gunned down because of his intransigent stand. Although it hasn't been proved it has been suggested that a gangster who felt threatened gunned him down. As Newman was NSW State member for Cabramatta, it has been suggested that his murderer was probably of Asian descent. The government and the media have been at pains to claim this as a crime issue and not a race issue. There have been rallies in an attempt to show that all Cabramatta residents of all national origins are united against crime.

That Jim Newman was concerned about crime is not disputed. However one of his means of fighting was to encourage deportations. This amounts to an open invitation to the racist Australian state to terrorise the Vietnamese Chinese and other Asian communities in their search for "illegal". The main victims would be not the gangsters but ordinary working class and unemployed of Cabramatta of Asian descent. In other words wholesale racist repression by the state.

This is the likely product of the law and order campaign promised by Bob Carr. It is unlikely that any of the real villains, the crime syndicates Australian, Asian or other will be caught. But poor and unemployed will suffer from state harassment, arrest and physical attack. Neither Liberal nor Labor offer anything to solve the serious social problems. Young people face a future without education decent health or transportation, jobs or housing. Both Liberal and Labor want to cut back on amenities for the poor. Instead they offer state repression and brutality. And Black proletarians and

Asians will suffer the most. We therefore must reject the agenda of austerity and state oppression offered by both Liberal and Labor.

Britain's Tory Labour Party

In Britain, the counter-revolution within the British Labour Party continues. Since last century Labour has been a social imperialist party. It was committed to socialism formally but acted as the "socialist" wing of British imperialist foreign policy. Although leaders of the Labour Party have pledged their support for parliamentary socialism as an abstract principle, the pragmatic needs of the British imperialist ruling class always came first.

More and more "socialism" became identified with national planning — running the capitalist economy better. Labour leaders wanted to intervene to make British industry run more rationally. They boasted that they could do this with the assistance of the working class through an incomes policy. Labour has stood for the integration of the working class and the union movement into the capitalist state. The Labour Party programme for British industry have always been reactionary and utopian.

What we have witnessed over the past fifteen years, since the election of Thatcher has been a total capitulation. Gone has been any talk of socialism. Gone is any radical redistribution of wealth. Gone is any commitment to Government intervention in industry. Gone is any commitment to disarmament or any form of foreign policy different from the Tories. Thatcher the intransigent imperialist took a decisive ruling class position and all Labour offered in reply was a less effective capitalist alternative. Thatcher attacks Argentina for invading the Malvinas. All Labour can do is grumble about the way she does it. In fact if the imperialists are right in imposing their interests, the Tories do it more efficiently. So people support the Tories. Labour cannot oppose imperialism because it is tied to the imperialist state.

The election of Tony Blair as leader consummates the counter revolution. Blair actually has publically endorsed Thatcherism. Clause 4, the ineffectual token commitment to parliamentary socialism has been removed. It is acknowledged everywhere that Tony Blair may as well be a Tory. But from the Labour Left there is barely a whimper. Paul Boateng is actually pleased that Tony Blair is supposedly prepared to consider a constructive alternative to Clause 4 if one were put forward. To think that Blair would consider anything which resembles socialism, even as a vague principle, is indeed the stuff of dreams. There simply is no left because the reformist left are prisoners of the system also.

The collapse of British Labour into warmed up Toryism cannot merely be attributed to betrayals of a few individuals. Even though the role of some individuals (especially Neil Kinnock) played a key role. The collapse is due to the failure of reformism. Under the impact of crisis, the system has not required government intervention to save capitalism but ruthless competition between capitalists. It has wanted the monetarism of the Tories. The social welfare of Labour has been a burden on profits of the wealthy. The ruling class under some circumstances support welfare to buy off workers so they support imperialism. In other circumstances they have endorsed a welfare programme to head off the threat of revolution. As Labour posed no threat, the ruling class were quite happy for the welfare state to be dumped. As the crisis intensified they found it a burden on their profits. The convenient way to reduce taxation was to attack welfare. Of course they don't care about what this means to low paid workers, the poor, unemployed, single parents and pensioners. Old people die

during the English winter because they can't afford heating. It is this that Tony Blair is praising under the banner of Labour. British imperialism in decline required the aggressive Tories rather than Labour's imperialism with a softer approach.

Given that Thatcher agenda has now been completed the ruling class may allow Labour to govern again. A Labour Government with Tory politics may give the austerity of the system a human face. What we have left is a Tory party based on the labour bureaucracy, the now not so radical middle class and yuppies. This is a sad autopsy for reformism indeed. We must show that this is the degeneration product of yesterday's apparently socialist reformism.

Another imperialist war against Iraq - almost!

It was almost Gulf war Two. Saddam Hussein moved the troops close to the Kuwaiti border and US President Bill Clinton beat the war drum. He made it crystal clear that if Saddam Hussein tried anything US and allies would be there with battle ships and bombers ready to intervene to defend their oil state known as Kuwait. In Australia Paul Keating committed Australia to supporting the US led war brigade. He also stated that the US should have "finished Hussain off". Bob Hawke put a spanner in the works by challenging Paul Keating's was not consistent in supporting the war effort last time.

The imperialist intervention didn't happen. Saddam Hussein did an about face and decided to recognise the boundary with Kuwait. He realised that Iraq could not economically afford the war. Of course this means that he recognises the state of Kuwait's right to exist and the imperialists to rip off oil from the people of the Middle East.

Kuwait is not really a nation. It is best described as a conspiracy between the al-Sabah family and oil multinationals to rip off the people of the Middle East. Of the three million people who live there only 300,000 are Kuwaiti. Only a minority of the rest have citizenship rights. This includes the right to vote. Significant minorities such as the Palestinians don't have citizenship rights. This includes some Palestinians who were born there.

During the Gulf war Communist Left fully supported the right of the Iraqi people to smash this reactionary oil sheikdom. We stood for military victory to Iraq. Especially when the US entered the war to impose the will of imperialism by force. We would support the military victory to Iraq if a similar war happened again. As well as taming Iraq, imperialism was telling any other small state that it too would be met with fighter bombers should it defy the "right" of the US and other imperialist powers to plunder their labour and resources.

No nostalgia for Gough Whitlam

Nov 11 marks the nineteenth anniversary of the sacking of Labour Prime Minister Edward Gough Whitlam by the Governor General Sir John Kerr. Kerr installed an interim Fraser Government. The result was mass anger and direct working class action. Whitlam has become a bit of a martyr. After all the successive governments, both Liberal and Labor have been considerably to the right. Whitlam is remembered as offering a caring, human alternative as opposed to today's monetarist budget balance mentality. Medibank is remembered as a reform which helped ordinary working people.

Memories can be short. In their anger, over the unjustified sacking, and their nostalgia for the more left wing environment of yesteryear. Many activists have ignored the real record of what Whitlam actually had to offer. Communist Left has no nostalgia for Whitlam. We realise what class his government actually served —the capitalist class. Here are some of the highlights of his anti working class record.

1) Wage cuts; When Whitlam was elected there was massive inflation. This followed a period the Liberals had inflicted a wage freeze. The inflation was not the Governments fault but the Government had no answers. Understandably workers did not want to pay for the crisis of capitalism. Whitlam was consistent in his opposition to union wage claims. Whitlam initiated a Prices and Incomes Referendum Nov 1973 in order to attack the unions. Mr Whitlam and his “left wing” treasurer Jim Cairns were happy to promote unemployment as a weapon against the union movement.

2) Unemployment As has been pointed out when unemployment was at a reasonably low level Whitlam was actually prepared to promote it as a weapon against the unions. However the crisis intensified under Whitlam and then under Fraser, there was a wholesale collapse of manufacturing. This meant mass unemployment. Whitlam had no answers. In the case of Leylands Whitlam assisted them with government money — to efficiently lay off workers. The workforce received a minimal amount of redundancy pay.

3) US imperialism. The Whitlam Government totally withdrew any Australian presence from Vietnam. Defeat was inevitable there. But he did oppose working class action against the US when its B52 bombers made saturation raids on Haiphong Harbour. However, Whitlam consistently supported the US military alliance. This meant supporting US bases on Australian soil such as North West Cape and Nurrungar. Whitlam did try to placate opposition to North West Cape by ensuring that Australians would be on base in a “supervisory role”. But this was just cosmetic as the supervisors were in no power to actually do anything or know what information the US was passing to its submarines.

4) Timor. The betrayal of East Timor is very well known .It was a conscious policy of Whitlam to promote a strong Indonesia. He made it quite clear that independent East Timor was “not viable”. He virtually gave the green light for Indonesia to go ahead.

5) Papua New Guinea. Under Whitlam Papua/New Guinea formally became an independent nation. However Whitlam made sure that economically Australia would hold the strings. Australian and Australian based multinational companies such as Burns Philp RW Carpenter, BHP and CRA kept a stranglehold on the PNG economy. Whitlam promoted the comprador bourgeois PANGU Pati to maintain Australia’s controlling economic interest.

6) Bougainville. Bougainville Island was only part of PNG due to the deals of the imperialists. Bougainville is part of the Solomon Islands archipelago. The people are much closer to Solomon Islanders than the peoples of Papua or New Guinea. Bougainville Is declared itself an independent state before the independence of Papua New Guinea, Mr Whitlam’ s blatant refusal to recognise the will of the people in the desire to form an independent nation is a key reason for the war in progress now’ Mr Whitlam refused to recognise the rights on national minorities in Papua New Guinea.

7) Blacks The philosophy of the Whitlam Government was indeed different from previous governments. He did increase spending and have some consultation with Black people. He also increased spending. Part of his problem was bureaucracy which absorbed much of the money and in its patronising and racist way, dictated to the Black people. Whilst the bureaucracy was not necessarily Whitlam direct fault. Whitlam defended it. The racist Senator Cavanaugh was defended but Black public servant Charles Perkins who attacked him got the sack.

8) Social welfare The Whitlam Government raised the dole. But it was only raised to a level comparable to other OECD countries. The Hayden Budget of 1976 was the first since the Second World War to cut back on welfare spending. this was in a period of intensified economic crisis. It was Whitlam Labor which started he 'dole bludger" campaign and with it tougher work tests.

Whitlam initially offered very minor reforms in exchange for workers allegiance to the system. As the crisis intensified even this trivial reform agenda was dumped for policies which were little better than what the Liberal were offering at the time. Whitlam certainly believed that working class people should pay for the crisis through wage cuts. His sacking made him a martyr. But it is important to realise how little real change Whitlam had to offer

published by Communist Left p.o. box 119 Erskineville Australia. 2043