

# DANGER



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# AT WORK

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## AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY ATTACKED

*"Our approach to national and world problems will be, and must be radical.*

*"We are a radical party. We have never accepted the preservation of the status quo as desirable or necessary.*

*"We are a Labor Party. Therefore we approach the problems of our day with the welfare of the workers as our first objective. We say that to further the true interests of the workers is to advance simultaneously the interests of Australia." . . . A. A. Calwell, Federal Parliamentary leader of the Australian Labor Party speaking at the N.S.W. Conference of the A.L.P. on June 3, 1962.*



*"I can only hope that the sincerity you have shown over the years in victory and defeat will not be lost; that you will be inspired by the same things which inspired the pioneers of this Movement and that you will not be frightened and made to get over to the Right because of the whispered word 'Communist'.*

*"I could not be called a young radical, but if I think a thing is worth fighting for, no matter what the penalty is, I will fight for the right, and truth and justice will always prevail" . . . J. B. Chifley, then Federal Parliamentary leader of the A.L.P. speaking to the N.S.W. A.L.P. conference in 1951 Mr. Chifley died a few days later.*

*"In a sense, Labor promises more than this programme — it pledges a way of life.*

*"There is a positive and a negative approach to the problems that beset mankind. It is the traditional Labor pattern to seek a solution to those problems, whether they be external or internal, through an application of certain guiding principles which are as much philosophical as political . . . "freedom entails the device of a society in which men can live together as equals in opportunity, with equal rights of access to the needs, the aids and the protections that will ensure succour in economic adversity, security in old age, guaranteed standards of living, progressive adjustment of the needs of the family, fair distribution of the national wealth, and the maintenance of adequate standards of health, housing and social services.*

*"These are but the primal needs of a society which thinks in terms of a more abundant life for those who contribute during their life-time to that society's welfare." . . . Dr. H. V. Evatt, then Federal Parliamentary leader of the A.L.P. in his policy speech delivered in Sydney on October 5, 1958.*

THESE statements express in different ways the response of certain Labor Party leaders to the aspirations of the working people.

They in no way challenge the essence of the capitalist system—a limitation which explains the acute sense of frustration suffered so often by workers when they succeed in installing the Labor Party in office.

But this traditional and limited idea is still too progressive for some groups who have strongly challenged it in recent years.

The challengers operated through the A.L.P. Industrial Groups, and have therefore become known as "Groupers". But their real leadership came from a secret organisation, called "The Movement", now publicly known as the National Civic Council (N.C.C.).

Operating under the dirty banner of anti-Communism, this organisation seeks to subvert the Labor Party and the trade unions into servile instruments of wealthy monopoly interests.

The N.C.C. has no sympathy whatever with the traditional ideas of the Labor Party.

Its leader, Mr. B. A. Santamaria, told his supporters a few years ago that "within the labour movement we must fight to destroy their use of the Chifley legend".

This war waged by Santamaria and his forces against the "Chifley legend"—by which he meant the traditional policies of the A.L.P.—caused in 1954 a disastrous split in the A.L.P. which swept Labor Governments out of office in Queensland and Victoria, and submitted Australia to unnecessarily long years of misrule by the Menzies Government.

Santamaria's forces then held key posts in the A.L.P. in N.S.W. and some other States.

Their effect on the Labor Party was well summed up in a Manifesto issued by what was called the Combined Unions and A.L.P. Steering Committee, which was formed with the aim of eliminating "Grouper control of Labor Party affairs in N.S.W." It consisted of a large number of unions affiliated to the A.L.P. and included many prominent Party officials.

"The Australian Labor Party is divided within itself", the Manifesto declared. "It is losing its identity as the driving radical force in Australian political life because its thinking is being paralysed by those within its ranks who possess a pathological fear of the word Socialism.

"They have become a 'fifth column' within the A.L.P. and the trade unions, working with bigoted zeal for the subversion of basic Labor principles.

"Effect of this white-anting of the A.L.P.'s long-range goals has been disastrous to party enthusiasm and idealism, and to the strength and unity of the trade union movement.

"Forced to the political tightrope by the divisions within party ranks, Labor's election policies have dwindled to expediency.

"The radical impetus deriving from the Democratic Socialist ideal has been lost in a welter of patchwork plans differing only slightly from those of Labor's traditional opponents."

"If Labor is to play its proper role in the Australian world of tomorrow, it must reaffirm the radical faith on which it grew to strength.

"There is a great body of men and women within the A.L.P. working confidently for a resurgence of the great radical spirit of the past, who believe that there is no honorable political future for a Labor Party that will not

uphold courageously the Socialist principles from which it draws life."

Even earlier than this Manifesto, a meeting of 21 unions affiliated to the A.L.P., held on Tuesday, November 16, 1954, expressed "alarm at the marked deterioration in Union and A.L.P. relations through the failure of the A.L.P. executive to withstand the pressure being applied through Industrial Groups by a movement outside the Labor Party.

"This outside influence", they declared, "as well as being anti-Communist, is anti-Labor insofar as its policy is directed against all militant labor thought and particularly against Socialism. . ."

These views of the rank and file were echoed by leaders of the A.L.P.: "The Labor Party cannot yield to the dictates of any minority which functions in a way contrary to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the rank and file of the labour movement", said the A.L.P. Federal leader, Dr. Evatt, on October 5, 1954. "The feeling of the rank and file of labour throughout Australia is strong and determined. Thousands of messages have come to me from Labor Leagues and trade unions.

"They are almost all to the effect that this planned and somewhat desperate attempt to disrupt and injure Labor leadership is really intended to assist the Menzies Government especially in its attempt to initiate in Australia some of the un-British, un-Australian methods of the totalitarian police state."

"The Labor Party will get nowhere by selling its principles", said Mr. J. Ormonde, (now Senator Ormonde) on August 7, 1955. "That's the great mistake the Groups made."

The current president of the N.S.W. Branch of the A.L.P., Mr. C. Oliver, N.S.W. secretary of the Australian Workers Union, declared on January 28, 1955:

"Many members of the Industrial Groups still believed that the mission of the Groups was to destroy Communism. They must be told the truth that the Groups are white-anting the labor political movement in Australia."

When the Industrial Groups had been driven out of the A.L.P. by decision of the Hobart Federal conference of the A.L.P.; and their preferences had enabled the Menzies Government to win the following election, the A.L.P. Federal president and West Australian secretary, Mr. F. E. Chamberlain, charted his concept of "Labor's Road Back".

"If as a consequence of the happenings of the last 15 months", he wrote, "Labor has found its soul, has rediscovered its purpose, the mere fact of not winning an election is a very insignificant happening.

"It should be said with emphasis that the Labor Party did not come into existence merely to win seats in the Parliament.

"While it is true that the task of winning seats and finally the Government is important, it should only be secondary to the primary task of formulating policy based upon the socialist objective."

### AN ACCURATE FORECAST

Writing at the same time, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Australia, Mr. L. L. Sharkey, warned that "the struggle against the Santamaria forces, who in reality are the Australian version of McCarthyism, is by no means finished, either in the A.L.P. or the trade union movement."

(The Labor Party Crisis, foreword page 3.)

This warning by Mr. Sharkey, like his 1952 forecast of the Labor Party Crisis, has been fully confirmed by life.

Operating under their new-found alias, the National Civic Council, the Santamaria forces of reaction are currently making a renewed assault on the Labor Party and the whole labour movement.

"The National Civic Council is the worst opponent of the labour movement at this time", the Tasmanian State secretary and Federal vice-president of the A.L.P., Mr. Lacy, told this year's Tasmanian A.L.P. Conference.

The current attack is taking the form of bids by the so-called "Democratic Labor Party" for "unity" with the A.L.P.

On the authority of one of its founders, Mr. W. M. Bourke, former M.H.R., "Mr. Santamaria's secret organisation straddles the shoulders of the D.L.P. and prevents it from making further progress."

Any A.L.P. rapprochement with the D.L.P. therefore could only be at the price of selling the A.L.P.'s soul, rediscovered so painfully in the fight against the Groupers.

This view was expressed in a letter to the A.L.P. Federal Executive in September last year, signed by 66 officials from A.L.P. affiliated unions, 150 officials and members of branches and State and Federal Councils of the A.L.P., seven N.S.W. executive members and four members of Parliament:

"We, the undersigned members of the N.S.W. branch of the A.L.P., note the sustained campaign by the anti-labour press against the Federal secretary of the A.L.P., Mr. Chamberlain, and the legitimate Victorian branch of our Party.

"We believe these inspired attacks are designed to prepare the way for an alliance with the D.L.P. and eventually a merger with renegades who have destroyed two State Labor

Governments and prevented the election of a Federal Labor Government.

"As rank and file officials of the A.L.P. branches and unions we categorically declare our opposition to any pact, agreement or unity with the D.L.P. at the expense of Labor policy, principles or individuals.

"We support the leader of the Federal Parliamentary Party, Mr. Calwell, when he described the D.L.P. as a 'Judas Party' existing only to disrupt the labour movement and to prevent Labor from winning public office.

"We endorse the decisions of the Federal Labor Executive and Federal secretary Chamberlain's statements that Labor would not barter policy or principle for electoral advantage and we call upon all members of the A.L.P. to support this principled stand."

The political front of the National Civic Council, the "Democratic Labor Party" which is neither democratic nor labour, saved no fewer than 15 seats for the Menzies Government in the last Federal elections, thereby robbing the A.L.P. of a victory which the people of Australia clearly intended it to have.

Support for this disruptive clique is dwindling; but it is still capable of serious damage and what Mr. L. Sharkey wrote in 1956 is still valid:

"... it is a foremost task of the A.L.P., the Communist Party, the trade unions and all progressives to expose the D.L.P. and convince all honest people influenced by the D.L.P. of its true role, in order to eliminate it from public life.

"A similar task faces all militants in the trade union movement, where the Groupers still hold important positions, notably in the Ironworkers and Clerks organisations, as well as others.

"The struggle against the D.L.P., which is outside the labour movement, is therefore an integral part of the struggle to root out the Groupers from the labour movement and put an end to their poisonous influence in the political life of our country."

### A.E.U. UNDER FIRE

Members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union were shocked recently to learn that the election for president of their union would not be conducted by the union but by the Arbitration Court.

The president of the A.E.U. is Mr. A. Horsburgh, a prominent member of the Australian Labor Party. Nominations for this position were taken at union branch meetings during June, and the election was to have been conducted at branch meetings some time after.

This method of election, which permits the rank and file to watch and control every stage of the election, is a deep-seated and well-loved democratic tradition in the A.E.U. But it was thrown overboard by two men who sat in an office by themselves and decided this drastic change in union policy.

They are Commonwealth Councillors C. Shearer and J. McDowell, newly elected (in court-controlled ballots).

They held their "meeting" when the chairman, Mr. Horsburgh, was in Queensland; the secretary, Mr. Garland, was attending other union business in Sydney, and the third Commonwealth Councillor, Mr. Southwell, was in Adelaide.

Either the "meeting" held by these newcomers had no chairman, or the chairman moved or seconded the resolution. In either case, the procedure conflicted with democratic union procedure.

The 1961 rank and file interstate conference of the A.E.U. expressed unanimous opposition to court-controlled ballots. Messrs. Shearer and McDowell acted without any request from the rank and file and their action has since been roundly condemned by the Melbourne and Sydney District Committees of the union and innumerable branches and factory meetings.

When the Menzies Government introduced in 1950 the legislation providing the powers which Messrs. Shearer and McDowell used, it was condemned by the Communist Party, the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the Australian Labor Party.

Discussions at the time between the A.C.T.U., the Parliamentary Labor Party and the Federal Executive of the A.L.P. resulted in a decision that the A.L.P. in Parliament should oppose the Bill in its entirety rather than move amendments, because, as the A.C.T.U. executive explained in a report to the 1951 congress: "To have submitted amendments would have led to the belief that the trade union movement and the A.L.P. were condoning at least some aspects of the measure."

Why then did two men, newly in office, adopt such unusual methods and so arrogantly flout the will of their own members and the views of the whole trade union movement?

The answer to that question is to be found in the circumstances whereby these two men gained their positions.

Their ballots were conducted by the Court, following a petition signed by 1,000 members of the Union—a small minority—as required by Menzies' legislation.

The collecting of such a number of signatures is a formidable task, obviously requiring organisation. (It is a task of which the users of Menzies' legislation in the A.E.U. will be relieved if the precedent established in the current

presidential election can be extended to all union ballots.) Their election campaign was based on widespread distribution of handwritten propaganda and extensive door-to-door canvassing. All the organisations of the A.E.U. rank and file were supporting opponents of Messrs. Shearer and McDowell . . . so who did all the work for them?

The answer to this intriguing question was given by no less a person than Mr. B. A. Santamaria in an interview with the Australian Financial Review on April 19, 1962.

He told the political correspondent of that big business journal that the National Civic Council, which he heads, had been involved in heavy costs in the A.E.U. elections.

"Within a year some 20,000 letters were sent out, then another 150,000 letters containing the anti-Communist ticket", he said. "Postage alone cost a big sum."

Mr. Santamaria did not disclose what expenses other than postage were incurred. But a rough check shows that postage cost more than £3,500 on Mr. Santamaria's own figures. And it is known that also employed were 30 full-time organisers, hundreds of canvassers, and a large number of cars.

This, then, explains the action of Messrs. Shearer and McDowell. Their reversal of A.E.U. policy, in defiance of their own rank and file and the policy of the labour movement, was the pay-off for services rendered by the National Civic Council, whose massive interference in the affairs of the union had resulted in their election. (Mr. McDowell has admitted to a meeting of A.E.U. members in Lithgow, N.S.W., that he was asked to stand by the Queensland Labor Party, the N.C.C. front in that State.)

It is a first move in a long-range plan to turn the A.E.U. into what the late Mr. Chifley so aptly described, and condemned, as a "tame cat union". The National Civic Council

which is spearheading this anti-union drive has its own peculiar methods of operation.

In the same interview, Mr. Santamaria boasted how he had helped the chairman of the hospital board in Healesville, Victoria, to defeat resolutions at a meeting of hospital contributors last August. "I got them 400 new subscribers at £1 each" to oppose the resolution, he blandly confessed.

This sort of mass barter in votes is certainly expensive; and, of course, completely the reverse of trade union democracy. But it is in line with the policy and tactics of the National Civic Council, which under a variety of aliases, has for a long time been trying to subvert the Australian labour movement.

### LONG RECORD OF DISRUPTION

Its operations first came to public attention in 1945, when the Communist Party published a report which had been delivered to the national conference of the organisation which was then known as "The Movement".

This name was chosen, the report explained, because "for obvious reasons (members) cannot work publicly as members of a Catholic Action organisation . . . but, working anonymously, they perform the highest work of Catholic Action." (Catholic Action at Work.)

The report explained that progress had been slow because its representatives had been "compelled to act individually. Wherever they concentrated in groups it was obvious the groups were Catholic." (Ibid.)

For that reason the report hailed the formation of the A.L.P. Industrial Groups (formed in 1944). "It is impossible for us to exaggerate the importance of this change for our activists", the report said. ". . . today they have the cover of the Labor Party." (Ibid.)

Armed with that cover, the Movement set out for control of the unions, with special attention to the Federated Ironworkers' Association, and the Federated Clerks' Union, both then under militant leadership.

It should be stressed that while the Movement was claiming to act on behalf of the Catholic Church, the Report had to confess that the majority of working class Catholics had refused to help its disruption in the unions.

In the Clerks' Union in Melbourne a round-up had obtained only "80 serviceable activists" and "although there are 10,000 members in the Ironworkers' Union in Victoria, a year of effort has been unable to disclose six reliable Catholics among them all."

This loyalty of Catholic workers to their working class organisations has continued to be a bug-bear for the anti-working class "Movement".

It was some time, therefore, before the Industrial Groups could really make their presence felt in their chosen targets, the Ironworkers' and Clerks' unions. It was 1949 before they made a public impression—and then it was hardly the sore of impression they desired.

Having been decisively beaten in a Clerks' Union ballot, which they challenged unsuccessfully in the courts before and after the poll, they determined on a dramatic step.

On Saturday night, August 6, of that year, William Dobson, a prominent leader of the Industrial Groups in the Clerks' Union, reported to police that he had been thrown from a Manly ferry and robbed of "secret documents". He claimed he recognised one of his assailants as a well-known Communist in the Clerks' Union.

The press co-operated by headlining the "attempted murder" the following morning. But then the plot exploded. Dobson had to admit there had been no attack. He had



dunked himself in the harbour in a bid to frame a Communist on an attempted murder charge. He was later bound over on a charge of committing a public mischief. (Later he turned his talents in another direction. He stole from David Jones Ltd. and found the State machine not nearly so forgiving. He got a stiff jail sentence.)

In his panic when the plot misfired, Dobson had left behind him damning evidence of the Industrial Group's connection with big business and the secret political police.

This exposure was a serious setback to the Groups, alias "The Movement", alias National Civic Council.

But they had powerful friends and they kept plugging. Only a couple of years later a court-controlled ballot installed them in the leadership of the Clerks' Union; where, thanks to Court ballots and judicious changes in the rules, they still remain.

Meanwhile they were equally active in the Federated Ironworkers' Association. The techniques were similar—repeated legal actions, usually frivolous in content, but costing the union huge sums of money . . . in all about £14,000 was eaten up in Short-provoked legal actions.

In 1950, the Menzies Government came to the help of the Industrial Groupers with legislation drastically widening the opportunities for Court intervention in union ballots.

Short and company quickly took advantage of this. Short had been resoundingly defeated that year when he ran for national secretary against Jack McPhillips. Now he obtained a court-controlled ballot for the Sydney branch, in which he ran for branch secretary. But, thanks to rank and file vigilance against rigging, he was equally convincingly defeated in this ballot.

But two days before it was declared, Mr. Justice Dunphy of the Arbitration Court appointed him national secretary of the union.

### SANTAMARIA'S ADVICE ON THE "POWER OF IDEAS"

The Clerks and the Ironworkers were the first two decisive gains by the Movement, operating within the Industrial Groups. Others were to follow by use of the same techniques, and with the help of the State apparatus.

"If you go back to the early days of our organisation", Santamaria told a meeting of his supporters some years later, "in the times when we had no force whatsoever, when we didn't have a national organisation, all that we could put forward was an idea, and the idea was this: that whatever might be the side issues, whatever might be the evils, the dangers and abuses, there was one issue facing Australia and it was the issue of Communism. That really had priority over every other struggle in Australia: and when we had nothing but an idea, by plugging and plugging at that idea, in the end we were able to build our own organisation on that basis and to determine the effectiveness of that organisation in the political and industrial field.

"There was another idea which we plugged even before we had any real organisation, and it was this:

"I can remember that tried and trusted Catholics used to say to us then, that the idea you are putting up that the State should legislate about ballots is absolutely impossible. It can't come about. All unions will resist it. But we plugged at it and in the end the idea made organisation, organisation made legislation. . ."

This little homily of Santamaria is very enlightening. Because today's resurgence of National Civic Council disruption in the trade unions is also based on an idea which the Movement has plugged and plugged—the phoney idea that union elections should be run on party political lines—the condemnation of so-called "unity tickets".

Santamaria developed this idea after the 1954 Federal Conference of the A.L.P. held in Hobart had withdrawn the A.L.P. imprimatur from the Industrial Groups.

Dr. Evatt, speaking in the Sydney Town Hall on August 7, 1955, had placed squarely the labour attitude to this "idea".

"The Labor Party", he said, "stands for unity and the improvement of conditions of workers. This interminable struggle for position in the trade unions is a device hit on by people like Menzies so that the unions will be convulsed by ballots and more ballots and court actions. In this way the interests of the trade unionists are forgotten. Trade unions must maintain their close integration with the Labor Party. But the Labor Party must not interfere with the rights of trade unionists to elect to office the people they want."

Here was a clear-cut answer to the "unity ticket" propaganda of the Groups. But in accordance with Santamaria's formula, the Movement plugged and plugged—and today unfortunately a number of union officials have been expelled from the A.L.P. simply because they followed that advice given by Dr. Evatt in 1955. People who value the unity and integrity of the trade union movement should therefore learn from Mr. Santamaria, and recognise that the "anti-unity ticket" idea is a battering ram used by the National Civic Council to destroy the unions.

### THE EXPLOSION

Backed by the State apparatus and using the discredited bludgeon of anti-Communism, the Industrial Groups had made great inroads into the labour movement by 1953 and 1954. They had seized control of a number of unions, and immediately altered the rules to reduce or destroy rank and file control. As a result of this, and a misuse of Parish machinery, they had obtained strong influence in the A.L.P. organisation.

But they reckoned without the working people. Grouper domination of the A.L.P. had cost that Party dear. It

suffered successive national electoral defeats in 1951 and 1954, and the Party was splintered with factions.

The basic source of this was the contradiction between the objective interests of the working people, to whom the A.L.P. looked for support, and the clerical-reactionary policy which "The Movement", working through the Groups, was trying to foist on it.

The disastrous effects of the cold war were making themselves felt. Inflation was corroding living standards. Public services, such as education and health, were plunging into crisis as the monopoly war planners devoured the nation's wealth.

The people fought back. In particular, the struggle for peace became a great unifying force.

The Communist Party was fighting consistently for unity of the working class, a high point in which had been achieved with the defeat of Menzies' referendum on the Communist Party Dissolution Act.

Santamaria had no sympathy with and did not understand the traditions of the labour movement. He could not feel the mood of the workers. Inevitably he clashed with Roman Catholics who had spent a lifetime in the labour movement, and won influential posts within it. Many of these began publicly to charge the Industrial Groups with destroying the Labor Party.

Their fears were heightened by the emergence of a Left grouping in the A.L.P. which was showing itself responsive to the work for unity led by the Communist Party.

But Santamaria would not heed these "old" Catholics, as he dubbed them. Instead he turned his apparatus against them too.

By 1954, the Industrial Groups and the secret "Movement" it was sheltering were sitting on a powder keg. All that was needed was a spark.

This was provided when Dr. Evatt, leader of the A.L.P., was forced to hit back at Grouper intrigues with the Menzies Government to involve him and his staff in the infamous Petrov stunt. These intrigues cost the A.L.P. an election victory. Dr. Evatt declared war on what he called "an outside influence" subverting the A.L.P. On October 5, 1954, he charged that the Groups "had created an almost intolerable situation calculated to deflect the labour movement from the pursuit of established labour objectives and ideals."

"It seems certain that the activities of the small group are largely directed from outside the labour movement. The Melbourne News Weekly appears to act as their organ. A serious position exists.

"Since the referendum of 1951 labour leadership has become very patient with some of these outbursts, solely in the interests of solidarity. But our patience is abused and our tolerance is interpreted as a sign of weakness."

(The Industrial Groups had done all in their power to sabotage the referendum campaign. In Victoria, where they controlled the Richmond City Council, they had refused the Town Hall to advocates of a No vote and let it to Yes supporters. Forged propaganda had been issued to destroy confidence in the No campaign. Yet Vote No was official policy of the A.L.P. After the referendum there were strong moves for expulsion of Keon, Mullens and other Grouper leaders for their breach of A.L.P. policy; but Dr. Evatt had protected them. This lesson by Dr. Evatt should be restudied by some people in the A.L.P. now preaching "tolerance" to the N.C.C. and D.L.P.)

"The Labor Party", Dr. Evatt went on, "cannot yield to the dictates of any minority which functions in a way contrary to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the rank and file of the labour movement."

## PECULIAR MORALITY

It is typical of Mr. Santamaria's peculiar concepts of morality that he loudly and repeatedly denied that there was any such organisation as described by Dr. Evatt.

"There is no Catholic organisation seeking to dominate the Labor Party or any other political Party", he is quoted as saying in the Sydney Morning Herald of January 29, 1955. "This has already been attested to by Archbishop Mannix." He admitted that Catholics had been "fighting Communists" but this had been limited to attending "union meetings regularly. They have fought elections."

But just a few months later there appeared in The Examiner, a Catholic journal in Bombay, India, a series of articles by Mr. Santamaria entitled "Religious Apostolate and Political Action". Mr. Santamaria was described as general secretary of Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action.

"Whatever value there may be in the following submissions", he wrote, "arises from the fact that it is a practical discussion of an actual reality—the work of the Industrial Movement in the social, industrial and political field."

In Australia, Mr. Santamaria was proclaiming: "No such organisation exists. The Archbishop has attested to that." In India he was describing the workings of the organisation, "an actual reality". Such honesty. Such morality!

## PERMEATION

These articles are essential reading for an insight into the workings of "The Movement", alias National Civic Council.

Mr. Santamaria explained that Catholic Action could take three forms.

"(1) **Representative Action.** This occurs when an authorised Catholic body presents its views to a public body—a

government, a trade union, a professional organisation—either by the spoken word or in writing, in a deputation or before a Royal Commission and so on. Except on small issues this type of action is rarely effective.

“(2) **Pressure Group Action.** This occurs when a Catholic organisation, like the old Australian Catholic Federation, puts up parliamentary candidates of its own in order to solve a particular problem. In a non-Catholic and predominantly secular community like our own, this type of action is out of touch with reality and doomed to failure. (This type of action in any case properly falls within the ambit of Party political action.)”

Representative Action and Pressure Group Action as defined by Mr. Santamaria are the normal ways any group puts forward its ideas and seeks public support for them. But they are unsuitable for Mr. Santamaria's purposes because, as he admits, there is no mass support for his ideas; nor can there be. Therefore, he recommends a third way.

“(3) Action by way of permeation. This involves (a) the conscious training of individuals to participate in political and industrial life; (b) the development and maintenance of machinery to keep together in association individuals possessing the same ideals so that their views will make an effective impact and be of consequence; (c) continuous guidance by an authorised body entrusted with this work by a competent authority to ensure that these individuals are guided in all their actions by the moral law and the principles of Christianity.

“In the modern democratic community, if one is unable or unwilling to perform this task, it is useless to speak of “industrial action” or “political action” with scientific precision.”

Santamaria stressed that control of the organisation involved in this work should be in the hands of the Hierarchy, with close co-operation with “laymen in the field”.

Going into detail about the practical operation of “permeation”, Santamaria stressed that policies were more important than men; and where necessary Catholics should be replaced by non-Catholics, who were more amenable to the ideas of the Movement.

“Policies are made effective when the men holding them reach positions of influence”, he said. (No nonsense here about democracy. Get the position of influence, and then introduce the policy, which you have not disclosed up to that stage . . . that is the art of permeation.)

### PERMEATION IN PRACTICE

The labour movement now has a wealth of experience of permeation in practice. Here are just a few random examples:

• In 1956, when the Federal executive of the A.L.P. was investigating affairs in the New South Wales branch, Mr. Carew told the executive he had been asked to join the A.L.P. by his Parish Priest. He had been one of a number of university students who met nightly during vital union campaigns and were issued with union tickets to enable them to go to the various union meetings and vote under Grouper instruction. He told the Executive of how vital matters for the labour movement had been defeated on occasions by such illegal methods.

• Mr. Sullivan, who up till 1954 had been a leading member of the Groups in Newcastle, told the Federal Executive that Grouper candidates had received money from B.H.P. and other monopolies to help them win union elections.

### “PERMEATION” OF THE WATERFRONT

• Statutory declarations made by Victor Campbell in 1958 exposed “permeation” attempts in the Waterside Workers' Federation.

Campbell had been a member of the "National Secretariat" of the Movement's organisation in the Waterside Workers' Federation. His statutory declaration outlined how the Group was assisted by Mr. Shortell, a member of the Australian Stevedoring Industry Authority, to obtain rooms at very cheap rent from the Maritime Services Board, as a headquarters for the campaign against the W.W.F. leadership. (Mr. Shortell was appointed to his position by the Menzies Government, following the split in the A.L.P., provoked by the Groupers, in which Mr. Shortell, then president of the N.S.W. Labor Council, had played a prominent part.)

In another statutory declaration, Mr. Campbell summarised proceedings at a meeting which was called "the National Conference of Industrial Groups" in Melbourne, at the Parade Hotel, Fitzroy, on Saturday, March 8, 1958.

W. Williams, of Hobart Branch, "suggested they could do better on the Hobart waterfront by setting up an organisation to be known as the Rank and File Committee and by dissociating themselves completely in the public sense from the Industrial Groups".

Kevin Owens, of Melbourne, spoke about the progress made by the Industrial Group on the Melbourne waterfront and echoed Mr. Williams. "He emphasised that it was not necessary at this stage, for the groups in other ports to be known publicly as such. Any name would do for the time being."

Brooks, of Sydney, painted a rosy picture about the Group's prospects in the next union elections in that port, and showed the same coyness about the Group's public image: "In Sydney," he said, "we will have no public association with the Industrial Groups. . ."

Pat Gleeson, then a Federal Councillor of the W.W.F. from Melbourne, revealed yet another sidelight on the Movement's ethical standards: "As a Federal Councillor of

the Federation, I come into possession of all correspondence from Federal office, all minutes and other documents of the Executive and Council. I propose that contacts in future be sent roneoed copies of this material on matters affecting their various States. . .

"I firmly believe that a national body should be set up independent of the Industrial Groups—a national body which will appear as an entirely different body to the Groups. We must attack the Communists continuously."

Cyril Naughton, an insurance agent, was at the meeting and undertook certain work in the wharfies' elections. He proposed that Pat Gleeson should tour the South Australian ports with him. "We can also meet prominent business people, who will play their part by donating funds for your organisation inside the Federation. The resources, cars, etc., of my company in South Australia are at the service of your National Committee."

Outlining some organisational proposals, Gus Alford, Melbourne (defeated by Jim Healy in the 1961 elections for Federal secretary) said: "In the larger ports it has been decided to organise over 100 canvassers, not only wharfies, but other persons sympathetic to the Group, to canvass waterside workers in their homes personally. All finance to carry on our work cannot, through circumstances, be collected on the waterfront. Therefore, it is necessary to go further afield and collect donations from the business people, shipping companies, etc. You will find they are sympathetic to our work. £650 each year is needed for Group administration on the Melbourne waterfront alone, travelling expenses, stamps, etc. This does not include the cost of printed materials, posting Waterside, Vigilante, etc. . . . these are financed by other means. I suggest that the various delegates approach professional and business people in their ports, but leave the various shipping and stevedoring and other big business companies to other

contacts." Alford quoted "an Arch Paterson, of a Port Lincoln Bus Company, who had promised £100 for this fund, and said there were others who would do likewise. He went on: "The main source of revenue for Vigilante comes from Shell Oil Company. Their advertising in Vigilante costs them £28 per issue. However, they contribute more than this. The ad. runs out next month and we will have to decide if we should continue it in view of the criticism. We will, I have been assured, continue to receive a donation equivalent to the cost of the ad. from Shell for the next 12 months."

Alford also stressed that it was essential for delegates not to give the impression that Vigilante was associated with the Industrial Group. It was an entirely separate organisation. The Watersider was the Group paper. He added: "We have the money. All we want is capable organising. However, we must in all branches show our faces to collect finance for local bulletins. If you do this, we will supply you with finance for any other purpose, travelling, extra printing, etc. This information must not leave the meeting. You can imagine what Healy and his friends would do to us should they know."

Comment seems superfluous on this story of deception of the workers and deliberate creation of a big business fifth column inside the trade union movement. It reveals in all its nakedness the real nature of Mr. Santamaria's "permeation". It is simply a new name for a very old profession.

### A.E.U. EXPERIENCE

- The Amalgamated Engineering Union is another union on which "The Movement" has long had its sights trained.

In 1957, "The Movement" sent a circular to its members instructing them on how to interfere in the ballot then proceeding in that union.

Stressing that the objectives of the campaign included the finding of "inner group members of the future", the circular advised the compilation of dossiers on A.E.U. members contacted.

Then follows another example of the Movement's morals: "For a number of years the rules of this union have prohibited a candidate from issuing or causing to be issued, printed, duplicated, cyclostyled or typewritten matter.

"It is usual therefore to confine How To Vote material to handwritten letters. . .

"In this election members will have posted to them printed How To Vote circulars. . . This circular has been authorised by a Rank and File Committee. In the course of the canvass members may be asked about this or the Rank and File Committee. They should quite truthfully say (truthfully? P.M.) that they do not know who issued the printed propaganda, nor do they know anyone associated with the Rank and File Committee. If you happen to have a printed How To Vote ticket in your pocket, do not show it."

A leaflet issued last year (1961) by the Melbourne District Committee of the union outlines some experiences in the most recent elections for that committee.

"A member employed at Dunlop Rubber Co. found his ballot papers had been sent to him correctly under the name of Hudson. But there was also an envelope addressed to his home under the name of Henderson. This envelope contained an Industrial Group How To Vote card.

"Two men came to his home and asked for Mr. Henderson, clearly working off the same list from which the Industrial Group card had been posted.

"Mr. Hudson told the men that there was no Mr. Henderson at that address. The men then began to remonstrate with him, and because his wife was ill, he asked them to lower their voices.

"They insisted that there was a man named Henderson at that address and they demanded to see him. After further argument one of the men said, 'You dirty Commo \_\_\_\_\_' and punched Mr. Hudson on the head, knocking him to the ground. The men then jumped into the car, turned off its lights and quickly drove off."

The shop steward at the Gordon Street, Footscray, Munitions Factory, after he had announced his intention of canvassing in the election for Messrs. Carmichael and Hill (anti-Group candidates) had his car broken into and his canvassing list, pence card and other relevant material stolen.

Mr. Sarter, employed at Preston Tramway Workshops, received his ballot paper, filled it in and posted it back to the Electoral Officer.

On Wednesday, September 20, two N.C.C. canvassers came to Mr. Sarter's home while he was absent, and left some papers with his cousin. They included an extra ballot paper and a Grouper How To Vote card. Later the two canvassers returned, gave him an envelope and offered to pay for the stamp for him to return the extra ballot paper. Mr. Sarter, having thought about it overnight, reported it to his shop steward, who reported it to the Union. Mr. Sarter was taken to the Electoral Officer to whom he gave the ballot paper and made a statutory declaration setting out the details.

### **PLOTS AGAINST A.C.T.U.**

The N.C.C. has spared no effort in its assault on the A.E.U., because this union occupies a key position in its plan for splitting the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

The A.W.U. bureaucracy has for some years been canvassing the idea of a breakaway trade union centre from the A.C.T.U. Last year a group of unions, spearheaded by the N.C.C.-dominated Ironworkers and Clerks' unions, refused to pay their affiliation fees to the A.C.T.U. because they

disagreed with A.C.T.U. policy on exchanging visits with overseas trade unionists, including trade unionists from Socialist countries. They did not attend the 1961 A.C.T.U. Congress and let it be known they were considering forming another trade union centre. N.C.C. control of the A.E.U. is of great importance in this long-range plan of disruption.

### **ANTI-WORKING CLASS POLICY**

According to News Weekly on March 21, 1962, Mr. Santamaria told a television audience:

"I am not particularly interested in the political and military aspects of the struggle in South Vietnam, or the industrial and political aspects of the struggle in the A.E.U.," he said.

"I am interested in the defeat of Communism in both areas—that and nothing else."

According to Mr. Santamaria then, N.C.C.-sponsored candidates in union elections are "not particularly interested" in the industrial objectives, which the unions pursue. They are interested only in anti-Communism.

"Anti-Communism", said the 81 Communist Parties in their famous November 1960 statement, is "a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat.

"Anti-Communism arose at the dawn of the working class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world Socialist system, anti-Communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-Communism which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the Socialist social system, presents Communist

policies and objectives in a false light and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organisations."

Anti-Communism was the mainspring of the Second World War. The "anti-Comintern Pact" of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo cost the world 50 million lives. The mass production of death in Dachau, Auschwitz and the hell camps of the Burma Road was the highpoint of anti-Communist achievement.

Mr. Santamaria's proclaimed "lack of interest" in the industrial and political aspirations of union members is therefore in reality a consistent and vicious political support of the boss—who is also interested in anti-Communism; because militant union leadership threatens his profits.

N.C.C. policy is anti-working class, anti-labour and anti-Australia. Consider just a few of its salient features:

**WAGES:** The whole labour movement supports A.C.T.U. policy on this question. This is for a basic wage which would permit a family to live at standards conforming to modern social customs, to be varied quarterly in accordance with changes in the cost of living. The purchasing power of the secondary wage called "margin" which is paid as reward for skill, hardship and other factors, should be maintained by adjustments similar to those made to the basic wage. Women should receive equal wages to men.

The N.C.C. opposed this moderate wage policy on virtually every point. It asks for a basic wage to be a single unit wage supplemented from taxation by child endowment and marriage allowances. It wants both the basic wage and the margins based on a productivity index.

The A.C.T.U. congresses have rejected this viewpoint of the N.C.C. in its entirety.

The N.C.C. plan would reduce men's wages to women's levels, instead of raising women's wages. Employers would be saved millions of pounds in wages, because taxpayers would pay part of the wage. This part of the wage, of course, would be frozen in legislation and quite unable to adjust to changes in living costs. (Consider, for example, child endowment under the Menzies Government.)

Despite the democratic decisions of the trade union movement the N.C.C. agents in the trade unions continue to push their own line.

The N.C.C. program for wages has understandably made no headway in the labour movement. But it has been warmly adopted by the employers. The Metal Trades Employers and other employers' spokesmen have been campaigning for it in press articles criticising the present basis of wage determination. (At the present time the basic wage may be varied annually if the unions can prove changes in the cost of living as measured by the Consumers' Index. The unions demand quarterly adjustments, and a better measurement of the cost of living. The N.C.C. wants, like the employers, only annual adjustments based on productivity. This would rob the workers of the last vestige of defence against the spiralling cost of living.)

**DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS.** The labour movement is united in opposition to the industrial and political sections of the Crimes Act and similar legislation. It mounted a successful struggle against Menzies' Communist Party Dissolution Bill, defeating it finally in a referendum. The N.C.C., then "The Movement", operating through the Industrial Groups, supported Menzies.

The labour movement demands repeal of the penal clauses of the Arbitration Act. The N.C.C. supports those industrial action. It is significant that when the Menzies clauses, which virtually outlaw strikes or any form of genuine



Government in 1950 introduced the amendments to the Act widening the provisions for Court-controlled ballots in unions, it also sharpened the anti-working class penal sections. The amendments were opposed by the whole labour movement—Communist Party, Labor Party and trade unions. They were supported by the N.C.C., then operating through the Industrial Groups. The N.C.C. proclaims that its support of Court-conducted ballots is a defence of "clean" ballots. This is an insult to the hundreds of unionists who conduct ballots throughout the trade union movement. It is also completely false.

The only argument advanced by the N.C.C. as to the cleanness of the Court-conducted ballots is that they are conducted by the same electoral officers who conduct parliamentary elections. But this overlooks the fact that all union ballots conducted in this way are postal ballots, and it is precisely this section of Parliamentary elections that is most subject to criticism. Imagine the opposition that would meet any proposal to conduct all Parliamentary elections by post.

Evidence of "uncleanness" of court-conducted ballots has been given elsewhere in this pamphlet. These ballots often have shock results with well-known union leaders of high prestige being defeated by unknowns. In many cases evidence has been provided of interference with the ballot, because the postal method makes this possible.

The postal method is favoured by the N.C.C. because it is most suitable for their peculiar forms of organisation. It involves in the election a large number of disinterested union members who are most susceptible to the anti-Communist lies of the N.C.C. The postal ballot opens the way for the N.C.C. canvassers' door-to-door campaign; it makes possible the collecting of large numbers of ballot papers from disinterested members, and the use of the Parish machinery to intimidate them. These are among

the main reasons why the N.C.C. supports court-conducted ballots. They are also among the main reasons why the labour movement opposes them.

**SOCIAL SERVICES:** Since the Menzies Government came into office it has consistently pressed for a reversal of A.L.P. policy on Social Services as introduced by the Chifley Government. The Menzies Government has set as its objective a contributory scheme, in which the working people pay in advance through taxation for inadequate services. It has virtually abolished the free medicine scheme, drastically amended the medical and hospital benefits funds to the disadvantage of the workers and cut heavily into housing funds and rental rebate systems. In all of this it has been opposed by the labour movement. But the N.C.C., and its front the D.L.P. supports it. It advocates a contributory national insurance scheme to deal with social services.

**FOREIGN POLICY:** Santamaria's organisations opposed the decisions on foreign policy made by the Federal Labor Party conference in Hobart in 1954. They support Australian military intervention in South East Asia, and bitterly oppose the concept of a nuclear-free zone in the Southern Hemisphere as proposed by Mr. Calwell and endorsed by the A.L.P. Federal Executive. They support stockpiling of nuclear weapons in Australia and the unrestricted provision of military bases for aggressive U.S. imperialism, and favor in the highest degree U.S. testing of nuclear weapons.

In fact, their foreign policy is so rabidly anti-Communist that they find the Menzies Government, and even its master the U.S. Government, too pacifist at times.

Mr. Santamaria made this clear in a television broadcast which was reported in "News Weekly" on October 18, 1961:

"Every little challenge in Berlin—like the sealing of the border—to which we accommodate ourselves, provokes not peace or stability but a greater challenge", he said.

"I fervently hope that Khrushchov will not make his final assessment as to our will and purpose in Berlin on the basis of what he has seen and deduced from Laos and Cuba. God forbid that the patter of brave words on Laos and Cuba, followed by no brave action, be repeated in Berlin."

In other words, in Mr. Santamaria's view, we should "risk war" at every new turn in the cold war. We should have "risked war" over Cuba, Laos and Berlin. The imperialists of course did risk war in all those situations, but their aggression was not sharp enough for Santamaria. He wants major military action in all such situations; which of course would not be risking but making war.

The N.C.C. does not believe in peaceful co-existence. This was stated quite specifically by Senator McManus in a Senate debate on September 30, 1959. "What does co-existence mean?" he asked. "It means that you sacrifice the people of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, East Germany, Hungary, Tibet and if necessary India and Vietnam—you sacrifice the lot, if you can in that way save your own skin. I do not believe that the seeds of peace are to be sown by abandoning people, many of whom fought with us in the last war, to the rule of dictatorial Communism."

The N.C.C. is not concerned with Australian security. If necessity that must be sacrificed in the unholy cause of anti-Communism.

### **JAPANESE CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE**

Mr. Santamaria was quite specific about this in another T.V. broadcast reported in "News Weekly" on February 14, 1962.

He was commenting on President Kennedy's foreign policy.

"What is now maturing in Kennedy's essential concept", he said. "Over the vast land which stretches from Central Germany across European Russia, across Siberia, down through China, down to the China Sea, he sees a mighty enemy controlling almost a billion people and their resources.

"To act as an effective counterpoise to the Communists of Russia and East Europe with their 300 million subjects, he is backing the formation of a United States of Europe whose beginnings are to be seen in the European Common Market. If this grand design succeeds, a United West Europe will have greater economic and military power than the Soviet.

"To act as a counterpoise to Communist China in the Pacific, the President is relying on Japan. This is not nearly as strong a balance, but it is the only alternative available since the other Asian States lack the same cultural unity as the West European States.

"But if the President is compelled to rely solely on Japan, it will mean that Japan must be given a sphere of economic influence in all of South East Asia, since her own economy is not viable in terms of markets and raw materials.

"The United States would then stand behind Europe in the West and Japan in the East, using her great power as a reserve wherever danger should arise.

"I believe this is the only concept which is adequate to the situation. But it has dangers for Australia. We are threatened by Communist China. But without arms, and in isolation, it may not be only China we have to fear.

"That is why I believe that Australia should arm herself adequately, then work hard to build a Pacific Confederation of all the non-Communist States of the Pacific so that America would lean on this Confederation which would include Japan, rather than on Japan alone; then seek

American support for that policy as safer for the United States as well as for Australia."

But how safe would this be for Australia? There is no truth at all in Mr. Santamaria's allegation that China threatens Australia. China was our ally in the war against Japanese imperialism. Today it is not China that threatens Australia, but the policy of U.S. imperialism and its supporters that aim to restore aggressive Japanese imperialism.

Mr. Santamaria's plan involves giving Japanese imperialism a "sphere of influence" in the whole Pacific and South East Asia area—that is the Japanese East Asian co-prosperity sphere in pursuit of which Japanese militarism waged the second world war. Thousands of Australians died to prevent what Mr. Santamaria now wants to give the Japanese ruling class.

### COMMON MARKET

The N.C.C., alone in Australia, takes the stand on the European Common Market that Australia must be prepared to sacrifice whatever is necessary to bring this imperialist design to fruition. Even the Menzies Government is so concerned at the dangers facing Australia that for the first time in its career it is arguing publicly with both the British and American ruling classes. "News Weekly" on May 16, 1962, demanded that Mr. McEwen "should be drummed out of public life" if he continued to criticise America on this question.

### LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVES

These immediate objectives of the N.C.C. and its various fronts are in harmony with its long-range objectives. These are rarely referred to in the "popular" press controlled or influenced by the N.C.C.; but they have been well expounded in various publications, such as Papal encyclicals, and pamphlets like *Australian Dream* by D. G. M. Jackson; *Australia's*

*New Order—Fact or Fiction*, published by the Catholic Worker in 1947; *Essay in Organic Reconstruction* by James G. Murtagh, M.A., and others.

These pamphlets differ in detail but are all agreed on the essential aim of an organic, decentralised society.

This too is the aim of the Democratic Labor Party as set out in its booklet *We Present*, first published in August 1961.

This is allegedly a society of petty proprietorship—with small industry and small family farms as its economic basis.

It would have a supreme central government, with a decentralised administration based on "vocational or occupational organisations", with "legal status" which would embrace all workers, employers and, perhaps, also consumers in a given trade or industry.

James G. Murtagh in his *Democracy in Australia* gives a succinct explanation of this ideal:

"From our unions and employer groups should evolve in the next stage autonomous public legal bodies, representing all in a given industry, workers, employers, consumers, etc., and empowered with statutory authority to organise the whole trade or profession under final authority of the Government."

This ideal was applied in practice by Mussolini in his tragic fascist rule of Italy; and it is being applied today in Franco Spain and Salazar Portugal.

In Mussolini's "decentralised organic society" the old trade unions, Catholic as well as Socialist, were banned. Shop Committees were prohibited and strikes, boycotts and any other forms of industrial action were outlawed as "crimes against the public economy". The trade unions were replaced by fascist syndicates, organised according to

trades and to which all workers had to pay their dues. The appropriate officials were appointed by the Government or the fascist party.

The syndicates were held by decision of a fascist court to be "State organs and not organisations of the working class".

In 1933, the syndicates were brought together into 22 corporations to represent in "an integral national form" the various branches of the economy.

The corporations were specifically forbidden from interfering with or reducing the role of private enterprise. Monopoly rights were sacrosanct.

This state structure of Mussolini's fascist Italy conforms precisely with the N.C.C. ideal as set out in the publications mentioned. And although described as "decentralised" and "organic", it was in fact "the open, terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinistic elements of finance capital". (Dimitrov.) Fascism, glorifier of war and violence, plunged the world into World War 2 in which at least 50 million people died, sacrificed to the hideous god of anti-Communism.

The victory of the world's people over fascism, a victory made possible by the gallantry and strength of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, discredited fascism as an ideology for all time.

The leaders of the N.C.C. therefore try hard to dissociate themselves from fascism. They pretend to be anti-fascist. But they constantly defend, nevertheless, the remaining fascist dictatorships of Franco and Salazar. (See "News Weekly", the official organ of the N.C.C., for proof of this.)

And they advocate fascist policies in the labour movement—war, even nuclear war against Communism; State control of trade unions; a ban on strikes and support for savage

penalties against strikers; and unquestioning obedience to the rule of monopoly capital as expressed by the millionaire cabinet of President Kennedy and Prime Minister Menzies.

In West Germany and Italy, a Catholic political party, the Christian Democratic Party, guided by the same ideas as Mr. Santamaria's movement, has controlled the Governments for the last 13 years.

In both countries this rule has led to an enormous strengthening of the monopolies and annihilation for thousands of the small producers, which the Movement professes to love. In Italy, for example, agricultural incomes fell by nearly 200,000 million lire, and peasant indebtedness to credit institutions reached 600,000 million lire at the end of 1960, and is still growing. Labour productivity in agriculture is very low, the soil is cultivated by primitive methods, the bulk of the peasants have no land of their own and represent millions of share croppers, day labourers, agricultural workers and small tenant farmers. In the course of 10 years, between 1950 and 1960, about one million people had been driven off the land.

In the cities, while American and Italian monopolies have waxed fat in the years of boom, there have never been fewer than two million workers unemployed, and consequently starving.

A similar picture prevails in West Germany. So it can be seen that whether the Movement's ideas are applied through open fascism, as in Italy, Portugal and Spain, or through formal democratic processes as in West Germany and Italy, they operate in favour of the monopolies, and not of the working people in town or country.

These policies of the N.C.C. are abhorrent to Australians. That is why, as Mr. Santamaria explained, they cannot be pressed openly, but have to be pursued by way of "permeation".

## TRAIL OF WRECKAGE

Understandably, therefore, the N.C.C. has left behind it a trail of disruption. It split the Australian Labor Party and boasts that it alone has stood between that Party and office in the Federal sphere. Its preferences returned no fewer than 15 of Menzies' candidates in the last Federal elections, enabling it to scramble home to office with a margin of two seats.

It destroyed the Cain Labor Government in Victoria and the Gair Labor Government in Queensland. It tried hard to bring down the Labor Government in New South Wales, too, but broke its teeth there on the hard political heads of the then Premier, the late Joseph Cahill, and other experienced leaders. Its effects in the trade unions have been disastrous. Wherever it has gained control it has amended union rules to limit rank and file rights to the right of a postal vote in a court-controlled ballot every three years or so.

Under its influence, the once strong, militant Ironworkers' Association, for example, has seen award wages for arduous work in the steel works fall to levels below those now paid to bottle washers. The union is riddled with factions and cliques, as revealed in the recent decision by the National conference to abolish full-time positions in the South Australian branch—the top clique's method of getting rid of South Australian secretary Husdell, who has not been sufficiently submissive to N.C.C. and U.S. State Department commands.

The Postal Workers' Union under its domination has decayed into a collection of brawling groups.

Faction fights are rife in the top circles of the Clerks' Union.

The N.C.C., as we have already mentioned, has conspired against the unity of the A.C.T.U. And it has badly

damaged the unity of the Catholic Church itself. The bulk of Catholic workers refuse to accept the fascist policies of the N.C.C. and resent bitterly the misuse of their religious faith by Santamaria and other N.C.C. spokesmen. The result has been such an upsurge in the Church against the Santamaria line, that the Vatican had to intervene to save Church unity. Santamaria was compelled to make a public statement in 1957 that he was "in error" in his Bombay Examiner articles in claiming that the Hierarchy was in control of the Movement's operations.

But the Catholic Worker rejected his apology as unsatisfactory, pointing out that had it not been for this misrepresentation by Santamaria, his Movement would have had no more influence than the Catholic Scouts.

For a while the breach in the Church was papered over; but the cracks are re-emerging under the relentless blows of N.C.C. disruption.

In the last elections an A.L.P. candidate for Gwydir, Mr. Austin Heffernan, a practising Catholic, protested publicly against the use of the Church apparatus to defeat him for that seat. (His victory would also have meant defeat for the Menzies Government.)

In Western Australia recently a Bishop found it necessary to come out publicly defending Santamaria from criticism. And in N.S.W. Cardinal Gilroy continues to make no secret of his opposition to the tactics pursued by the N.C.C.

Faced with dwindling mass support and the regrowth of tensions in the Church as a result of its activities, the N.C.C. is becoming desperate. It is redoubling its efforts to subvert the A.L.P. It relies in these efforts on those elements who in the great split of 1954-55 decided to "stay in and fight". These people had no quarrel with the Movement's policies; but they considered its tactics unwise.

Accordingly, in many cases they retained influential positions in the A.L.P. They are using these now to peddle the idea of "unity with the D.L.P."

But such unity would be disastrous. The A.L.P. came within one seat of winning the last Federal elections, despite D.L.P. support for Menzies. It achieved this because it took a stand on a progressive policy which rallied behind it a united working class. Since then, Mr. Calwell's demand for a nuclear-free Southern Hemisphere and no nuclear bases on Australian soil (endorsed by the Federal A.L.P. Executive) has considerably enhanced popular enthusiasm for early defeat of the Menzies Government.

Mr. Calwell's statement in Parliament on this question brought enthusiastic endorsement from the N.S.W. Labor Council, the Victorian A.L.P. conference and dozens of union and job meetings throughout the country. He received enthusiastic applause and overwhelming votes of confidence in the recent N.S.W. and South Australian A.L.P. conferences.

Progressive policies such as this help to unite the working class and build the anti-monopoly movement which alone can defeat the Menzies Government.

The N.C.C. would impose on the A.L.P. reactionary policies which would split the working class and dissipate the strength of the anti-Menzies forces.

On the eve of his compulsory retirement from the Senate, Senator F. P. McManus made yet another bid in this direction. According to the Sydney Morning Herald on May 29, he said that the way "for the A.L.P. to get D.L.P. preferences was to develop courageous Federal leadership, to deal with the Victorian leftwing junta in control of the party executive in that State, and to give Communism a blow by doing so.

"Such a cleaning up of the Victorian executive was the essential preliminary to any deal with the D.L.P. The differences between the parties on foreign affairs were not insuperable and could be dealt with at the conference table." This statement by Senator McManus is worthy of examination. Compared with previous statements it is remarkably conciliatory. This reflects realisation by the D.L.P. that time is running out for them. It also reflects growing confidence in the N.C.C. agents in the A.L.P.

"There was little doubt," McManus said, "that the A.L.P. was swinging to the Right; six of the nine new Queensland Labor members elected last December had A.W.U. backing. There would be no shortage of 'honest brokers' in the D.L.P. if the Victorian A.L.P. executive were dealt with."

The statement tries to isolate the Victorian executive and the Federal secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, as the main obstacles to a D.L.P.-A.L.P. rapprochement. It is therefore important that Mr. Calwell, speaking to the Victorian A.L.P. conference this year, stressed the loyalty of his State to him and his loyalty to his State. Mr. Calwell correctly reminded other Branches of the A.L.P. that it was the decisive action against the Groupers in Victoria in 1954 that had saved the A.L.P. in Australia. In the days when Dr. Evatt led the A.L.P., the N.C.C. made him their chief target; pretending that if Evatt went there would be no difficulties in the way of D.L.P.-A.L.P. agreement.

Dr. Evatt has gone; but agreement has not come. Because the real issues involved are issues of policy. And so it remains. Senator McManus says that the differences of foreign policy are "not insuperable".

But a week after he spoke the D.L.P. Victorian conference called for atomic weapons for Australia and a doubling of military expenditure.

On the same weekend, Mr. Calwell reiterated to A.L.P. conferences his stand for a nuclear free Southern Hemi-

sphere and no nuclear bases in Australia; and in Sydney, a New Zealand Labor Party speaker was warmly applauded by the delegates when he condemned military intervention in South East Asia.

Senator McManus is clearly relying on his alleged "swing to the right" to wipe out these stark differences. But if the N.C.C. succeeded in this, they would at the same time split the whole labour movement.

The point is that the A.L.P. no longer depends on D.L.P. preferences to win office. (An analysis of voting in Victoria, for example, carried out recently by Dr. Sharpe, of the Melbourne University, showed that D.L.P. votes were now coming from former Liberals, not former A.L.P. voters. The last elections showed a substantial decline in the overall D.L.P. vote, as shown in Senator McManus' defeat in their main stronghold, Victoria. And in union elections the N.C.C. has to use falsely the A.L.P. label to sneak its candidates into office.)

Not D.L.P. preferences, but a strong, united and active movement of working people fighting for higher living standards and peace—that is what the A.L.P. depends on for electoral victory. And that movement is growing rapidly.

The N.C.C. is working desperately to disrupt it; to prevent its growth.

That is why an urgent task, part of the fight against monopoly and the Menzies Government, is to destroy the influence of the N.C.C. in the labour movement.

Anti-working class, anti-Australian, it has no place at all in the Australian labour movement with its proud democratic and national traditions. Its base is withering. The Australian working people are becoming increasingly conscious of the bankruptcy of capitalism. Imperialist intrigues in the European Common Market face us with

destruction of whole sectors of our economy, unless Australia can free itself from American domination and find alternate markets to those being lost in Europe.

Realisation is spreading that the U.S. imperialist policies, so beloved of the N.C.C., are threatening our country with atomic annihilation. This would be made more certain if N.C.C. policies for transforming us into a U.S. atomic base could be brought to fruition.

On the other hand, the Socialist world, despite 45 years of unrelenting hostility by imperialism—including the use of war, trade boycotts, propaganda and sabotage—continues to grow stronger year by year.

And in Australia the Communist Party, by its ceaseless work for unity of the working class, is gaining stature and prestige as a leader of the working class and the true voice of Australian national feeling.

The Menzies Government has lost the confidence of even important sections of the monopolies in whose interests it rules. These monopolies are anxious to convert the A.L.P. into a safe alternative government to Menzies.

Hence, they encourage N.C.C. activity aimed at subverting the labour movement. But the workers and farmers, intellectuals and small business-men, are realising more and more keenly that what is good for monopoly is not good for them. Unity of the working people is being built against monopoly. It is that unity that will sweep aside the Menzies Government. The N.C.C. stands with monopoly. It too will be crushed by the onward march of a united people determined to save themselves and their children from the atomic holocaust which imperialism sees as the only alternative to Communism.

### COMMUNIST VIEW OF THE FUTURE

The Communist Party will continue to devote its whole energy to the building of working class unity.

Its view was expressed with crystal clarity by the general secretary, Mr. Sharkey, in 1952:

"The Communist Party stands for the broadest united front with the A.L.P. rank and file, and also with those A.L.P. leaders who fight for a progressive policy for the labour movement. In existing conditions, the most favourable starting point for united activity is the defeat of the Menzies Government and putting an end to its disastrous policies.

"Our aim is not the 'smashing' or 'disruption' of the A.L.P. according to the crude ideas of the Leftists, the old-time anarcho-syndicalists and the like. Nor, like the sectarians, do we regard the A.L.P. as a single reactionary mass. Our aim is unity with the A.L.P. membership in the struggle on the broad base of the interests of the masses; of a progressive policy.

"Our aim is a united front leading up to a united workers' party based on socialist principles.

"The Communist Party, in elections, while having its own policy and candidates, will continue to give its preference to the A.L.P. candidates. The Communists seek all possible forms of united actions with the A.L.P. workers who desire the defeat of the Menzies Government and a progressive Labor Party policy.

"The ultimate aim of the Communist Party, in regard to the A.L.P., is to form a united workers' party, on the basis of the defeat of the rightwing and its class-collaboration policy, and the adoption of Marxist scientific socialist principles.

"Such a perspective in connection with the A.L.P. has nothing in common with the narrow views of the sectarians nor the disruptive tendencies of the Leftists, but is a programme aimed at the indestructible unity of the Australian working class."

Mr. Sharkey stressed that an "orthodox" Labor Government, acting on the present capitalist base, could not solve the crisis of capitalism. It would make clear to the masses its own limitations. But this would not be automatic. It would require a combination of mass activity and criticism of rightwing policies and leaders.

The criticism must be positive, putting before the people a real alternative.

Because of its two-class character, and the adaptation of its ideology to capitalist needs, the Labor Party could not "play the role of liberator of the working people from capitalist exploitation". Only the Communist Party, firmly based on the granite foundation of scientific Marxism-Leninism, can lead the masses, headed by the industrial proletariat, to People's Power. Only the programme of the Communist Party points the way to a People's Government, Socialism and real democracy.

"That is why it is so important to acquaint the masses with the programme of our Party. It is the kind of programme the A.L.P. workers expected from their leaders, to have their hopes repeatedly betrayed. It is the programme of the united working class leading the toiling masses to their liberation from war, unemployment and poverty.

"The Party programme must become the most important milestone in the annals of the Labour Movement, destroying the old treacherous reformist policies and opening up the path of advance to a People's Australia."

(Labor Party Crisis, pp. 22 to 24.)



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