



**BREAKING
THE CHAINS**
Marx's radical
approach p.6

**the
battler**
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'LABOR' BASHES THE UNIONS

• Willis, Hawke and Wran — leading Labor's assault on the unions.



FOR SOME bizarre reason, the Hawke regime still calls itself a "Labor" government.

Yet from the word go, it has forged new shackles for workers. If any unionists stand up for themselves, Labor politicians, ACTU heavies, employers and the press hit them like a ton of bricks.

Labor leaders need their jaws wired shut before they will stop abusing the BLF.

Threats against the Food Preservers Union are an everyday occurrence. Their crime? Trying to maintain their living standards under Labor's "Accord" wage freeze. Public servants wanted a modest 8.3 per cent catch-up pay rise. Arbitration gave them nothing. So now Labor minister Ralph Willis aims to stand down public servants who won't fall into line.

Neville Wran in NSW passed denigration legislation against the BLF, and threatens train drivers with the same. He seeks train drivers simply for striking.

His police smash a water-workers' picket line and arrest their union leaders. Meanwhile the employers are allowed to use a helicopter to buzz scale past the picketers.

The so-called Labor governments are just bosses' governments. They argue for working within the system — and they end up hashing out unions for the bosses.

Labor politicians always say they can make unions' struggles easier by getting into office. Their actions prove otherwise.

We need to start building a real party of labour. A socialist party that will organise workers to fight the system, and one day do away with it altogether.

...while
profits
soar
25%
in six
months

WHILE Labor holds down our wages, the bosses are raking in the dough.

In the year to June 1984, net earnings for big companies went up by 38 per cent, according to a Reserve Bank survey.

And in the most recent six month period, according to the Age and Sydney Morning Herald, profits are up another 25 per cent.

How much has your pay gone up under Labor?

IN YOUR BATTLER

The nuclear power brokers — 2

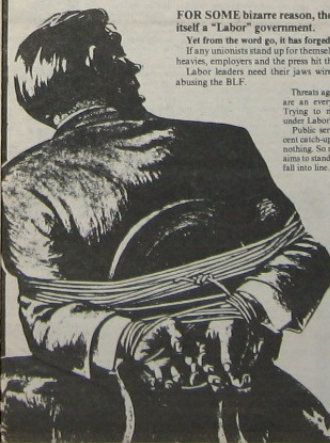


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NO HOPS BARRED

With Alec Kahn

WE live in a democracy, right? A system run by politicians who elect, right? So we want to stop the arms race, we can do it through the ballot box, right?

The point folks that democratically elected politicians control the crazy nuclear arms build-up has been sounded for once and for all. Eight investigations of the Oxford Research Group have just printed two years identifying the people around the world who really make the nuclear decisions. They studied the major atomic agencies in America, Russia, Britain, France and China — and the junior ministers in Israel and India.

They have identified 800 ruling class figures — mostly bourgeoisie — who really make the nuclear decisions. They are not the junior ministers in Israel and India.

The group's two central findings that surprised few who have followed the nuclear debate: They report that nuclear policies were effectively set up in the 1950s to rationalize the development of weapons systems after the war.

These systems and policies are now so institutionalized that politicians are not being presented by civil servants and advisers with options that do not include non-nuclear alternatives.

Non-nuclear alternatives developed

The nuclear power brokers

nuclear systems over 15 or 20 years. By the time a minister, let alone a head of government, becomes aware of a system of development, says the report, it is too late to do anything about it, both in terms of financing and the careers of individuals, that the momentum for this continuation is inevitable.

So British Conservatives wretched for example, was under development for years before the House of Commons ever heard about it.

The urge to expand weapons systems is not merely a case of employment or paranoia by the military bureaucracy. It also has an economic basis.

The Oxford Research Group looks at the British example. The existence of the Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Research Establishment "commits the British government to continually develop new weapons, but has four by five. This will ensure that development work on a new weapon will always be needed. The two ways for Trident will create considerable production capacity which in turn will create pressure to find projects to use that capacity."

With increased size comes increased political sway.

In the U.S. the three nuclear laboratories at Los Alamos, Livermore and Sandia employ 25,000 scientists and technicians. They are not a government laboratory, a comprehensive test-bed facility. They were able to outpace President Carter's moves towards arms control in 1975 and the US Congress has not allowed a single nuclear weapons test to be stopped.

In France, the nuclear lobby is, if anything, even more powerful. The atomic energy agency CEA is a state within a state.

When the Mitterand government suspended nuclear tests in Muramba

As the CEAs intensive lobbying had such an effect that three days later the tests were allowed to resume.

Interestingly, the group finds that in Russia the pressure works in the opposite direction.

The group found a tendency for the Kremlin to pressure cabinet ministers to withdraw weapons advances such as the increasingly targeted multiple re-entry systems.

As in economic matters, competition is the West's own capitalist terms in the Kremlin approach to defence. Reliance on mass production and retooling went on the worldwide early years ago.

Conservatives will doubtless disagree with the West's own capitalist terms in the Kremlin approach to defence. Reliance on mass production and retooling went on the worldwide early years ago.

They will point to the history books to Truman's decision to make the bomb for America in peacetime, to



British scientists in West Germany. A research group in Lancashire has exposed the capitalist logic of the arms race.

OFFICIAL SLAMS ACCORD

EVEN before it was announced, the Victorian election was boring.

The artificial press coverage of the Cain and Kennett campaign has now made it tedious as well.

The fact that a billion like Jeff Kennett is allowed to lead the Liberal Party is supporting them, and how small a chance the Liberals have of winning. They're hoping of course, they're trying to get out of the mess.

Formally they have of course, there are two major political parties competing this time, and that is precisely why different programs for mutual benefit.

The Liberals are looking out about contingencies, voters, showing bones and other side issues.

But most of the ruling class has rejected the approach, what the state interventionism can do to help down wages, demolish the insurance market, and industry development.

The single most important factor in boosting business profits in the last two years

was the fact that the government's policies, in Victoria, have made it impossible to compete in the world market.

—BY PHIL GRIFFITHS—

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VICTORIAN NO.1 BRANCH

strategy

But Cain has his own strategy, in addition to the wage cut, plus policies of money to be made available to housing industry.

He has published a memo:

- * An attack on "selfishness" in state government business, such as public transport, electricity and administration.
- * Cain is the social wage, to give more government money to be made available to housing industry.
- * Copying the union behavior.

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45 HITS AT UNIONS

And it's Wran on the rampage

THERE is no room in Bob Hawke's Australia for working class struggle.

Every successful strike threatens his vision of prosperity for the rich.

Devises such as the Prices and Incomes Accord, and the various industry peace agreements are central to his plan for holding down wages and conditions. But they can only succeed if they are backed up with force.

In the past month, that has included:

- * Threats to wipe out the B.L.F.
- * Threats to disorganize the Food Preservers' Union.
- * Threats to shut down public services if they apply work laws in support of their wage claim.
- * An Arbitration Commission-imposed secret ballot in the Rosella strike.



ABOVE: picketers at the Rosella plant in Knoxfield, Vic. The strike by members of the Food Preservers Union, ended after 15 weeks with some minor concessions from the company at which the Accord.

OFFICIAL SLAMS ACCORD

ANOTHER trade union official has come out publicly slamming the Prices and Incomes Accord.

At a mass meeting of public servants on supporting prices January 7, Tony Egan from the Public Service Association said: "The Accord is a betrayal of the working class."

Wan has the total support of Bob Hawke in his latest attack on the rail workers.

The NSW trade union for other building unions to take over coverage of B.L.F. sites. This move would back up Neville Wran's legislation to disorganize the union in NSW.

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The government has the full support of the ACTU in its union bashing. Bill Kelly said he had no other option but to oppose any challenge to the Accord."

The ACTU's favorite tactic at the moment is to threaten workaday unions with organized scabbing.

In NSW, it is organizing for other building unions to take over coverage of B.L.F. sites. This move would back up Neville Wran's legislation to disorganize the union in NSW.

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During their struggle, they had to overcome attacks on their union by the Labor Government and the ACTU, as well as a secret ballot imposed by the Arbitration Commission. "We want to stay out," responded one angry picketer. "What do we have to do — point it in blood on the road?"

Morale on the picket line was helped by support from other unions. Building workers walked off the job to join the Food Preservers in an Arbitration hearing and other FPU members supported the picket. Hospital employees barred Unilever products and there were several collections of food, money and other support.

In the end, however, it was not enough and the real winner was Hawke's wage-cutting Accord.

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LABOR'S STATE

NO wonder public servants are angry!

It is the collaboration of the ruling class and the Labor Government to bring down wages, demolish the insurance market, and industry development.

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KARL MARX was not the first socialist. Throughout the ages people have aspired to a society in which poverty, exploitation and oppression would be abolished. And many of them have thought in terms of a cooperative, planned economy.

But before Marx, most varieties of socialism were ad hoc idealized blueprints worked out for a perfect world.

For example, Charles Fourier dreamed up a form of social organization called "Phalansteries, or agricultural communes." He dreamt this very attractive — he even thought the sea would soon be tamed! But he had no plan for achieving it except by getting businessmen off track. He simply swooned for dream to the grim reality of capitalist society.

The industrial revolution made society hell for the new working classes. The miserable conditions in which workers lived led some socialists to orientate towards the factory labourers. Unfortunately, they tended to look on workers simply as a means to an end.

Some saw the working class as a special object of sympathy, a viable proof of the defects of society. "Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them," Marx later wrote.

Some looked on the workers as useful source of pressure. Workers would pressure the ruling class, which in turn would change society.

Others regarded the workers as an especially fruitful social ground, as a force which would disrupt the existing social order — which in turn would allow the socialist to seize power.

Only with Karl Marx did the idea arise that the workers themselves must take power and transform society. For him the class struggle was decisive in making the world.

"All struggle," he wrote, "the struggle between democracy, aristocracy and monarchy, the struggle for the franchise, etc., are merely the illusory forms . . . in which the real struggles are fought out among one another."

Working class took power as a real force only if the socialist idea could become a reality for the masses. The aim of the revolutionary ideas in a particular period, he wrote, is to find a new reflection in the "socialization objective" of the A.P.P.

ALL previous movements were movements of minorities in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the last-conceivable independent movement of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot lift itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

and build a new society. It is only the workers who can win the right of society now. Their creative activity is the basis for building a new socialist economy based on democratic planning.

WHEN Marx achieved these insights he had moved beyond the old utopian socialism.

The creation of a better world was no longer seen as the task of brilliant individuals who would persuade the ruling classes to change things. It was now the logical development of the class struggle. Socialism now meant the liberation of the workers from the economic and social constraints of the working class, a liberation not conceived by the workers themselves, in struggle.

And this in turn meant a new future for humanity. Marx argued, "because the emancipation of the workers contains universal human emancipation . . . and it contains the liberation of the whole of human servitude as a whole in the relation of the worker to production".

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of Marx's own method. At the beginning of the 20th century, the European socialist movement had tried to tragic distortions of Marxism, many of them put forward by the German Social Democrats, Karl Kautsky.

At this time capitalism was expanding. The class struggle was relatively quiet. The German socialist movement was growing all the time, along with the trade unions, but not from militant struggle.

Kautsky began with a correct premise. He argued that private ownership of the means of production (factories, machines, raw materials) had become an obstacle to their effective use and development. What was needed was workers' ownership and socialist forms of production. The workers, Kautsky explained, cannot accomplish this transformation without first coming into possession of political power.

But by the struggle for political power, Kautsky meant the relation of struggle. Economic development was leading naturally to the growth of the proletariat, social consciousness was growing slowly but surely and eventually the socialist movement would have an overwhelming parliamentary majority.

Hidden within this argument were views similar to those of the utopians. Socialism would be achieved from above — through parliament. The daily class struggle of the workers themselves were a means to an end. Kautsky was expressing the interests of the trade union bureaucracy, the new machine and the social democratic parliamentarians.

What was the role of revolutionaries in this transformation? Marx based his theory of revolution on real historical processes. The working class was a product of capitalism, to wage its struggle. Socialist revolution could only be the result of the "vast majority". Unlike the utopians, Marx did not assign the central role to great individuals.

Instead, the role of conscious socialism is to learn from struggles and win within them the revolutionary spirit. It is to guide the struggle to victory. It is a task of leadership, but leadership based on the self-interest of the workers themselves.

The real nature of Kautsky's policy was revealed when the German Social Democratic Party often led the German war effort in World War I.

Other "Democratic parties" across Europe also supported their own capitalists. The anti-war principles of socialism, which intended the unity of all workers abandoned the socialist aim.

Having abandoned the class struggle of the workers from before in favour of a parliamentary strategy, the Social Democratic leaders

could enter in league with the capitalists, and sent the workers to the slaughter in an imperialist war.

THE crimes of the Social Democratic leaders were matched a couple of decades later by a new and monstrous perversion of Marxism: Stalinism.

The Russian workers' seizure of power in October 1917 was a dramatic confirmation of Marx's belief that the proletariat could shape its own destiny.

But Russia was a desperately poor country. The



These chains



Boheviks counted entirely on spreading the revolution to the industrialized west. For this reason they launched the Communist International.

The revolution in the west failed. Thrown back on its own meagre resources, the Russian revolutionary government had no hope of creating socialism. Gradually the workers lost control of the government to a repressive bureaucracy.

Joseph Stalin, the leader of this bureaucratic counter-revolution, declared a new perspective.

He called it "building socialism in a single country". It was the polar opposite of Marx's internationalist perspective. In reality it was not

commitment to socialist revolution, as was Kautsky's reformist before Stalinism meant the destruction of the Communist International. The construction of socialism in the third world through class struggle was abandoned.

IN THE postwar "Marxism" has merged the "socialism" of various national revolutions in the third world.

Taking off from the Leninist idea of socialism in one country, revolutionaries in China, Cuba, Vietnam and elsewhere at their own risk have been struggling to create socialism in a single country.

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And revolutionaries who have fought to preserve the distinction between the bourgeois and proletarian class struggle will find a new source of their will.

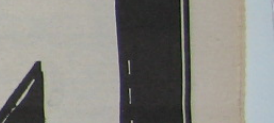
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Irish heroes rescued from mythology



JAMES LARKIN and the Great Dublin Lockout of 1913 have almost passed into legend in Irish socialist history. They have inspired novels, BBC serials and folk songs.

To business history, leaders like Larkin are made by the gods. Socialist writer John Newinger, in a fascinating article in the latest International Socialist journal, shows how Larkin was created by the working class he led.

In the 1890s and 1900s, Irish workers organised under even more difficult conditions than their English, Scottish and Welsh counterparts. The conservative bourgeoisie that had already formed in British unions repudiated Irish workers. They were driven towards their own socialist movement.

The phase of Irish history leading James Larkin into 1909, after being sacked for leading a strike, Larkin became an organizer with the National Union of Dock Labourers. He recruited thousands of members by leading strikes for the closed shop, seeking always to exclude the struggle and to organize solidarity.

It was too militant for the union's executive, who suspended him in 1909. Larkin then took most Irish members of the union into a new organisation, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. It started with 5,000 members, placed half at the centre of a 14-hour strike, and grew to 30,000 by 1913.

The climax of his growth came in 1913. An aggressive Dublin capitalist named William Murphy dragged his class into bankruptcy by sacking 140 members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union.



THE Great Dublin Lockout of 1913. Above left, police attack strikers on Bloody Sunday, August 31; and right, crowds greet a food ship sent in solidarity by British workers. At left is James Larkin in full oratorical cry.

"The factory committees and . . . the more directly political Soviets . . . show us workers' powers in action"

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

A revolution comes alive

By Diane Fields

"RED TERROR" is a fantastically detailed book, and gives life to the revolution made by the workers of Russia's capital in 1917.

In doing so, it provides answers to questions facing socialist today — are workers capable of the revolution made by their counterparts in 1917? It was not just a 'boom theory' — aren't revolutions just created by parties imposing their will on the masses?

But the book goes beyond cataloguing the horrors of Tsarism. It looks at how the particular development of capitalism, in which these living conditions were the expression, led to its overthrow by workers class itself.

Because of the late arrival of capitalism in Russia, a majority of wage earners in Petrograd worked in factory industry, mainly in new, technologically sophisticated enterprises.



SOLDIERS and sailors read revolutionary papers in Petrograd in 1917.

The mill was previously "notoriously backward". For the bosses, too, political and economic questions were intertwined. Factory-owners were quite prepared to close down profitable plants if they felt it would draw down the factory committees.

What was the result? By the end of the year, the workers had won a 40-hour week, a 100% increase in wages, and a 10% increase in the cost of living. The effect of this plan, which achieved with a price of paper agreeing to the increase.

By Carle Ferrer

Robert Pullan's *Gully Serenades* is a mine of information on how the system has been used to silence dissenting voices throughout Australia's history, from the end of the 18th century, through the British ruling class and the unionisation charges to crash opposition.

Physicist Palmer, deported with four other scientists for demanding universal suffrage, was deported in 1914. The system was used to silence dissenting voices throughout Australia's history, from the end of the 18th century, through the British ruling class and the unionisation charges to crash opposition.

But reformers who sought a fairer wage were doomed to failure. John Gibble (though again the independent contractors) was deported in 1914. The system was used to silence dissenting voices throughout Australia's history, from the end of the 18th century, through the British ruling class and the unionisation charges to crash opposition.

It was a propping stunt by the right class. This "rise to glory" in the construction campaign and also the election". For Donald Gray, one of the 12 who had offence was speaking in the Sydney Domain about the prosecution of a factory owner in the IWW paper, for printing an anti-war cartoon.

adversely labelled every day in reports by police, social workers, public servants and others, he is not interested in looking at the State's overall interest in censorship and oppression.

He sticks to a simple, liberal, commonsense approach to free speech. "Free speech is essential to achieving change peacefully. At the point where persuasion of free speech makes progress change impossible, force is necessary to change the status quo."

He is in favour of free speech because we want a people aware decision because they have the illusion of participating in it. "We have seen with our own eyes . . . how the present Provisional Government refused to take responsibility for the situation in the Balkans."

It is in his own words that Pullan does not understand that the capitalist State sometimes offers civil liberties, and sometimes takes them away, each time in order to promote stability in the interests of the ruling class.

It is an illusion to think capitalist class class structure free speech in the First place.

THE LAW AS A GAG

SOME talk of free speech — Clyde Hodge, then Victorian ALP leader, is looked for addressing a rally in Melbourne's City Square.

open. There is too many need interests to be maintained. Who would differ from Pullan in that we don't defend "free speech" where it is used to oppress the poor? The obvious answer is that we don't.

One wonders where Pullan would stand if he were to promote socialist ideas. He is in favour of free speech because we want a people aware decision because they have the illusion of participating in it.

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teach yourself marxism

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KARL MARX argued that only mass working class struggle could create socialism. It was the mass organisation of the working class. Yet since his death there have been numerous revolutionary uprisings. Only one, the Russian revolution of 1917, achieved workers' power. Clearly, mass struggle itself doesn't automatically lead to socialist revolution.

Is mass struggle enough?



What capitalist production draws people together as a collective in factories and offices, capitalist ideology works to divide them along the lines of sex, race and level of class.

Another reason workers need a centralised organisation is that the ruling class is highly organised. A clear example occurred in Poland in 1981. Before the military could against Solidarnosc, the Polish trade union, General Jaruzelski was made leader of the government. Army and government were led by one man, Jaruzelski declared martial law and used the army to crush Solidarnosc.

Our rank are always clear about the need to organise and build their power and influence. So we need an organisation which is equal to theirs in terms of organisation and resources.

When workers' council was formed in St Petersburg in 1905, many Bolsheviks were not in the council. He had to argue within the party to win to his point of view. He had to argue within the party to win to his point of view.

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FOR nearly a decade, the war in Vietnam was at the centre of world politics.

The struggle of the Vietnamese against U.S. imperialism captured the imagination of the emerging student movement and provided the spark for mass struggles around the world. Yet, the 20 year war against the Americans and, earlier, the French, was almost certainly unnecessary. In 1945, in Saigon, a large section of the working class rose up against imperialism.

And it was Ho Chi Minh and his Communist Party that were decisive in their defeat.

For a hundred years, English imperialism ruled brutally in Vietnam.

Economic policy was directed at exploiting, not developing the country. The French increased the land under rice cultivation but lessened the income consumed by the peasants. In Vietnam's biggest factory, the Nam Dinh cotton mill, 8000 workers pumped out huge profits for French houses, but production was not expanded for 20 years.

French occupation had left 80 per cent of the population illiterate by 1939 — far more than in precolonial times. There were only two doctors for every 100,000 people.

Many young Vietnamese began to view socialist ideas as a way out of his national oppression. Nguyen Ai Quoc, later known as Ho Chi Minh, formed a left nationalist group which later became the Indochinese Communist Party.

In 1930, the Thai later set up the first and best known Vietnamese Trotskyist group.

backward

Ho Chi Minh held that Vietnam, like other economically backward countries, wasn't ready for workers' revolution. Following Stalin's line, he was for pushing and oppressing the Vietnamese capitalists into production, first in the French administration and later to the Japanese occupation.

The French was understood that the local merchants, small businessmen and landowners were tied by mutual interest to French imperialism. Certainly they were treated in a racist way, but they still waited at the table for the crumbs of French business. They relied on French troops to put down peasant revolts and strikes.

Thus, the various capitalist politicians, the Constitutionist Party on the right and the more radical VNQDQ, would attack nationalism, but after 1930 would never consider serious action against the French.

When Ho's Communist Party emphasized winning a mass base among the peasantry, it wanted to use the hour to form a national alliance with the capitalist forces.

the bottler

By JOHN MINNS

The Trotskyists replied that the Vietnamese working class, though small, could organize independently and lead the peasants in a fight not only against imperialism but for socialism. Two revolutions had shaped their ideas: Russia in 1917 and China in 1927.

The Russian revolution had shown that it was possible for a small working class in a poor country to take power. And in China the necessity of workers organising independently was demonstrated by negative example.

In Shanghai in 1927 the Communist Party had treated the nationalist bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie repaid them by slaughtering thousands of workers.

The working class in Vietnam was small, only 100,000 in 1930. But it began to flex its muscles in the early thirties. There were strikes by workers in the Nam Dinh cotton mill, by fishermen in Truong Th, cartmen in Bien Dinh province, printers in Saigon, and even rickshaw boys in Hue and Saigon.

This new militant force, argued the Trotskyists, could transform Vietnam. In alliance with fairly independent-minded Communist Party members in southern Vietnam, the Thai's group ran a workers' slate in the Saigon municipal elections. They began to publish a newspaper, *La Lutte* (Struggle) to popularise the campaign.

No one expected them to win, yet one CPer and one Trotskyist was elected. The positions themselves meant little but their election showed the appeal of a distinctively working class and not merely nationalist platform. Later the slate won four seats. Trotskyist influence in the party was growing.

In 1934 *La Lutte* was a regular weekly and by 1935 a Vietnamese edition, *Thang Muoi* and various other papers had appeared.

La Lutte organised an Indochinese Congress against the French, and used it as an excellent platform for their party, village and district "action committees."

But now of the group's weakness became apparent. The committee members were not specifically workers' organisations. The bourgeoisie repaid them by slaughtering thousands of workers.

It must have confused workers on strike against a Vietnamese boss to find his name endorsing the aims of the Congress. The Congress never made it clear that no, French or Vietnamese, was to be trusted.

The Thai's alliance with the Salontin CPers on *La Lutte* blurred the important differences between Trotskyism and Stalinism. In order to maintain the alliance, Thai agreed to refrain from publicly criticising the USSR or the CP. *La Lutte* could never have exceeded hundreds of thousands of Trotsky's supporters in Russia.

While Thai was not personally afraid to take a stand — he went to jail for two years for criticising the French Popular Front government — *La Lutte* blurred the issues. Trotskyists were later to pay with their lives for this mistake. In the end it was the Stalinists who broke the alliance in 1937.

Other Trotskyists had been more consistent. One was the October group, led by Ho Hai Tung. The "Victorians" succeeded in building a substantial base in Saigon working class while making their anti-Stalinism much clearer.

Their participation in the strike wave of 1937 was repaid by the French government.

The political character of these strikes is even more apparent — long and thorough preparations, sudden launching, tendentious articles in the newspapers *Struggle* and *Militant* (paper of the October group), establishment of strike funds, demonstration of support from workers in other industries in other industries to state solidarity movements... a whole detailed orchestration meant to show that strike technique has been thoroughly mastered in the country.

LEFT: To Thu Thau, who led the biggest Trotskyist organisation in Vietnam until murdered on the orders of Ho Chi Minh (RIGHT). Ho Chi Minh's policy of collaboration with the Vietnamese capitalists and British imperialism wrecked the Vietnamese revolution of 1945.

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By 1939 the October group had established the world's first daily

Trotskyist paper: *Tu Song* (The Spark).

The Second World War was a time of immense suffering in Vietnam. Japanese imperialism took over from the French. Forced rice export caused two million Vietnamese to die of starvation. In the cities of the north the dead were piled up off the streets by carts twice a day.

By 1945, millions were ready to fight for a better life. When Japan surrendered to the Allies, Ho Chi Minh entered Hanoi and announced the formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In the south, where the Stalinists were much weaker, a government was formed composed of the capitalist VNQDQ, various nationalist religious sects and To Thu Thau's Trotskyists, who once again blurred the difference between workers' interests and those of Vietnamese capitalists.

Hawke & the economy:

the bottler

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

No. 172 March 2, 1985 30 cents

IS BOB Hawke's economic miracle turning to dust?

Only last December we heard Paul Keating was the world's greatest treasurer, and the Accord guaranteed our economic future.

Now the dollar has taken a nosedive, the balance of trade is deteriorating and the budget deficit will be bigger than expected. To socialists this is no surprise. Capitalism is a system of crisis. From time to time there are temporary recoveries, but they always pave the way for a new economic downturn.

The bosses know this. And while the next recession is probably still months away, they get nervous at the first sign of economic instability. Immediately, the once-dominant Labor government becomes "unstable" as the bosses lose confidence in it.

And immediately, there are calls for wage cuts. Since the dollar fell, every newspaper has insisted that wages are too high.

Labor's Accord has held our wages down throughout the recovery, while profits have grown much more rapidly than under Fraser. But the bosses aren't satisfied. They know a new economic crisis is on the way and are already gearing up for new attacks on us.

Already threatened by the MX Fiasco, Labor will be more eager than ever to join in such attacks in order to regain the employer's favour. They know that if they don't do so with enough enthusiasm and effect, the capitalist class will dump them as they did Gough Whitlam. They will turn once again to the tried-and-true union-busters of the Liberal Party.

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Israel in retreat PAGE 5

What price unity? PAGE 8



WAGES FOR WHAT?

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12 — THE BATTLER 2 FEBRUARY, 1985

Open Slather

THE FIBRE over the 18th century remains one of the most of the 18th century's most famous writers. He was to make a "study" of the history of the slave in the private family with the economic organization of society.

Engels set out to build on the discoveries of the American anthropologist, Morgan, by writing them into the framework of historical materialism.

Engels' own considerable knowledge of German history and classical antiquity. Engels aimed to show how the emergence of class society—"civilization"—required the destruction of these earlier forms.

In describing the earlier kinship relations, Engels argued that "the law the development of labor, the more intimate forms of production, and

therefore, being the wealth of society, the more prominently does the social order appear to be determined by ties of sex."

This, in primitive society, production is organized within the framework of kinship relations.

Engels hoped contempt on the bourgeoisie notion that the family form consists of modern, western society is not only marital, but also maternal and filial.

He did this by examining the many different stages that kinship relations went through. He was especially interested in the stage of group marriage.

Group marriage means that the men of a tribe were married to all of the women, except their own mothers and sisters. Similarly, all of the women are married to all of the men, except their own brothers and fathers.

In this form of marriage, "Mother Right" prevails. A person's descent is traced through their mothers rather than their fathers, as is the case today.

Group marriage was characterized by the absence of sexual repression. In fact, women belonging to the same group or clan tended to live together and have a high standard in their society.

As the economic development of society's productive forces changed that, the decomposition of maternal formations of kinship and the organization of agriculture, which depended on the harnessing of much greater material wealth than



Woman's role in the family is still at the heart of her oppression.

she had previously existed. The growth of this wealth—the first real private property, as the men who tended the herds asserted their individual ownership of them.

The men seized the reins of the household, the woman was degraded, embraced, the slave of the man's lust, a mere instrument for breeding children.

This woman's oppression arose as part of the same process that gave rise to private property, class and the state.

Engels traces the private family through the succeeding stages of class society and concludes that socialism, by abolishing private property, will destroy the material foundation of the private family—the precondition for the emancipation of women.

Engels puts forward three basic arguments. First, that women's oppression does not result from "human nature"; secondly, that neither women's oppression nor the family as it exists today is inevitable or irreversible.

Finally, Engels argues that women's oppression coincides with the rise of class society and is integrally related to it. He was not so closely interested that they can only be ended as part of the same revolutionary process.

At the same time as acknowledging his historic contribution, we need to be clear that there are limitations to Engels' work.

Modern anthropological research suggests that the people whose development Morgan studied and on which Engels based much of his argument are in some ways atypical of "primitive" societies.

In fact, it turns out that even among the women, as much as men, to particular consciousness of collective exploitation.

Today, nearly half the working women in all developed countries in Britain are employed in occupations that are socially-reproductive and necessary to the fight for women's and the integrated struggle of all workers and the integrated struggle of all workers and the integrated struggle of all workers.

It is not wonder that in a more intimate form of production, and in all developed countries in Britain, the fight for women's and the integrated struggle of all workers and the integrated struggle of all workers.

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Dear Battlers, We're Solid in Grimethorpe

Dear Battlers, A THANK-YOU letter for the £700 (£100 cheque we received from a comrade on your behalf. It is very gratifying to know people all over the world are thinking about us.

We are the second largest pit in Yorkshire with a workforce of 1700. They are solid to a man. Just 3 wages clerks and 2 pit top workers are going to work (about 300 policemen see they do).

Our group consists two picket lines with hot drinks (about 250 people). It means we have to be in the caravan 3 am every morning, but it's worth the effort. We also try to distribute food parcels, but with 1700 on strike it seems like a drop in the ocean. We concentrate on men living alone who don't get any money at all, and couples who only receive about \$11 a week.

If Maggie Thatcher or her kind think we will give in, she has never been to Grimethorpe. In comradely and solidarity,
Betty Hancock,
Miners' Support Group, Grimethorpe, Yorks.



This is how Israel's normalizing mission in Lebanon ended up: an Israeli soldier guards a sandbagged bank in Beirut by the local police.

Israel is increasingly dependent on Arab labour . . . These workers have shown a willingness to fight the Zionist state.

As the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 sought to crush the military apparatus of the PLO and to drive them out of the country. In this it was largely successful. The PLO was defeated and the majority of its fighters forced to withdraw into other Arab countries, some of which have a common border with Israel and some of whose leaders have the slightest notion of involving their rhetoric into action against the Zionist state.

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GAYS BACK! THE MINERS' STRIKE

GAY LIBERATION has recently taken an important step forward and is moving to the miners strike.

The year-long strike transformed the British political climate. Working people and political activists have drawn heart from the miners' brave resistance.

Gays too have responded. Half a dozen gay Miners' Support groups have collected money and built solidarity.

Groups in the Midlands and Gays Support the Miners group, Plymouth, have been collecting money and taken in about \$500 a week. The money is sent to a mining village in Wales called Dulas.

These workers have shown a willingness to fight the Zionist state, and a clarity that their oppression will grow. Clearly they will not be trapped within the ideology of Zionism the way their Jewish fellow workers do.

Just as clearly, however, they are not attracted to the state on their own. It is likely that their oppression will grow. Clearly they will not be trapped within the ideology of Zionism the way their Jewish fellow workers do.

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the batterer ALEXANDRA

ALEXANDRA Kollontai became a Marxist in 1896 in a period of intense industrial struggle. Her first revolutionary activity was in a series of historic strikes by textile workers in St Petersburg, where women workers were leading the struggle. From then until 1923, Kollontai devoted her life to the cause of revolutionary socialism.

Kollontai is perhaps best remembered today for her insistence on the necessity of organizing working women into the revolutionary movement. Throughout the short history of industrial capitalism in Russia before 1917, working women had become a force in the history of spontaneous struggle.

In the revolutionary years of 1905 and 1906, Kollontai wrote that "the woman worker was everywhere". In 1917, it was the militant demonstration of women on the Congress of the International Women's Day that spurred the February revolution. The tremendous boom in the working women to struggle gave the movement a whole new impetus. Kollontai saw the need for the revolutionaries in the Social Democratic Party to turn their attention to the specific oppression of the working women.

At the height of the struggle in 1905 feminism stepped in a political force in Russia. The feminists were involved in fighting for women's rights across class boundaries—for better and for reforms in marriage and divorce laws. Although the feminist leaders were middle class, in the climate of 1905-1906 they were drawn to some sympathy with the socialist. They seemed for more radical than they proved to be in practice.

question

"Thus, there is no independent woman question. The woman question arose as an increased component of many socialist that were time. The liberation of women as a member of and feminists. The feminist, a worker, and a mother, it was possible only with the transformation of the proletariat into the vanguard of the new order."

Kollontai's reputation was to draw an inspirational newly politicized agator were before her working women away from the feminists and with the outbreak of the Social-Democratic World War I Kollontai

The climax of the early feminist movement in Russia came in 1906 at the First All-Russian Women's Congress. Kollontai helped to organize a "Workers' America."

Kollontai is best remembered for her insistence on organizing working women into the revolutionary movement.

Group" to participate in the Congress. At the Congress, in her first speech in Russia before eight years of exile, Kollontai differentiated the position of the socialist and the feminist with great clarity and force. "The woman question, say the feminists, is a question of rights and justice." The woman question, answers the proletarian woman, is a question of the pace of bread. The awakening of women's development in Russia. The feminists were involved in fighting for women's rights across class boundaries—for better and for reforms in marriage and divorce laws.

Although the feminist leaders were middle class, in the climate of 1905-1906 they were drawn to some sympathy with the socialist. They seemed for more radical than they proved to be in practice. Kollontai would have argued that there time. The liberation of women as a member of and feminists. The feminist, a worker, and a mother, it was possible only with the transformation of the proletariat into the vanguard of the new order."



MOSCOW—1921. Centre: Alexandra Kollontai. Left: Emma Goldman.

KOLLONTAI

Fighting for socialism and women's liberation

multibrooding women's struggle. She was arrested and jailed for seven weeks during which time she was elected to the Central Committee of the party. Finally, after the Bolsheviks led the workers to victory in October, she was appointed Commissar of Social Welfare.

As Commissar for Social Welfare, and later as a prize mover of the Zhenitist (Women's Bureau), Kollontai was a key person to begin to lay the groundwork for a liberated socialist society. The world's first workers state introduced an extraordinarily radical program for the liberation of women. Marriage and divorce were made available at the stroke of a pen. Childreception was actively encouraged, and free safe abortions were made available to all. The principle of equal pay for equal work was implemented.

To complement these reforms, Kollontai's Communist embarked upon an ambitious program for the collectivization of traditional "women's tasks." As Kollontai proudly notes in her

For the Bolsheviks in government, it was not just a question of implementing paper reforms on high. It

There all this was done that the child is passing out of the confines of the family and being placed from the shoulders of the parents into those of collectivity." The way was being prepared for the complete superseding of the family. For the Bolsheviks in government, it was not just a question of implementing paper reforms on high. In

the case of their Stalin and his supporters in the state bureaucracy declared a program of constructing "socialism in one country," reducing alienation at the expense of the working class and the struggle for the implementation of the Bolshevik policies in villages and towns throughout Russia. A vast network of social organizers was set up.

Kollontai saw that even after the revolution the destruction of the family could only ever come through the struggles of those oppressed by it.

Every story of the Russian revolution must end on a sad note. With the failure of revolutionary movements in the West, the Russians became isolated. During the civil war which followed the revolution, the Russian working class was decimated. The hope of surviving without outside aid was only in the struggle for working class power. In these circumstances, workers gradually lost control of the Soviet state.

the batterer

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

No. 173 March 23, 1985 30 cents

Will the Socialist Left shift Cain?

PAGE 10

Joh's iron fist hits Qld power workers

PAGE 3



REAGAN and Gorbachev — aiming to the teeth while they talk about talking.

"ARMS TALKS"

WHILE TENS of thousands of anti-nuclear demonstrators take to the streets of Australian cities, politicians and the media are sure to tell us that our actions and demands are "impractical".

They will point to the arms talks in Geneva and insist that negotiations between governments are the road to disarmament. It's a lie from start to finish. The Geneva arms talks will make no contribution whatsoever to freeing the world from the threat of nuclear war.

At the same time as sending a negotiating team to Geneva, Reagan has been battling furiously to get the MX missile approved by Congress. This missile will do more to increase the war danger than any other single measure for some time.

bargaining

He argues that this is necessary to give his negotiators an extra bargaining chip. But as critics point out, it really works the other way around. Reagan's main interest in the Geneva talks is to use them, in just this way, to force Congress to approve the missile.

On the face of it, it appears that little will come of the talks in any case except a lot of posturing.

— Continued page 3

Can we stop the missile madness? - 6, 7

and there is no need to ask for more...

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THE RAINBOW

IRELAND's history is full of contradictions.

Ireland was one of the first countries to experience a massive revolt of the local merchant class against a foreign bourgeoisie. Yet while most of the late comers have won national independence, Ireland is still half dominated by Britain.

Ireland was shaken in the first half of the 20th century by working class struggles more powerful and radical than those in Britain—the great strikes in Belfast in 1907 and 1919, the Dublin riot of 1913, the Belfast unemployed agitation in 1932 and so on. Yet the socialist or Labour parties are weaker than elsewhere in Europe.

Obviously there is a lot of unexplained business in Irish politics. In this book *Modern Ireland: A Social History* Michael Milovanovic considers some of the reasons why.

His approach is that of James Connolly and Leon Trotsky. The local capitalists were too weak and too rooted by ties to British capitalism to wage an unopposed independence struggle. Only the working class could do the job.

Unfortunately, the socialist leadership have led the workers in struggles aimed at winning both Irish independence and a workers' republic (and huge obstacles after 1921).

Modern industry in Ireland was for a long time concentrated in the area around Belfast. In that area there was, and is, a systematic discrimination in favour of Protestant workers.

The made it possible for Protestant workers in the south to be as weak as the economic class which was to be replaced. The local industrial interests who opposed any independent movement. The Protestant workers feared any change which would threaten their relative position.

And rather than support the workers in the face of such betrayal, disgruntled workers and farmers in the south turned instead toward republican nationalism.

alternative

At the same time, Labour Party workers in the south were as weak. The economic class which was to be replaced could not afford to grant significant reforms. The Labour Party would grow by campaigning for reforms, but then lose support by setting out on its reform.

And rather than support the workers in the face of such betrayal, disgruntled workers and farmers in the south turned instead toward republican nationalism.

Whenever the republican movement has been able to take the initiative, it has done so in the face of a strong and well-organized alternative.

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by Maria Giolitti

The starting divide between Catholic and Protestant workers could simply be broken down in the course of the strike struggle.

After all, in many British cities, similar divisions had indeed withered away with the growth of mass trade unionism. Both Jim Larkin and James Connolly expected the same to happen in Ireland.

But the division of Ireland put paid to such hopes. The Protestant workers in the north were bound economically and workers' imperialist interests.

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by Jeff Goldfarb

When LENIN wrote that war is the locomotive of history, he was talking about the first World War.

If he had been around for the second, he might have called it the express train of history.

A recent book by a couple of Sydney academics, Richard Rowboth and Janis Wilson, looks at how immigration in the aftermath of that war affected Australia.

Their book, *Old Worlds and New Australia* is one of a long line of publications that show how good migration has been for Australia, how migrants have fared and how they have generally turned out OK, and now a few disquieting facts.

Good liberal stuff, good ammunition to annoy the supporters of Blaise. And hidden in the book is what are a few bits of information to be socialist arguments on.

The war devastated Europe. Thirty million killed, sixty million displaced. Six million had to be fed in unbelievable living conditions. Australia was one of the few countries that only if they work for two years at the government's beckon.

The destruction of Europe was reason enough for people to leave. But immigration was also an economic device used by capitalist governments. Australian industry wanted labour, strange as it seems a wagger population base for defence reasons and strategic objectives.

The biggest factor was the invasion of White Australia, seeking migrants from Europe and other northern European countries like Germany.

And lots of little things Britain did migrate, which obviously she had some success in enticing migrants from places like Italy and the United States. Not surprisingly, since a lot of resources

by Tom Robinson

went into their efforts. The government spent ten cents on publicity for each week attracted to Australia, and \$10 for each Swede.

But much to the chagrin of the RSL, Southern European immigrants came in their hundreds of thousands. The economic boom which revived much of Europe in the 1920s bypassed that region. Increasing numbers of people left, moving to work in the industries of Milan, Munich and Melbourne.

And while the RSL was vainly the migrants gradually established themselves as a legitimate part of Australian life. It is true that the prevailing attitude was not pauperism.

The contribution of migrants was not received in terms of building a "British Mountain scheme" — a scheme in which they were badly regarded. It was more in terms of food and drink. Dressing up in national costumes looked good on TV, touched the heart, and is

not changed.

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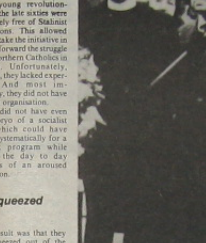
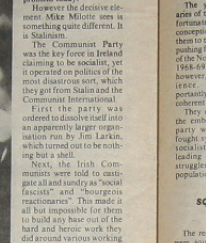
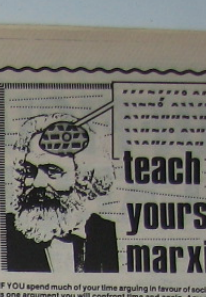
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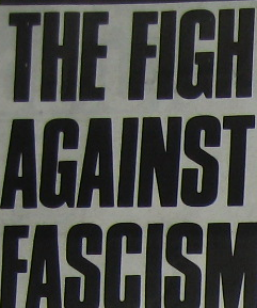
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Marxist classics



EXILED from his own country by Stalin's regime, and cut off from regular and reliable news reports, Leonid Brezhnev watched the development of Nazism in Germany from afar.

Yet despite his isolation, Brezhnev recognised the shape of things to come far earlier and more astutely than anyone. **The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany** is a collection of Trotsky's writings on the subject from 1930 to 1940, the bulk of them before Hitler came to power in 1933. **CHRISTINA BAKER** looks at this important work.

NAZISM rose in Germany after a sustained period of crisis and the failure of socialist revolution.

The rising monarchy collapsed in 1918 under the impact of the Great War and an immense upsurge of workers' class struggle. But the new regime was unstable. A crisis struck Germany in 1920 which could have brought the workers to power. But the Communist Party failed and the opportunity was lost. From that setback, the Nazis began to grow.

As new dangers on the end of 1929 spelled the end of the Weimar Republic, unemployment soared to three million. With increasing support from the big industrialists, the fascists were growing. By the end of 1930, they had 100,000 members.

Trotsky understood by 1930 that Germany was in the grip of a severe social and economic crisis.

He attempted not only to analyse the critically important situation, but also to counter it — whether members of the German Communist Party (KPD) or SPD supporters. He urged the KPD to ally with the SPD — a move which the Nazis (NSDAP) were to take advantage of.

This effort to victory in history, rather than to merely observe, makes Trotsky's attempt so important. As his biographer Isaac Deutscher was to write, "Trotsky's attempt to arouse the working class of Germany is the danger that threatened to wipe his great political deed off the earth".

In volatile times, Trotsky saw that masses of people were ripe to ideas, both right and left, which they would embrace in more stable periods.

But Social Democracy, reformist to the core and inghired to the point of paralytic, served as a stumbling block to any resistance against fascism.

And the KPD under Stalin's iron fist failed fully to understand the situation or to point the way forward. The line of the Communist in 1932 was that only capitalist crises and working class revolutions were the order of the day. From this followed the position that Social Democracy was at least as bad as the right wing was. Social fascism, since it deluded the workers and that Communist victory was impossible.

By 1932, the SPD were still as per cent and the KPD vote rose to 40 per cent. But the Nazis rose a stunning 700 per cent, winning the NSDAP 172 seats in the Reichstag (parliament) to 107. Yet Stalin

ADOLF HITLER delivers one of his infamous radio diatribes. At top, Leon Trotsky in his study. In exile in Paris.



ADOLF HITLER delivers one of his infamous radio diatribes. At top, Leon Trotsky in his study. In exile in Paris.

called this a victory. Trotsky could see that, while the crisis had opened up the possibility of a revolutionary upsurge; there was no party to organise and lead such an upsurge. The KPD, under Stalin's guidance, was too busy attacking the SPD. The door to fascism was wide open.

THE CRISIS deepened in 1931. Unemployment rose to five million. SPD supporters were slashed.

Arguing that he was "the lesser evil", the SPD offered Hindenburg its presidential election against Hitler. This "lesser evil" would, the very next year, appoint Hitler as Chancellor.

The Nazis lost two million votes in the November 6 Reichstag election, and their total was now less than the combined vote of the SPD and the KPD.

This was the last free election of the Weimar Republic. Trotsky had consistently argued that the Nazis would never come to power by democratic means despite their constant posturing in the January 1931. Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor.

Hitler set Hindenburg to dissolve the Reichstag, with new elections set for March.

KPD meetings were banned and their press shut down. The Nazis took over the telephone lines, flooded it with wires.

In February, those parts of the opposition guaranteeing freedom of expression, the press, assembly and association were suspended. Finally, on March 23, Hitler asked the great Reichstag to grant him dictatorial powers.

If did On May 30, SPD and KPD members participated in Hitler's National Day rally in Berlin. The next day, the Nazis took over the whole nation movement and sent its leaders off to concentration camps.

gations. The ruling class itself could be the troops of such a movement, that is too tiny in number.

But neither can the workers, since centralisation requires the destruction of their own unions and parties. At least the workers will not be, but, in fact, a fascist movement has been built, one.

So the heart of fascist organisation is petty bourgeoisie — doctors, lawyers, and shopkeepers and the self-employed — while between the two key classes is exploitation.

The petty bourgeoisie support the state quo so long as the situation is stable for them personally. When the crisis process into crisis, they can no longer stay.

If it appears to a section of the dominant and individualistic class that the capitalist will win the race, that section will ally with them. If, on the other hand, the workers seem stronger, the petty bourgeoisie will line up behind them.

Trotsky wrote:

"Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force and of police terror. Fascism is a particular government system based on the grouping of all elements of production democracy within bourgeois society. The task of fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist movement but in holding the entire class in a state of forced division."

The historical role of fascism is to grind down the workers' movement and to make possible, the drastic centralisation monopoly capitalism needs.

But it has performed that task in fascist dictatorship, but that is not the expression of the crisis of late capitalism, a bourgeois democracy. The former has bands are integrated into the police force for any necessary thugery.

In the age of capitalism, particularly where there is a level of workers' organisation, bourgeois democracy — universal suffrage, the right to organise and to strike, civil liberties and the like — is quite logical.

But it requires the maintenance of a different balance. In a capitalist crisis, that balance can be lost, giving rise to the threat of revolution.

In such a crisis, higher centralisation becomes necessary for the ruling class, but this process of centralisation cannot be merely technical.

The ruling class finds a movement which can actually destroy workers' organisations.

Building a socialist alternative is the key to fight against fascism and ultimately against the system whose aim it is to destroy.

In the face of capitalist crisis, the working class provides the only agency for moving forward, but only if it is organised. The struggle has to be a mass one, more irreversible than any similar catastrophe in the future. But neither is it a class victory.

Building a socialist alternative is the key to fight against fascism and ultimately against the system whose aim it is to destroy.

In 1973-2000, 100 black workers at a brick works in the city struck for higher wages. They won. Over pages spread throughout the city, led by the party of the country. By the end of the year over 100,000 workers had struck.

Over the years of oil right repression black workers have learned how to avoid arrest. Only 0.2 per cent of the strikers were ever prosecuted. In other words, the government were to avoid the strike.

Until then, however, the potential of the massivity of migrant workers employed in the mines had not been touched by the growth of unionism.

This all changed in July 1981, when 10,000 miners, employed by the giant Anglo-American Corpor-

BLACK WORKERS SHARE APARTHEID

ON 21 March 19 black demonstrators were shot in South Africa. Since then the country has been gripped by protest. MICK BARRGROUND reports.

THE BACKGROUND to the current wave of revolt sweeping South Africa is the rise of the powerful black union movement.

During the boom years of the 1940s foreign investment poured into the country to take advantage of the cheap, non-unionised black labour.

The apartheid regime could guarantee. While the economy grew at a rate only second to that of Japan, the conditions of black workers deteriorated.

The student movement exploded in June 1976, culminating in a mass uprising of black school children in Soweto. They were protesting at being forced to speak in a foreign language — the Afrikaans of the apartheid regime.

In the neighbouring countries of Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia, the struggle against white supremacy were, in the early 70s, reaching critical points. The struggle began to be reflected in the new found confidence among black workers in South Africa.

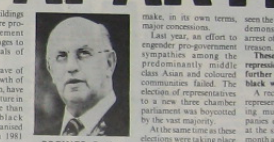
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PREMIER Biko forced to make concessions.

apartheid regime, currently led by President V. V. Biko, is being forced to

workers a much greater degree of their power to change things — even if only in their own workplaces.

And this notion of power coincided with the growth of black consciousness, led by the victory of the black movement in Angola and Mozambique, and the development of a black student movement in Japan.

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ation, report against buildings and plants. They were protesting at management trying to sidestep wages to pay for the funerals of dead miners.

Since then the wave of strikes, and the growth of black trade unions, have had a central feature in South Africa. More than half a million black workers are now organised in unions. Between 1981 and 1984 there was, on average, a strike a day throughout industries as varied as food and car manufacturing.

So great is the crisis in South Africa that the

make, in its own terms, major concessions.

Last year, an effort to reorganise the government into sympathetic among the predominantly middle class Afrikaner and coloured communities failed.

Such a recent confession of representatives from the parliament was boycotted by the vast majority.

At the same time these elections were taking place the regime was flying out over seven thousand troops and police were dispatched to round up "troubled elements" in three Black townships.

More recently we have

seen the massacre of black demonstrators and the arrest of black leaders for important and powerful sections of the regime, and large sections of the white community will fight to defend against any radical reform of apartheid.

Such statements only

the origins of the apartheid system lie in the development of the gold mining industry in the Transvaal at the end of the 19th century. While South Africa has the largest deposit of gold in the world, the average gold content of the ore is very low. Mining the gold involved from the start massive expenditures of labour and technology.

While the capital of the mine was provided by wealthy British capitalists, the arduous task of extracting the low grade ore from deep shafts was done by the poorest of the white population — the black South African labourer. Black workers were predominantly from farms, were driven from their land. They were forced into compounds, where the white farmers, cut off from their families, were crowded into bleak houses surrounded by barbed wire to stop their escape.

They were subjected to the same conditions as black trade unions.

The movement of black workers is subjected to their movements and to ensure that their wages were kept as low as possible.

The demand for labour in the mines was so great that the local African population could not meet it. Blacks had to be brought in from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique.

While there has been a major expansion of manufacturing industry, particularly since World War II, mining remains the heart of South African capitalism.

There are 450,000 black mine workers. Apartheid, by atomising and isolating individual rights of residence there in their families, their race identity card, the official endorsement to be in the various urban areas and numerous other details.

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South African society by malicious white racism. No A's fundamental need is not wanted by their families. Migrant workers travel from the land of their birth and are not wanted if and sacked or unemployed they can be



PLAIN clothes caps at Lillenhage, where 10 black demonstrators were shot down on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

Open Slaughter

BRITAIN Tories have revealed that it used these about 70 billion in tax production and government expenditure to beat the unions. But not hidden cost was low advertised.

The government's "three self" unquipped phone-tapping system was specifically designed to ensure that phone-tappers don't want to be heard listening to social conversations. So the equipment is geared to operate when "triggered" by certain political words. One of the words is "poker".

During the strike, the trigger went off every second. One day the system was overworked and broke down for 26 minutes.

EXILED from his own country by Stalin's regime, and cut off from regular and reliable news reports, Leonid Brezhnev watched the development of Nazism in Germany from afar.

Yet despite his isolation, Brezhnev recognised the shape of things to come far earlier and more astutely than anyone.

The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany is a collection of Trotsky's writings on the subject from 1930 to 1940, the bulk of them before Hitler came to power in 1933.

CHRISTINA BAKER looks at this important work.

NAZISM rose in Germany after a sustained period of crisis and the failure of socialist revolution.

The rising monarchy collapsed in 1918 under the impact of the Great War and an immense upsurge of workers' class struggle. But the new regime was unstable.

A crisis struck Germany in 1920 which could have brought the workers to power. But the Communist Party failed and the opportunity was lost.

From that setback, the Nazis began to grow.

As new dangers on the end of 1929 spelled the end of the Weimar Republic, unemployment soared to three million.

With increasing support from the big industrialists, the fascists were growing. By the end of 1930, they had 100,000 members.

Trotsky understood by 1930 that Germany was in the grip of a severe social and economic crisis.

He attempted not only to analyse the critically important situation, but also to counter it — whether members of the German Communist Party (KPD) or SPD supporters.

He urged the KPD to ally with the SPD — a move which the Nazis (NSDAP) were to take advantage of.

This effort to victory in history, rather than to merely observe, makes Trotsky's attempt so important.

As his biographer Isaac Deutscher was to write, "Trotsky's attempt to arouse the working class of Germany is the danger that threatened to wipe his great political deed off the earth".

In volatile times, Trotsky saw that masses of people were ripe to ideas, both right and left, which they would embrace in more stable periods.

But Social Democracy, reformist to the core and inghired to the point of paralytic, served as a stumbling block to any resistance against fascism.

And the KPD under Stalin's iron fist failed fully to understand the situation or to point the way forward.

The line of the Communist in 1932 was that only capitalist crises and working class revolutions were the order of the day.

From this followed the position that Social Democracy was at least as bad as the right wing was. Social fascism, since it deluded the workers and that Communist victory was impossible.

By 1932, the SPD were still as per cent and the KPD vote rose to 40 per cent. But the Nazis rose a stunning 700 per cent, winning the NSDAP 172 seats in the Reichstag (parliament) to 107. Yet Stalin



THE FIRST Women's Liberation action in Australia, Women refuse to pay full fare on a tram, in protest at their unequal wages.

WOMEN

ZELDA D'APRANO's famous equal pay protest in 1966 — the movement went on to build mass demonstrations.

IN EVERY mass revolt, women play a vital role. Take the Polish Solidarity trade union movement. The forces of a woman carpenter or a female typewriter operator are as important as those of a male worker. In the case of the 1968-69 women's strike in the United States, women were the backbone of the movement. In the case of the 1970-71 women's strike in Australia, women were the backbone of the movement.

FEMINISM is based on the idea that as women are all oppressed, they should all unite. There have been two major waves of feminism in the past hundred years. In both cases, they occurred against the background of class struggle. Traditionally, in teacher cases, a male teacher could demand a higher salary than a female teacher. In modern times, two great movements have had this goal — feminism and socialism.

YET liberation is not for a few. Many media commentators have said that a "long war" is ahead. But the women's movement is not a long war. It is a struggle for the rights of women workers. The first wave of feminism was the struggle for the rights of women workers. The second wave of feminism was the struggle for the rights of women workers. The third wave of feminism was the struggle for the rights of women workers.

Under capitalism, this inequality is deeply entrenched. Discrimination against women is a key device for ruling class to divide workers against each other. *How can we challenge this deeply institutionalised oppression?*

Only by building the system that breaks oppression and exploitation can we — men — be liberated. The centre of socialist struggle is the working class. Workers are the only group in society with the power to shut down production and bring society to a standstill. More importantly, they have the power to reorganise production — the core of society — in a new way. Under socialism, housework, cooking and childcare would all be collectivised for the first time in human history. Women would be freed from their domestic role in the family — the root of their oppression. The temporarily successful Russian revolution of 1917, and even the unsuccessful Chinese revolution of 1949 and Portugal in 1976, show that workers have the power to do this.

As the socialist movement grows, it will lead to the overthrow of the ruling class and the end of capitalism. The women's movement is a part of this broader movement which fought to overthrow capitalism. The women's movement is a part of this broader movement which fought to overthrow capitalism.

THE twentieth century has seen two mass feminist movements make a world impact. It has seen women win full voting rights and exercise them for over 50 years. It has seen the United Nations Yet none of these have brought women's real emancipation any closer. LIZ ROSS considers the differing approaches of socialism and feminism.

In Australia, Women's Liberation began with a campaign for equal pay. Women started paying 75% of the fare on public transport to illustrate the fact that they got only 75% of men's wages. *"Then Zelda D'Aprano staged her famous one-woman demonstration in 1966. I thought that she was a bit mad, but she was not. I decided to chain myself across the doorway of the Commonwealth Building."*

As the socialist movement grows, it will lead to the overthrow of the ruling class and the end of capitalism. The women's movement is a part of this broader movement which fought to overthrow capitalism. The women's movement is a part of this broader movement which fought to overthrow capitalism.



VICTORY! Train conductresses celebrate after winning the fight to be promoted to drivers.

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By Graham Willott

FOR ALL that lesbians and homosexual men have achieved in the last fifteen years, one thing still eludes us: liberation.

Law reform, anti-discrimination legislation, the decriminalisation of homosexuality are important gains and they have made us free (perhaps) to read and much less insecure than they were twenty years ago.

But when gay liberation erupted in Australia in 1970-71 it did not see itself merely as a movement for reform. It was part of a broader, fighting movement that was out to win real liberation for all the oppressed.

We declared that civil rights were not enough. All of us and our institutions had to be changed. We challenged the family, the laws, the church. The very ideas that people had about homosexuality, ideas that had all the force of "simple common sense", were deftly repudiated.

And yet, for all the outrage that gay activists showed and for all the protest marches that we led, we did not really measure up to the goals we set. The reason for this is actually very simple. The oppression of lesbians and gay men is deeply rooted within the capitalist system. And while that system survives, real liberation is simply not possible.

MANY people find this contention hard to accept. After all, there doesn't seem to be any obvious connection between capitalism's main interest — extracting profits from workers' labour — and the laws and attitudes that make up gay oppression.

One way to get at the connection is to consider the history of the problem. Heterosexual workers have been oppressed through all of recorded history. It is not true of homosexual workers. Indeed, the very idea of "homosexuality" is a relatively recent development.

What attraction between people of the same sex has always existed, it has been treated differently in different societies. In the ancient world there was no word for "homosexuality". It was expected in ancient Greece that most, if not all, men would engage in both homosexual and heterosexual relationships. Each was fitted into its own carefully-defined role in each man's life.

In the Middle Ages, the official view of homosexual acts shifted. In the late thirteenth century being tolerant turned into unendurable repression. But what was being repressed was not — sodomy — but a type of person.

It was only in nineteenth century Europe that homosexuality began to be defined as a distinct group in society. Historically it is denied to be something a person did and became a social category.

This process was closely linked to another development: the rise of the industrial revolution. It was only in nineteenth century Europe that homosexuality began to be defined as a distinct group in society. Historically it is denied to be something a person did and became a social category.

Gay oppression: A prop for the family



THE effects of mutable working conditions generally treated such tasks that factory workers began to wonder whether their next generation of workers was coming from the state-subsidised in Government passed laws to end the greatest abuses. The ten-hour day, limits on child labour, the exclusion of women from work which threatened their ability to bear children were first elements of the new legislation.

To back up the legal measures, capitalism sought to strengthen the family. It was here that future workers were born and raised, and reared could seek refuge from the horrors of the working day and rebuild their physical and emotional strength.

In the 1830s, laws against sexual activity outside the family — prostitution and homosexuality — were strengthened. The age of consent was raised.

So unlike the oppression of women, or migrant workers, gay oppression doesn't have a directly economic function.

Women and some migrants were lower than the employer to earn "superstition". Nothing of the sort happens with gays, who are neither numerous nor concentrated enough for it to be possible.

Gay hatred operates essentially to remove the offspring of the family including the grand-children associated with the class. It is not a class war, it is a war on those who choose to live outside from industrial systems, and from the family.

It also provides other workers with a handy scapegoat for their frustrations. The real problem with their oppression, reinforcing each other. It is not a class war, it is a war on those who choose to live outside from industrial systems, and from the family.

Liberalism cannot be based on the idea that the oppressed would remain. For working class gays, exploitation would not be abolished.

Opera in the real world

empower's ear. Sallier recognizes Mozart's genius, and hates him for it. In particular, he resents that Mozart, far from being a soulless wealthy capitalist, is a womanizer, drunkard and uses bad language. Sallier plots Mozart's downfall and death, but long before Mozart falls from favour with his patrons, the writer depicts his triumphs at Salzburg and the Emperor.

by Lindsey German

of *Figaro*, based on a play written by the Frenchman. The film has many such insights. The Venetian court is a seething cauldron of intrigue and greed. So even he became unacceptable to the old order.

dying

The imperial court presided over a dying social order. The Emperor's power was slipping to the old order, which was being replaced by a new order. But only after Mozart's death could the Emperor's power be restored.

came new, radical ideas. Mozart wasn't overly political. But he was young, he played the court's restrictions, the masters with ordinary people, and as a result, he was a natural talent long beyond the court's reach. So even he became unacceptable to the old order.

poverty

Although it doesn't come out in the film, Mozart was also a poor man, which, when combined with the established Catholic church, Sallier resented this, and he eventually abandoned it, not because his superiors have been too strict, but because God has created a musical genius in such a terrible situation. This is the

respectable journals like London's *Financial Times*, which wanted a classical musician like Mozart, more respectably.

poverty

And even those that opera need not be so stuffy. Royal Opera House, Mozart's opera lover classed *The Magic Flute* playing in a grand opera house. The rich who flock to the opera today would hate a modern Mozart as much as Sallier and his friends hated it. They hated it because he is distanced from them.

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FATHER BRIAN GORE (left) waits trial with fellow radical priests Vicente Dangan and Niall O'Brien.

WORKERS' RIGHTS

AT DUSK on 12 March, 1982 a pickup truck drove through the hills of Negros Island in the Philippines. As it crested a ridge, fifteen guerrillas of the New People's Army opened fire.

The most important casualty was Pablo Sola, mayor of the town of Kabankalan and a local landlord. Few mourned his passing. Sola was responsible for the brutal torture and murder of seven peasants.

The NPA claimed responsibility and the police confirmed this was the case. Yet nearly a year later two Catholic missionaries, Brian Gore and Niall O'Brien, and seven local Catholics were charged with Sola's murder.

It was a public framing and ultimately collapsed under a combination of British and Australian court-room defence work and outside diplomatic pressure.

Alfred McCoy's *Politics in Manila* tells the tale of the framing, and sets it against the social and historical background of Philippine society.

The country has a long history of colonial oppression. The 'legacy' today is of poverty and underdevelopment.

In 1978 the Minister of Industry declared that the Philippines had the lowest labour costs in Asia. Infant mortality rates are shocking. In parts of southern Negros, 90 per cent of the children are infested with intestinal worms up to 20 centimetres long.

So what's to be done? The only proposal that may be phlegmed into Javy Lopez's Preference, and improved redundancy package.

Why? Because the AFP leadership understands why the ruling class brought it to office.

The employers' lost faith in the Liberals' ability to secure an environment for profits to recover. Profits fell sharply in Malcolm Fraser's last two years in office.

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EVERY man works who want to change society believe that workers are too greedy, sexist or racist — let alone have the power — to do anything about it.

The British miners strike, where the state took a year and \$9 billion to evidence that workers do have the power to change society.

Throughout history, people's ideas have been transformed as they changed society. The rise of capitalism saw the drive through of kings and other religious figures go out the window as the old feudal relations of production were overturned.

Workers' ideas can also change in the way. But they have another advantage.

Capitalism itself prepares workers to run society because it requires educated and skilled workers who are also organised and active in their unions and other large-scale social organisations.

This continuing class struggle is the basis of workers' power. It means that a revolutionary party can be formed out of the struggle for the rights of the workers.

It is the struggle against other companies of industrialists, the state and the capitalist class that will include rights from all workers involved.

Workers' power in action — delegates to the first All-Russian Soviet met in 1917.

In a general strike or a succession of mass strikes and occupations, where workers seriously challenge the system, hundreds of such organisations will be needed.

They will take a host of new tasks — calling demonstrations, maintaining pickets, organising strikes, creating an alternative news service to counter government propaganda.

Workers' direct experience in such a confrontation will be the basis of the power of the workers in the future.

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"Plan for Jobs" leads up an old blind alley

REMEMBER "Australia Uprooted" and the "People's Budget"? The metal trades unions have recently launched yet another protectionist policy campaign, this time promoting their "Plan for Jobs".

Alas, it is not state medicine in a new bottle. Lindt posters, depicting the destruction of manufacturing industry by the monster of "Free Trade", and thousands of punchy leaflets will go to metal throats throughout Australia.

But the "Plan for Jobs" only leads unionists up a blind alley.

The situation in Australian manufacturing is by no means unique. Every engineering world-wide has been wrecked by cost, throwing hundreds of workers onto the unemployment dole.

Traditional engineering leaders like the British, West German and France have mobilised large chunks of their productive capacity for lack of effective demand, brought on by the general slump in growth. More recent areas of development, like the Far East, Brazil, Poland and South Africa, also followed suit.

While the Accord has helped to reverse profits more sharply than in any recent system, it has not been sufficient. Manufacturing still returns less than other areas of investment. The *Australian Review* has recently revealed that:

"To provide investment with a comparable rate of return requires compensation to make up the loss of investment income. The present rate is around 7%, and shows signs of falling."

Thus, the only way the engineering industry can return to its former approach 25% is by a mixture of financial engineering, stock options, further subsidies and wage cuts.

It is not government intervention that is needed. The fact is that the union movement is not doing its job.

So the employers are clear on their programme. What of the representatives of the working class? The metal labour "Plan for Jobs" promises a return to "Karl Marx's ideas on internationalism, and see Australia as a small part in the global jigsaw. The AMU will offer metal labour a return to the health of that tradition of capitalism."

But any unionist who knows, conversations — encouraged by communists like Japan, South Korea and Taiwan.

Leaving aside the ridiculous conspiracy theory, the Plan rests on two middle-class assumptions.

The first is that the union movement can best defend its members by "voluntarism" (accepting national decisions-making).

Compulsory "conciliation" rights and "company plans", dealing with "manpower planning, new technology, marketing and product design" are advertised as a direct threat to manager's prerogative.

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LURID propaganda for hand-outs to Aussie bosses — metal unions' cartoon shows the monster of Free Trade ravaging industry.

Industry Council chaired by John Halloran.

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COMMUNISM'S ANATOMY

Red Brotherhood: War, Class, Women and Ethnic Revolutions: Peace Plans (1961/1972)

KAMPUCHEA has long been a bit of an embarrassment to the left.

For a start, it's held up by its self-proclaimed right-wings as the ultimate example of how revolution/socialism/marxism leads to a bloody slaughter of one sort or another.

by David Lockwood

Even those of us who regard this view, in Kampuchea, as an invention with the spectacle of a "liberation" movement which apparently turned on its own population, only to be overturned by an invading "liberation" movement from outside in Vietnam. It's not a pretty picture. And the revolutionaries who the Khmer Rouge were, the ensuing war, Kampuchea and the war between Vietnam and China, did not make any pretence.

The strong point about Evans and Rowley's *Red Brotherhood* or *War* is that it is one of the first attempts to try to confront the issues in Indochina, and to try to sort them out.

They certainly demonstrate in detail the impact of imperialism in Indochina. First the French, who developed Vietnam (and therefore its national movement) a great deal more than either Laos or Kampuchea, and who laid down the boundaries between the three countries which are still a source of tension.

Then the US, through its murderous intervention, and its attempts to economically strangle Vietnam after 1975.

They deal with the myth of a Vietnamese expansionist "U.S." to take over the land of Indochina belowed of the US State Department. They present a plausible account of Kampuchea under the Khmer Rouge (although the amount of blame they assign to Pol Pot remains a debatable).

And by tracing the development of some of its participants—from Prince Sihanouk's stony opposition to the Khmer Rouge's abandonment of their traditional "socialism"—they demonstrate the impossibility of support for the Khmer resistance.

So much for the good bits.

One problem with the book is its marked pro-Vietnam bias throughout. If you think you have to take sides in the Indochinese situation, and support one of the "red brothers" against the others, then the sort of bias to be expected. But it is worth the authors' agreement of the Vietnamese right-wing which might be altogether gratefully.

Two although the authors promise a good account of the process of the Chinese in Vietnam, which they do not do. They search their pages in vain for an indication of that process.

They do condemn the French for using Laos and Kampuchea as buffer zones



REFUGEES carrying rice into Kampuchea: one product of building nation-states.

for their interests in Vietnam. But, however much they may have been forced into it, isn't that precisely what the Vietnamese ruling class is doing today?

That is not the major flaw in the book, however. Evans and Rowley are trying to work out why it is that the regimes in Indochina—so-called "communist"—fight with each other, just like capitalist regimes do. They come up with an answer that seriously weakens (if not destroys) the case for communism.

They deal with the myth of a Vietnamese expansionist "U.S." to take over the land of Indochina belowed of the US State Department. They present a plausible account of Kampuchea under the Khmer Rouge (although the amount of blame they assign to Pol Pot remains a debatable).

One problem with the book is its marked pro-Vietnam bias throughout. If you think you have to take sides in the Indochinese situation, and support one of the "red brothers" against the others, then the sort of bias to be expected. But it is worth the authors' agreement of the Vietnamese right-wing which might be altogether gratefully.

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creign nation-state". This, for Rowley and Evans, shows that their nationalism is not a deviation from communism, but a means to aid it.

From here it is just one more easy step to accepting that these states can be created by the national-state building machinery of the national-state. But there's also racism by both Kampuchea and



REFUGEES carrying rice into Kampuchea: one product of building nation-states.

any of the problems which most of us spend our lives struggling against. But such a "communism" has nothing more than the name in common with the internationalist aspirations of Marx and Lenin. The aim of their socialism seems a bit of a waste of time.

The point is not to get stuck into this sort of argument, but because the struggle with socialism seems a bit of a waste of time.

How do you answer the accusation that your socialism will look like Pol Pot? Those who agree with Evans and Rowley cannot—except to summon up their good intentions. We can, quite simply, by reiterating that what Pol Pot (and Ho Chi Minh, and Souphannavong) was about was the socialism in the first place. Despite the strengths of *Red Brotherhood*, socialists have to assert certain things, even if it is. Socialism, Evans and Rowley notwithstanding, is a self-emancipation of the working class. Not only does it have nothing to do with nationalism, starvation, poverty and war, it is the only means of eradicating them forever.

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KHMER ROUGE soldiers training machine guns on a post over the Mekong River, facing Vietnam.



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teach yourself marxism

FROM THE cradle to the grave we're encouraged to think of ourselves as members of a nation. Whether it's the America's Cup, a school history lesson or the latest export figures, the pressure is the same: identify with Australia, call Australia, believe Australia has been there.

And of course the same thing is going on in every other country. Every good little American, Japanese or Russian is meant to grow up identifying with and believing in the superiority of America, Japan, Russia or whatever.

It's absurd when you stop to think about it. But our rulers let it slide every necessary. They want it to be so all-pervasive, so obvious, that we never stop to think about it.

For patriotism reinforces the idea that there is an overriding common interest uniting boss and worker, exploiter and exploited, in the patriotic war, against bosses and workers alike.

Also it strengthens the power and authority of the state, which is the main force maintaining the rule of the exploiters over the exploited.

That's why Marxists are not patriots. They understand that we're not much more than believing in the equality of nations on the "brotherhood of peoples". It means seeing the world in class terms, not national terms.

The capitalists of every country, beginning with our own, are the enemies and the workers of every country our allies. Our starting point is the Australian national interest, not even the interests of the Australian working class, but the interests of the world working class in common struggle against capitalism.

It's the class interests of the clear division lines between reformists and revolutionaries, between those who accept the framework of nationalism and those who want to overthrow it.

Listen to the speeches of any ALP politician, right or left, Paul Keating or Steven Waack. You will find them full of phrases like "saving our industry" or "keeping Australia competitive". But it's not our industry or our country, but our own locked stock and barrel of ruling class. Every time the workers of this country are put on the agenda of the ruling class, they are put on the agenda of the ruling class. And they strengthen their class lines within the working class.

In contrast, Marxist internationalism means that it's us, in as peace, we stand for the defeat of our own ruling class and its state. As Karl Liebknecht said, "The best internationalist stand is the outbreak of the First World War, and the main enemy is at home."

Just as the bourgeoisie needs nationalism to bond the working class to itself, so the working class needs internationalism to establish its position.

All of which explains why "Workers of the World, Unite!" is just a loud sounding phrase. It's the basic slogan of the Marxist movement.

OUR "enemies": Japanese assembly line workers suffering the same attacks as us.

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Gossiping over the "divisions"

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combinativity

It is not accidental that the two major waves of feminism that have occurred against the background of a relatively high level of class struggle. Conversely, the early background of class struggle towards the end of the 19th century goes a long way towards explaining the demise of the women's movement. While the world was in the throes of the struggle with the world's ruling class, the women's struggle was more difficult. If working class militancy and mass demonstrations seemed to off the women's movement, the solution lay in focus.

Without the strength of struggle to force on sections of the women's movement activated themselves, the 1970s feminist struggle was not a success. The women's movement was not a success. The women's movement was not a success.

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LABOR'S

TAX

FRAUD

PAUL KEATING poised to grab from the poor.



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Picking the worker's pocket

PAUL KEATING is setting himself up as a new Robin Hood in reverse.

His new tax plan means higher taxes for the poor, and a massive tax cut for the rich.

His proposed consumption tax will hit the low-paid especially hard. It will mean a 12.5% rise in the cost of food, housing, electricity and many other consumer items.

INSIDE

3 Is Keating cheating you?



4 The profits in starvation



5 South Africa - where now?



6 Capitalism, Russian-style



8 Inside the Miners' Strike



12 Joh can be tamed - 1948 shows how

Keating is talking about "compensating" people on welfare benefits.

But millions of poverty-stricken pensioners and low-paid workers will only be "compensated" with a tax cut. A far lot of good that is, when you earn so little that you pay little tax anyway.

For the rich, Keating's plan will be a bonanza. The top income tax rate will be cut from 60% to 50%. The very top bosses will get to keep 50 cents on every dollar instead of 40 cents as previously - a 25% hike in their take-home pay.

When it comes to the consumption tax, the wealthiest will suffer the least.

Keating's new tax will replace old charges like sales tax. This means that the taxes on luxury goods like jewellery and furs will actually drop by 20%.

The Labor Party in government has always run things in the interests of the ruling class. With the crisis in the economy getting no better, with the employers going bankrupt, Labor has decided on an all-out attempt to pump the party down.

Next month's tax summit will be an open conspiracy between the captains of industry and the captains of labor to "fund" this fiscal open sea.

We should fight Keating's new tax plan every step of the way.



Can Apartheid be beaten? - 5

ARGUMENTS FOR SOCIALISM

The Fight Against Starvation

Open Slather

New Zealand PM David Lange may have turned back the tide of the anti-socialist movement in his own country, but he has not done so in the rest of the world. In fact, the tide is rising again, and it is rising in many parts of the world. In fact, the tide is rising in many parts of the world. In fact, the tide is rising in many parts of the world.

TODAY, 20% of Africans suffer from malnourished, while half their children are malnourished.

Children are expected to be half dead, causing famine to be a reality in many parts of the world. Even in China, where famine is supposedly absent, millions of youngsters go without a nutritious diet.

The Communist government in China has been accused of being a great guard dog that does not bark. In fact, the tide is rising in many parts of the world. In fact, the tide is rising in many parts of the world.

Europeans travel in the Middle Ages. Like Marco Polo, they traveled all the way to the East. While this wealth was available, for example, the state of economic production there was clearly superior to that of the West.

Do not think the present situation is better. In fact, the tide is rising in many parts of the world. In fact, the tide is rising in many parts of the world.

Subsistence farming based on local needs was a cash crop production for the markets of the great western powers. The West Indies was transformed into a sugar plantation, and its population was reduced to a few hundred people.

JUSTICE

Margaret Thatcher is a right-winger. In fact, the tide is rising in many parts of the world. In fact, the tide is rising in many parts of the world.

The British in India provided one of the most atrocious examples. After conquering most of the country in 1757, Britain shifted the whole Indian economy towards production of raw materials for British industry and its own consumer markets.

★ From 1967 to 1976, food production in Mali was cut from 60,000 tons to 15,000. The land was given over to growing cotton and peanuts for export, to make profits for the multinationals.

★ Another country grows carnations in Colombia on land that once grew wheat. The profit on a hectare of carnations is a million pesos, compared with 12,500 for wheat. Meanwhile, the country is desperately short of what to feed its people.

the price they could sell their crops for, and the prices being charged for food. The results were drastic. Exports of raw cotton to Britain kept from 10 million pounds worth in 1913 to 80 million in 1944, and 90 million in 1951. The price of British £100 in 1900, there were 25 tannins left, but only 20 tannins left.

After World War Two, most colonies were political independence. The new states tried to build modern industrial economies, so that, like Australia for example, they could export a range of products. If the world prices for one of their exports collapsed, they could not export, and so escape the threat of unemployment. But, by industrializing, they needed the latest machinery and equipment from the West. For this they required foreign currency.

By 1975, the present national economies of several rather could be in a position to trade, in which a world market, in which a world market, in which a world market.

able only increases the need to export cash crops. In Africa this has forced down food production by 25% since 1962.

So what can be done to prevent more tragedies on the future? Some propose that aid be pumped into the poorest countries by the West. Surely this is the least that the rich countries can do.

In practice, the Western involvement are tiny. Most Western governments donate less than half a percent of their national income, and even this is being cut further. Drought-stricken countries invariably attract strings of aid, and such that the poorer countries are forced to spend most of the money on the products of the donor, often at exorbitant prices.

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There could be no better way of dividing the potentially possible of the working class in the rich countries, than to be able to Western lands. But the case is not, they have.

Both are exploited by the same capitalist system, and a weakening of one naturally undermines the other.

But the most hopeful force for change in the Third World is to be found in the workers themselves. Some backward countries have been managed to industrialize, at least in part. Brazil, South Korea, Thailand and India.

Such capitalist development brings with it the potential for workers' revolution and socialism.

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Young black workers at Crossroads defy police.

LAST month, South African police murdered black trade union leader Andreas Radebe in the latest sickening outrage by the Apartheid authorities. In the black townships, police have now gathered down over 350 young blacks in the last nine months. Yet the worse the repression, the more black workers are fighting back, and the bosses are clearly worried. Every President Botha talks of a revolutionary climate in the country. Unlike Botha, we welcome it. Unfortunately, however, there is no guarantee that a revolution will occur, or succeed. But the possibility of it raises important questions. Socialists around the world to find a viable way forward in South Africa, we are forced to take up Karl Marx's idea of revolution: the working class rising as a class, taking over the running of the society as the first step in their self-emancipation. In South Africa, capitalism and black oppression have to be fought together, because capitalism in South Africa is based on the brutal apartheid system. This is the fate of those who must see the possibility of peace-change. While we defend them against the authorities, we have to be clear that in the final analysis, they can only lead their supporters to defeat. But if the trend of resistance is so clearly arising in South Africa, we are forced to ask where else. In the final analysis all governments, all state machines, exist to defend the capitalist order and the wealth of their ruling class. This is the fate of those who must see the possibility of peace-change. While we defend them against the authorities, we have to be clear that in the final analysis, they can only lead their supporters to defeat. But if the trend of resistance is so clearly arising in South Africa, we are forced to ask where else. In the final analysis all governments, all state machines, exist to defend the capitalist order and the wealth of their ruling class.

You only have to look at Britain, where, over the past year, the Thatcher government organised an unparalleled police operation to beat the striking coal miners. We are not dealing here with some weak, decaying regime like the Shah in Iran or the Soviet Union in Nicaragua in 1979.

The South African state runs an advanced economy. It is ranked in the top ten for its experience of counter-insurgency operations both at home and abroad.

The fact that the economic private sector is now coming under attack has to be a warning to the South African capitalist class. A whole economy has to be forcibly repressed. Once any sane rational belief can be held without a considerable measure of fear, it is a matter of time before the regime is overthrown.

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require mass struggle rather than peaceful offensives. The violence of the ruling class was nothing new to Karl Marx when he wrote about the problems of struggle against the ruling class.

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QUOTE of the month

"Famines do not occur; they are organized by the grain trade."

—Berthel Brecht, German socialist.

THE RUSSAS ARE CAPITALISTS...



The privileged men who control Russia's means of production: Stalin and friends on the 1950 May Day parade. Today's regime may not be so harsh, but the power structure remains unchanged.

UNDER capitalism, the mass exploits the mass, but under socialism it's exactly the opposite.

by Tony Belcher

This article from Eastern Europe points to a major problem confronting socialist nations: how we can control the means of production in a way that is not exploitative, not by a tiny ruling class of bosses, but by the ordinary working people. A society where production is determined by the needs of the majority, not the profits of the minority.

It is not to deny some people to the socialists, it is necessary to determine the theory of national strategy in Europe, while millions of tons of food are shipped in Europe and the USA to keep food prices up. It would use inventors' labor to provide more housing for everyone, not to save the boss money by paying workers on the dole.

The countries of the east lack working life. They too are run by a tiny ruling class, made up of state bureaucrats. These bureaucrats set the goals of production not on the basis of the needs of the majority, but on the basis of the needs of the minority.

Some 75% of everything made in Russia is new capital equipment as the Russian ruling class tries to keep its factories as productive as those controlled, not by a tiny ruling class of bosses, but by the ordinary working people. A society where production is determined by the needs of the majority, not the profits of the minority.

factories and elected committees to run them. They were placed in with an army and an administration of their own, under the control of the soviets, councils of elected workers' delegates.

The Bolshevik Party led the revolution. It could lead, only because it had majority support in the soviets, that is, it represented the majority opinion of the working class.

THEIR TOYS...

But there were severe limits to what the workers could achieve in Russia alone. A socialist society requires the national wealth that only advanced industry can provide.

THE Bolshevik leaders had recognized this problem eight months before the revolution. Lenin insisted that "the Russian work class cannot by its own forces victoriously complete the socialist revolution."

ideas cannot exist in a vacuum. Without a strong militant, politically conscious working class, the mass Bolsheviks who wanted to remain committed to the politics of socialism were pushed aside.

One alternative was to spread revolution. The socialist bureaucrats quickly abandoned this, betraying workers' uprisings in China in 1927 and Spain in 1936, or worse, not to antagonize the western powers.

So defence by conventional military force was its only alternative. For the major capitalist nations are imperialist powers, engaged in military as well as economic competition.

This century's wars have all been run by capitalists in some countries trying to profit by seizing raw materials, industry, markets and colonies from capitalists in other countries.

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So defence by conventional military force was its only alternative. For the major capitalist nations are imperialist powers, engaged in military as well as economic competition.

After the second world war, it remained in control of Eastern Europe, establishing similar regimes there. But the ideas of the Russian 'socialism' spread in another way as well.

The fact that Stalin's bureaucracy had changed Russia from a backward country to a superpower was a major achievement.

The initial period of industrialization required massive investments.

"Communist" countries have nothing in common with the socialism of Marx. But Marxism is the key to understanding them nevertheless, for they are in fact forms of capitalism.

Exploitation takes place in the centralized in the hands of the state. It is state capitalism.

Many people perceive the new socialist reality of the "socialist" countries, but regret calling them capitalist. They usually have two arguments.

They must engage in an arms race, continually matching the quantity and quality of the weapons accumulated by their capitalist neighbors.

All the new industry and weaponry is produced by the labour of the working class. The bureaucracy has to force the workers to produce as much as they can, rather than consume, in other words, the Russian ruling class exploits the working class.

The initial period of industrialization required massive investments.

They are not personally profiting from the system. But personal profit is not what drives the bosses of the west; accumulating capital to survive competition is the central dynamic.

For the bureaucracy, the prospect of accumulating things is a process of accumulating capital in a process of accumulating capital in a process of accumulating capital.

The central difference between the western and eastern world is that the capital in the east is not divided up among competing companies but concentrated in the hands of the state.

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Read more about State Capitalism



- The Great Lie - Ablett Balkan depicts the myth of Russian Socialism as 'socialist' \$1.50
- State Capitalism - Russia's Tory class fundamentalist, a modern Marxist-Leninist \$3.00
- Russia: How the Revolution Was Lost - Why Stalinism is not inevitable if we meet \$2.00

Available from your local U.S. branch (listings page 11) or send check/money order, inc. 52 postage to: GPO, Box 14739, Mpls. 55401



A posting, showing queue lines up to buy dresses. Shortages of consumer goods are endemic, thanks to Russia's huge arms spending and investment in heavy industry.

...AND THEIR TOYS

Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles on show in Red Square.

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"RIOT" IS GEARS BEING GREASED!

IT IS NOT OFTEN IN 15 years that the bourgeois press, the *Counter Mail* and *Daily News* give on the credits for organizing a riot! Opposing Premier Balfour Paterson brought a House of Representatives Law on 10 May of Queensland.

But you virtually dismissed the determined mobilizations of the rank and file strike committee. This provides a focus for many other workers and so the riotous, who have strategized and the right to organize.

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DAIRY FARMERS — Their demands are wrong

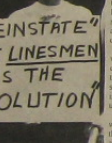
LWAS surprised to read Sandra Broadbent's article on the Victorian dairy farmers' struggle in the last issue.

The dairy farmers, rather than their calls for higher milk prices and for the abolition of support for the dairy farmers, are actually a dairy farmers' struggle in the last issue.

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Mark Gilbride

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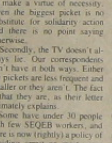
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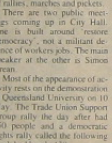
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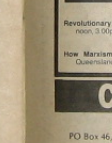
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International Socialists Communist Historians

Revolutionary Road to Socialism, 7/10/85, 10/10/85, 13/10/85, 16/10/85, 20/10/85, 27/10/85, 3/11/85, 10/11/85, 17/11/85, 24/11/85, 1/12/85, 8/12/85, 15/12/85, 22/12/85, 29/12/85, 5/1/86, 12/1/86, 19/1/86, 26/1/86, 2/2/86, 9/2/86, 16/2/86, 23/2/86, 1/3/86, 8/3/86, 15/3/86, 22/3/86, 29/3/86, 5/4/86, 12/4/86, 19/4/86, 26/4/86, 3/5/86, 10/5/86, 17/5/86, 24/5/86, 31/5/86, 7/6/86, 14/6/86, 21/6/86, 28/6/86, 5/7/86, 12/7/86, 19/7/86, 26/7/86, 2/8/86, 9/8/86, 16/8/86, 23/8/86, 30/8/86, 6/9/86, 13/9/86, 20/9/86, 27/9/86, 4/10/86, 11/10/86, 18/10/86, 25/10/86, 1/11/86, 8/11/86, 15/11/86, 22/11/86, 29/11/86, 6/12/86, 13/12/86, 20/12/86, 27/12/86, 3/1/87, 10/1/87, 17/1/87, 24/1/87, 31/1/87, 7/2/87, 14/2/87, 21/2/87, 28/2/87, 6/3/87, 13/3/87, 20/3/87, 27/3/87, 3/4/87, 10/4/87, 17/4/87, 24/4/87, 1/5/87, 8/5/87, 15/5/87, 22/5/87, 29/5/87, 5/6/87, 12/6/87, 19/6/87, 26/6/87, 3/7/87, 10/7/87, 17/7/87, 24/7/87, 31/7/87, 7/8/87, 14/8/87, 21/8/87, 28/8/87, 4/9/87, 11/9/87, 18/9/87, 25/9/87, 2/10/87, 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1948 — When Militants Beat the Q Government

In February this year, the Queensland government sacked over 1000 striking SEQB firemen.

The government has since used every weapon in its armoury: the police, the courts, anti-union legislation and the military to ensure victory over the workers.

Then seven years ago Queensland workers fought against industrialists when 600 railway workers struck for higher pay in the 1955 rail strike.

The Labor government that set the precedent for Right-Formism to follow.

The Haulon Labor government declared a State of Emergency. They placed a total press blackout on news regarding the strike. Union leaders and workers were arrested and gaolbird. Police beatings and provocation were rampant.

The Industrial Law Amendment Act was passed through Parliament giving police draconian powers. They could arrest without warrants. They could legally enter and search any office and workers' homes and remove literature relating to the strike.

Police were even given the power to enter workers' homes and direct any non-residents to leave.

The Haulon Labor government paralyzied Brisbane as well as other major Queensland working class centres. But when it comes to the organization and leadership in the working class, the two divisions could hardly be more different.

The 1948 rail strike had a working class leadership despite everything that was thrown at them by the ruling class.

It was because they had confidence in themselves enough and ability to win. And because they had elected leadership. The strike was led by members of the Queensland Party, a revolutionary socialist party because it was under the domination of the Socialist rank and file in Brisbane, who were prepared to lead any revolutionary action by workers.

Nevertheless, the mass of the membership saw themselves as revolutionaries and wanted to get rid of the capitalist system. They were militant and resolute and were prepared to go beyond the hesitancy and legality of

the established union bureaucracy.

Their leadership and organization was decisive in the rail strike.

The influence of the Communist Party was in fact a fiction of the confidence workers felt. In the years following the Second World War, the working class launched a massive industrial offensive, winning the 48-hour week and large

increases in pay.

Every victory created the conditions for the next successful struggle.

The year before the strike, metal workers in Melbourne won higher wages after an all-out five month struggle. By February 1948, metal workers outside Queensland had benefited from this victory, getting large flow-on rates of 160 per cent for maintenance and 130 per cent for other classifications.

Metal workers on the Queensland railways applied for the increase but were ignored by the State Arbitration Court.

But the workers were determined. If the Court wouldn't give it to them, then they'd fight for it.

State-wide rallies by the AEL, Boilermakers and Blacksmiths, Vehicle Builders and Electrical Trades Unions all resulted in overwhelming support for a strike.

And the Australian Railways Union, who regarded itself as unmovable, held mass meetings where the strike motion was carried.

Anger and frustration had been building up in the railways for some time. The workshops were understaffed and overworked.

The railway staff had been denied an increase and it made work increasingly dangerous. In the year before, there had been several major train accidents, two of them fatal.

So on 4 February 1948, 3000 railwaymen in workshops and along the rails downed tools.

The Labor government stood down 14,000 other railway workers without pay, hoping to divide the workers. That was a massive failure, with half those stood down actually joining the strike.

One of the features of the strike was the high level of involvement by the workers.

Mass meetings were a regular occurrence and leaders were distributed daily. Food committees operated in many cases to distribute food to workers and workers who had been stood down.

By the fourth week of the strike, the Communist newspaper *Tribune* could report that in the previous week alone, 25 strike committees had been set up.

There were pickets every day, often involving the wives of the strikers.

The militancy of the struggle, and the rank and file involvement was clearly having an effect. After two weeks, the unemployed strikers joined the strike.

The Federal Labor government under Chifley refused to negotiate with the Queensland workers. The Queensland Labor government under Hanson declared a state of emergency on 28 February. A complete ban was placed on

A railway worker waits for an ambulance after being brutally battered by cops at the St Patrick's day parade. Police repression failed to stop the workers' struggle.

Searches banned all shopping to Queensland, in a successful and damaging blockade of the state. Railway workers in New South Wales and Victoria joined in blocking all goods going to Queensland.

Financial support was stepped up. The *Tribune* carried details of donations from unions, workplaces and individuals made in support of Queensland. These even included donations from American and Canadian, seamen whose ships were in Australian ports.

Over the period of the strike, some \$10,000 was raised, quite a substantial sum for the time.

Not even the M.P.s who were laws could turn the tide. On the 17th day of the new anti-picketing law, hundreds turned out in defiance to picket the Woolloomooloo and Northside railway yards, the tram stops at Milton, and workshops at Ipswich, Rockhampton and other centres.

Hundreds more were arrested during the 'Obelisk Campaign' in December. A newspaper published from there to picket White Junction in full view of the police.

Two weeks later 17 match police saboteurs attacked strikers at a St Patrick's Day parade.

Comunism was the only Parliament. Fred Paterson was beaten around the head and hospitalized.

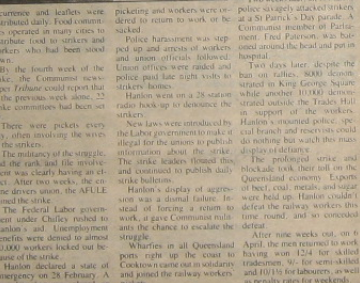
Two days later, despite the ban on rallies, 3000 demonstrators in King George Square while another 11,000 demonstrated outside the Trades Hall.

In support of the workers, Hanson's reformed police, special branch and reserve units were held up for their mass display of brutality.

The political strike and blockade took their toll on the Queensland economy. Exports of beef, coal, metals and sugar were held up. Hanson couldn't defend the railways without this.

After nine weeks out, on 6 April, the men returned to work on living wages 124 per cent trade union, 50 per cent allied and 100 per cent for labourers, as well as a penalty rate for weekends.

Wharfies in all Queensland ports right up to the coast in Cockerin came out in solidarity and joined the railway workers' pickets.



THOUSANDS of workers pack King George Square in Brisbane to protest against the St Patrick's Day bash.

TERMINISM?

The Socialist INTERNATIONAL

Incorporating The Battler No 177 Published with June 1981 (previous 1980) 6 July 1985 40 cents

Meet Mr. Big.



PHILIPPINES

WHAT A priceless hypocrite Ronald Reagan is. Oozing all the ingested self-righteousness that his Hollywood training could master, he told the world, "We will not cave in" over the Beirut hostage crisis.

America will never make concessions to terrorists. To do so would only invite more terrorism," Reagan intoned.

But who are the real terrorists in the world today? When you add it up, Ronald Reagan and his friends come out way ahead of a small band of Shi'ite Mexican hijackers.

defiance

What did the Beirut hijackers demand? The release of 700 Shi'ites whom America's closest ally, Israel, has been holding in defiance of the Geneva convention — a fact even US Secretary of State George Shultz admits.

The Shi'ites were kidnapped by Israeli forces, identified and forced across the border into Israeli weeks ago, to languish in Israeli prison camps.

What was their crime? They tried to defend southern Lebanon when Israel, backed by US arms and bank-rolled by US money, hijacked half of their country in order to drive the Palestinians even further from their homeland.

The Israeli government yielded Reagan's wishes.

"We have to stand with the Americans against blackmail and pressure," a said.

Israel knows more about blackmail and pressure than most. It has jammed not just a plane, but an entire nation-state back in 1948 when — it evicted one million Palestinians at the point of a gun.

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LEBANON

Turn to p 2

RONALD REAGAN and the terror he sponsors. From top: Filipino troops inspect their handiwork; Refugee flee the Israeli invasion of Lebanon; Victims of El Salvador's death squads.



EL SALVADOR



You ain't seen nothin' yet...!

Not a video game

If you've seen enough of Reagan already...

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Gallagher must go free

MAILED

with Alec Kahn

IT TOOK them three years. But the building developers and the Blair government finally have brought the Royal Commission into Gallager's backyard.

Forget the liberal notion of Gallager that "he must be guilty of something. Gallager's four-year sentence is a robbery that must be bought by every left-wing person. The case against him was robbed with the bias of the suits against the BLF was a disgrace and the trial sentence was an outrageous attack on one of the few unions with the right of military no-fly zone."

For readers who think that Gallager was probably guilty, let us briefly run through the question marks hanging over the prosecution case. The Crown charges that Gallager took secret commissions or bribes, from building developers, in the form of free labour and materials for two houses for him and his wife. The Crown charges that Gallager's business dealings with McGloughlin's Research and Development were not bona fide. McGloughlin's business never really established.

On the contrary, the evidence shows that Maurice Ailer and George White, who were the main buyers of BLF munitions, each gave Gallager £10,000 in cash. The Crown charges that the BLF gave him exemptions from their membership rules.

The developers who entered the

value of gifts they gave Gallager. For example, Gallager was convicted of receiving £16,000 worth of electrical work and materials, including light fittings. Yet the cost of that same work is typically less than \$1000, according to Victoria's State Electricity Commission.

Moreover, while the developers' names were known to Gallager as gifts, the Crown produced no evidence that Gallager saw them that way. Gallager argues that he always intended to pay for them. But the developers' names were not on the invoices. The Royal Commission into the BLF began in 1982. It decided to investigate the grounds that they might appear to be covering their tracks to reach a guilty verdict. It would scarcely settle the case, he would scarcely settle the case.

Concededly, like Grollo, he used to pay \$100,000 for each day's stay on a big building site. They could hardly have been so generous to Gallager, with knock-out blows worth even on the Crown's inflated figures just 128,000 over four years.

When the Royal Commission into the BLF first started, Gallager's lawyers asked the BLF first to reveal their cases. Gallager and Brian Dilly refused to answer questions about supplying bombs to Gallager, on the grounds that they might incriminate themselves.

Both immediately received written indemnities from the Crown prosecutor, guaranteeing them immunity from any charges. So much for Cain's promise of equal treatment.

We in the international socialist movement have never had any great admiration

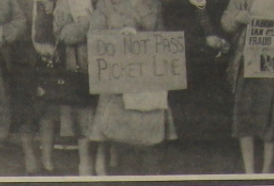
for the Crown prosecutor and magistrate, whereby their clients heard automatically, and be given twelve month good behavior bonds and a fine, with no convictions recorded.

The BLF's lawyers pointed out that the deal struck produced Gallager's case. But it went ahead, and the developers got exactly the sentence they courted asked for. Six months later, in further court proceedings against Gallager, Maurice Development, Bonds, Morrissey and Brian Dilly refused to answer questions about supplying bombs to Gallager, on the grounds that they might incriminate themselves.

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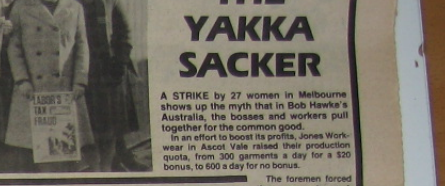
NORM GALLAGHER (left) and the real reason he is in jail — BLF members tackle cops in a militant street march.

to a deal to the Crown prosecutor and magistrate, whereby their clients heard automatically, and be given twelve month good behavior bonds and a fine, with no convictions recorded.

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A STRIKE by 27 women in Melbourne shows up the myth that in Bob Hawke's Australia, the bosses and workers pull all together for the common good.

In an effort to boost its profits, Gorman Australia, the bosses and workers pull all together for the common good. In an effort to boost its profits, Gorman Australia, the bosses and workers pull all together for the common good. In an effort to boost its profits, Gorman Australia, the bosses and workers pull all together for the common good.

The women formed work with their eyes down to the table, not allowing them to talk or even look up. They then sacked seven of the women for "inefficiency," which is strange since they had worked there a long time — up to nine years.

Despite this, the company, which is owned by the giant Yacka group, refused to give them any redundancy pay for their long years of service. Instead, they got just a week's pay in lieu of notice and were told not to come back the next day.

Under capitalism, there can never be a "fair" tax system, because there can never be a "fair" economy.

Production, living standards, and the wealth of society are not controlled by the mass of the population, but the people who control the wealth. They are all controlled by a tiny number of parasites who pursue only the interests of their own business.

They will impose whatever burdens they wish on the rest of us. With the working class movement in retreat after the severe recession of 1982, they are in the box seat to make us pay for their taxes.

There is an old saying in the unions that you're not going from Anzelm when you can't work industrially. The same applies here.

Option C with its reactionary consumption tax, has not yet been implemented. Millions of workers are opposed to it, especially the unions.

It can be stopped. But it means a willingness to fight it with industrial action. It means a willingness to tear up the Accord and start striking living standards instead.

The strikers asked their officials to get solid support from other Jones factories. As we go to press, the Seymour factory may go out in sympathy, but the Penington current.

Single unemployed people who get only 20% of their own unemployment compensation package, instead of the 3.0% they used to need.

WHO will be hurt the most by this package? Part-time workers who can't get full-time work. High school leavers and kids on unemployment working part-time and getting less than \$100 a week. Retired workers who only make enough to get a small retirement out of the pension, or who have only a low level of superannuation.

Working class women will be especially hit. Half the female unemployment claimants earn less than \$100/week.

STRIKING THE YACKA

By PHIL GRIFFITHS

AS WE GO TO PRESS, THE Tax Circus is underway in Canberra.

In the last month, there has been almost total condemnation of the government's tax proposal from the Labor Party and the trade union movement.

The Victorian and South Australian Labor Party conferences have rejected the consumption tax outright, and even the NSW conference, dominated by the right-wing, expressed concern.

And despite the barrage of attacks, Hawke and Keating are even further in their resolve to plow the poor and puny to the rich.

Together they are holding a loaded gun at the head of every Labor Party member.

If that gun is deflected, the papers are saying, you will have severely undermined the authority of the government. In the government and wage investing.

There will be a new recession and increased speculation against the Australian dollar.

And if that happens, Labor will have no hope of surviving the next election.

Yours political future is tied to our tax cut, whether you like it or not. This is the line from Hawke and Keating.

It is a stark comment on the real nature of Labor governments. They not only set out to

abandonned in opposition to the new tax.

Even someone as right-wing as Bill Hayden can see the problems the new tax would cause. You despite the barrage of attacks, Hawke and Keating are even further in their resolve to plow the poor and puny to the rich.

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Terms: is the socialist leap



A JORDANIAN justice minister burns after terrorists dynamite.

THE LAST few weeks have put terrorism firmly back in the headlines.

The Beirut bombing on Friday, 32nd April was an Air India flight exploded over the Atlantic, the bomb blast in 329 killed and 125 injured, the dynamiting of the Japanese Red Brigades, the Japanese Red Army and so on?

And what do we think of the avowed anti-imperialist organizations that have employed terrorism in the last couple of decades — the IRA, the PLO, Black September, Italy's Red Brigades, the Baader-Meinhof Group, the Japanese Red Army and so on?

Some names remain have always rejected terrorism. We are not sure we are pacifists. On the contrary, we fully expect that violence, in the form of mass working class insurrection, will be necessary to overcome the class and police forces of the employing class in any real socialist change. We think workers are fully justified in using collective violence today to defend their pocket lists and other rights from scabs and the police.

Do we do as they say for ruling class figures? In the East Timor, or Lord Howe Island, or Margaret Thatcher, who find themselves the targets of terrorist hit squads. They and their class have inflicted suffering a million times more on ours.

No, we oppose terrorism because it is simply futile and counterproductive. If it fails, because the employing class can always find new politicians and functionaries to replace the handful that terrorists can disarm. And it counter-productive, because it distracts the power and stability of the world.

Why We propose "Option C"



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Proposed Tax Cut

Table	Income	% Increase
(\$-1)	(\$-2)	(% -3)
70	80	14.3
80	90	12.5
100	110	10.0
150	160	6.7
200	210	5.0
300	300	0.0
400	400	0.0
500	500	0.0
600	600	0.0
800	800	0.0
1000	1000	0.0
2000	1800	-10.0

From a total national private consumption level of \$114 billion, it means with a substantial cut in the wages a great rise of some 6.1% yearly over the next 10 years. Most of the benefits go to higher income earners. Over 90% a very marked improvement on the existing system.

WHO will be hurt the most by this package? Part-time workers who can't get full-time work. High school leavers and kids on unemployment working part-time and getting less than \$100 a week. Retired workers who only make enough to get a small retirement out of the pension, or who have only a low level of superannuation.

Working class women will be especially hit. Half the female unemployment claimants earn less than \$100/week.

Single unemployed people who get only 20% of their own unemployment compensation package, instead of the 3.0% they used to need.

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METALWORKERS' LAW MESSNER

METALWORKERS in South Australia have claimed a record \$4.776 claims costing \$121 million.

Members of the AMWU Para Districts Branch, which covers metalworkers employed in Commonwealth Defence Research Centre at Salisbury, were not impressed.

"In all of Senator Messner's ranting about the cost of workers compensation, there was not a single note of sympathy for the workers who had been injured or killed by unsafe working conditions," Para Districts Branch secretary, Ernie Broad pointed out.

"Nor was there one word about doing something about the state worksheds so that there would not be so many injuries caused at work."

private

Messner's solution is for the government to arrange its workers compensation with the private insurance which would simply mean a whole new way for government workers to be exploited.

and utter worthlessness of the Accord for workers. According to the top union bureaucrats, relying on the Labor government and the Accord was going to give workers reforms, in areas like workers compensation, and that could be Hawke and Keating trying to push through a tax plan to help the poor and help the rich, but the Victorian government is pushing through a workers compensation scheme that will cut the amount workers get so that the bosses get away with

paying less. Ernie Broad finished up by arguing that, "Employees have every right to expect their place of work not to be a place of carnage."

The experience of workers employed by the federal government, and the comments of Tony Messner all prove that election of a Labor Government is no way to enforce such a right.

That can only be done by rejecting the approach of the Accord and relying on the industrial strength of good union organisation.

The nationalisation of the metal trades unions in Australia leads them to make deals with the employers against the best interests, both of their own members and the working class in the colonies.

The nationalisation that leads ordinary working class people to support their government in war can only hold back the struggle for socialism and human freedom.

The Sydney branch of the I.S. is holding a major educational weekend this month on the question of nationalisation.

Among the five different talks will be one tracing the history of nationalisation, from the period when it was on the rise.

International Socialists

Marxism and Nationalism

THE question of nationalism and national struggle is one of the most important and perennial facing Marxists.

With the relative retreat of the working class, new newspapers have been set up by the Middle East, Ireland, East Africa, Central America and even Afghanistan, where there are major national struggles taking place.

Revolutionaries support the struggles of oppressed nations against imperialism. But we do not support nationalism in general.

The nationalisation of the metal trades unions in Australia leads them to make deals with the employers against the best interests, both of their own members and the working class in the colonies.

The nationalisation that leads ordinary working class people to support their government in war can only hold back the struggle for socialism and human freedom.

will also be showing the film, "We are the Palestinians" which documents the destruction of their homeland by the Zionists.

The weekend school will be held in our Sydney centre, upstairs, 362 Pitt Street, in the City. Interested non-members are, as always, most welcome to attend and join in the discussion.

From the branch meetings...

ON Wednesday 12 June, Troy Coleman spoke to a meeting of the I.S. in Brisbane, to explain how central apartheid is to South African capitalism, and to the ANC ruling class.

One of the most encouraging aspects of recent Sydney branch meetings has been the regular attendance of non-members.

Over the past couple of weeks we have seen the power of the South African working class with major strikes in South Africa's largest export industry, gold, shaking the South African ruling class.

However, capitalism and apartheid are part of the world economic and social system in South Africa. Only a socialist

revolution can sweep both away. For the black working class to realise its potential and identity, apartheid is a revolutionary socialist party is essential.

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IS CAMPUS MEETINGS

MONASH UNIVERSITY
Bookstall in the Union Activity Hallway from 12 noon till 2pm.

UNI OF QUEENSLAND
Bookstall, upstairs every Tuesday after the seminar break on Tues. day, 23.30, 12.30 in the forum area.

GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY
Bookstall, upstairs every Wednesday after the seminar break, on Wednesday 24 July, 11.30-1.30 in the Undercroft.

IS STUDY GROUPS

MELBOURNE
Revolutionary Road to Socialism group meets every Sunday afternoon, 3.00pm in the I.C. Centre, 58 St. Albans, 23rd Swanton Street, Melbourne.

BRISBANE
The Revolutionary Road to Socialism group meets every Tuesday 7.30pm upstairs, 401 George Street, Brisbane.

IS EDUCATIONAL WEEKENDS

Sydney Branch Week End School
July 20-21
Marxism and Nationalism

Topics include:
• The Origins of Bourgeois Nationalism
• Lenin and the National Question
• Why Socialists Oppose Zionism
• The Palestinian and Arab Nationalism
• South Africa and Permanent Revolution

Talks begin Saturday 20 at 10.30, 20.00, 4.00pm, Sunday 21 11.00am and 12.30pm. Film, "We are the Palestinians", Saturday at 5.30pm.

For further details, phone 257 3832.

CONTACT US

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PO Box 88, Alexandria 2015 Tel: 02 267 3822

BRISBANE
Upstairs, 401 George Street, City, Queensland 4002
PO Box 129, Woolloomooloo, Queensland 4102

PERTH
5/1 Bennelong Place, Leederville, WA 6007 Tel: 08 443 3040

CANBERRA
GPO Box 1167, Canberra, ACT 2601

Workers' Power

Workers' control over the whole of society, based on workers' control of the factories and workplaces. Only the organised working class can bring about the workers' free of exploitation, oppression and want. Russia and China are not socialist because they are based on the exploitation of workers by a bureaucratic ruling class.

Revolution, not Reformism

We believe in overthrowing the capitalist system, not patching it up or gradually trying to change it. The state—parliament, the military, the laws—are a weapon of the ruling class and must be used to break the spheres of the working class.

There is no half-revolution: road to socialism.

Internationalism

A socialist revolution cannot survive in one country. It must help build revolutions in other countries or it will be defeated. Like the Russian revolution in 1917, we are building an international movement, opposed to patriotism and working to overthrow national divisions.

Full Equality and Liberation

For women, blacks, migrants and oppressed groups. Racism, sexism and discrimination, against migrants, are all pillars of the capitalist system. We are opposed to the social preservation of housewives.

Revolutionary Party

To smash the capitalist state, we need a revolutionary party, organised and built in the workplaces. Without a revolutionary party, the struggles of workers will be crushed.

Rank and File Organisation

Workers need their own rank and file organisation, to lead them through the party's ranks, to the struggle. We fight to bring the unions under party and socialist control.

JOIN US!

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST 6 JULY 1985 — PAGE 11

THE BORGES ACTION APPARTHEID

POOR Bob Hawke! He really wants to be seen to be against apartheid. But he needs to give an impression of concern for the interests of Australian capitalism keeping quiet in his own back yard.

ONE of the staunchest supporters of Norm Gallagher's conviction for another building union official!

Steve Gallagher was found guilty of obstructing justice, Shakerly, the NSW Secretary of the Building Workers' Industrial Union (BIWU), who used himself by a series of statements, saying, "The court's right to decide a matter that should be the concern of the unionist."

Shakerly, who is supposed to be a Communist, has proclaimed his willingness to do as Gallagher requests in order to undermine any solidarity action taken on Sydney building sites.

Shakerly himself is quite happy to let the boss' courts to decide trade union matters. He recently tried to solve a dispute with seven members of the BIWU at the Sydney Police Court building site by taking things to court.

Unfortunately for the BIWU officials, the case was dismissed. This case Shakerly was not only silent in defending the judge's decision.

Not only that, but continued solidarity action by BIWU around their seven arrested members finally resulted in the union's members being taken to the demands of the BIWU. They sought to buy their way out of prison.

This could be said every time a group of workers able to win through industrial action. If the year-long British miners' strike had succeeded in saving jobs, would Stan Shakerly have not claimed the BIWU Centre as best printing union, was a stark down refusing to use the new equipment.

ANGRY BUILDERS LABOURERS IN MELBOURNE DEMONSTRATE THEIR SUPPORT FOR NORM GALLAGHER OUTSIDE THE COUNTY COURT. IT'S A PITY SOME BUILDING UNION OFFICIALS WOULD EXTEND THE SAME ELEMENTARY SOLIDARITY.

try to "buy her way out of problems". The only way to understand why union officials like Shakerly make such statements is to look at them in the context of the Prices and Incomes Act. That's where union officials and the Hawke government to keep at a minimum, what capitalists have to pay their workers. In order to keep this agreement going, there must be no claims by workers outside the miserly limits of the CPI.

Obviously the bosses have an interest in seeing that there are no such claims. But in the case of Graham Evans and Co, the claims were accompanied by strike action and has so that they were forced to pay up. That's where union officials like Stan Shakerly come in.

Against the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children in mid-June, the workers were to be paid the money by the management staff.

To win this dispute quickly, the unions need to stop all payments from coming out. This would require effective picketing and wider support from other unions.

At the leaders of the two unions have rejected this and seem reluctant to involve the most effective force in the struggle against the bosses: the rank and file of their respective unions.

It's only those who are not so easily intimidated by management staff, that the newspaper is going to report it. This could discourage the workers from fighting the bosses out to the finish, or for the industrial action, it has only stopped the Australian



Lesley Penrose from Brisbane I.S. mounts the soapbox as part of the Brisbane's regular Friday night Socialist Rally in the Queen Street Mall.

IS SOCIALIST RALLIES

- SYDNEY
Friday night, 8.30-10.00pm in the Trades Union Broadway leading to Central Station. Afterwards at the Trades Union Club in Foreman Street.
- Saturday morning, Bond Junction Shopping Centre, 11.00am to 12.30pm.
- MELBOURNE
Friday night, 8.30-10.00pm outside Corporation in the Bourke Street Mall. Afterwards in the bar of the Manor Hotel, corner Swanton and Lennox Streets.
- BRISBANE
Friday night, 7.00-9.00pm at the Albert Street end of the Queen Street Mall. Afterwards in the I.C. Centre, 401 George Street.
- CANBERRA
Saturday morning, 10.30-12.00pm in Patric Plaza Court.
- BRISBANE
Brisbane Branch of the International Socialist Workers' Party meets every Friday night, 7pm up stairs, 401 George Street, City. For further details, phone 257 3832.
- MELBOURNE
The Melbourne Revolutionary Workers' Party meets every Monday night, 7.30pm up stairs, 252 Swanton Street, City. For further details, phone 663 2882.
- SYDNEY
Sydney Branch of the International Socialist Workers' Party meets every Monday night, 7.30pm up stairs, 362 Pitt Street, City. For further details, phone 267 3822.
- THE CHINESE REVOLUTION
10.30-12.00pm on Friday, 17 July, 7pm. Sydney Branch, an active rightist group, has been invited to hold a meeting. However she has both in support and in opposition to the system.
- MELBOURNE
The Melbourne and Durr, Wednesday 24 July, 7.30pm. Melbourne Branch, the publication used by Lenin to build the ranks of the workers' movement.

Strike Limits Rupert's News

FOR the past two weeks, Rupert Murdoch's Australian newspaper has been the subject of a strike by newsprint workers. Although Hawke had promised a deal of some kind, the workers would not be satisfied until the company agreed to a new contract.

However, it's not interested in winning through as it is a matter of internal concern, the profitability of his South African newspaper, and a stable relationship with Australia's ports. \$200 million worth of coal and iron ore exports go to South Africa.

The strike started when a member of the PKU, the 1982

printing union, was a stark down refusing to use the new equipment. PKU members walked off the job immediately and their officials requested support from the journalists, but their union, the AJA. After a brief stoppage meeting, the journalists walked out on a sympathy.

This solidarity between the two main newspaper unions is a welcome change from 1979, when AJA members crossed a PKU picket line, a favour which would have been left to PKU officials without any attempt to involve the rank and file of either union.

A suggestion from the floor at one meeting of AJA members was to back the newspaper union on their own. The PKU members were far from assured.

To make things more difficult, there are rumours, no doubt created by management staff, that the newspaper is going to report it. This could discourage the workers from fighting the bosses out to the finish, or for the industrial action, it has only stopped the Australian

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It enraged Franco, Stalin and the Pope ...



A workers' patrol sets out in a requisitioned bus.

BARCELONA

LIBERAL historians are fond of presenting the Spanish Civil War as a struggle between the "good" republicans and the "bad" nationalists. Stalinists prefer "democracy" versus "fascism."

These abstractions obscure the truth about the Spanish Civil War. It was a brutal class struggle, in which Spanish workers took revolutionary initiatives.

Nowhere was this more evident than in Barcelona, capital of the Catalan region, and the centre of manufacturing in Spain.

Textile, metal-working and various processing industries were concentrated in the area. Trade unionism was strong, with workers organized in the two main radical union federations, the UGT and the CNT. By 1936, Catalan politics was the most radical in Europe. Catalan independence had been an issue since the 18th century, and in 1911 the republican administration in Madrid had treated a regional government, the Generalitat. This was abolished by middle class "autonomists."

Of the left, working class leadership was divided between reformist Socialists, Stalinists aligned with the Comintern, and the radical communist wing of the P.O.U.M. and anarchist revolutionary cells of varying proportions of red and black.

WHEN the military and its fascist supporters, led by General Franco, revolted in July 1936, the working class throughout Spain rose to fight them. In many places, the workers were organized and numerously armed. Despite desperate repression, they were overwhelmed. But in Barcelona, the working class was organized, politically educated, and ready to fight to the death.

The bourgeois Catalan government had refused to arm the workers, despite the obvious threat of an imminent military rebellion followed by wholesale repression. Better the loss of Catalan autonomy than an armistice of protestantism.

However, workers knew that protection of the middle class not only was the military option, but the most of a life or death struggle. The war must be a class struggle. It was also a revolutionary struggle. It was also a revolutionary struggle.

Women and children were up barricades and organized the military with any weapons they could hold in their hands. Workers' tribunals were set up to coordinate the struggle, rather than delegating it to bourgeois officials.

Overnight, workers committees were sprung up and militia units organized. Soldiers were



by Colin Pritchard

Grimly determined woman in a Barcelona militia unit.

The theatres opened to those who were previously unable to pay the exorbitant prices. As class oppression disappeared, so did democratic and social abuse. Barcelona turned not only bourgeois objectives, and the P.O.U.M. was incapable of providing a revolutionary alternative to class collaboration.

DESPITE the revolutionary political problems, remained unresolved. Capitalism had not been abolished, merely suppressed. The bourgeoisie state, in the form of the Generalitat, was still intact. It had not been replaced by general workers' councils capable of governing.

For these and other reasons, the collectivization process was leading to degeneration into a form of workers' capitalism with the CNT leadership as the new managerial elite.

Nevertheless, Red Barcelona shocked and horrified the ruling classes of Europe. It also terrified Stalin. For a successful revolution would threaten his efforts to form an alliance with French and British imperialism against Fascist Germany.

So capitalists the Pope, Franco and Stalin were in full agreement. Workers' power in Barcelona must be destroyed.

And there was no lack of ex-citizens. Catalan bourgeois republicans, Stalinists and the Socialists wanted a restoration of bourgeois order in Barcelona. The capitalist state must replace its repressive apparatus.

Workers were to be disarmed and committees abolished. Collectivized enterprises must be controlled by the state and subjected to central direction.

The Italian war machines, subordinated to the Spanish working class, organized in Prussian military style. These measures were justified in terms of "defending the democratic republic" against "firing squads had completed their work."

To achieve these aims, it was necessary to crush the most radical elements of Barcelona's working class. So in May 1937, a coup was launched against the CNT and the P.O.U.M.

As usual in Spain, the Guardia Civil was called in to attack the workers. Republican Army units Guards joined them. Unity would stand alone.

A MARXIST LOOK AT HIS COPY

The Socialists

Incorporating The Banner No 178 3 August 1985 40 cents

South Africa



PROTEST: White police in a town square, South Africa. PM Botha, young blacker teen in a tear gas attack.

THE IRABITS

THE BLACK working class in South Africa now faces its greatest challenge.

Three years of growing struggle have greatly strengthened it, and brought significant gains.

New mass unions of black workers have sprung up in the mines and other industries, and won major wage rises.

Struggle in the black townships has all but destroyed the system of black administrators and compradors that the apartheid regime used for control.

Black politicians, black councillors, black police officers, black politicians have all felt the force of the struggle.

So extraordinary has the struggle been, that Pretoria has had to change direction.

Even Ronald Reagan has attacked the State of Emergency.

World opinion has condemned Botha's state of emergency. Even Ronald Reagan has felt the need to attack it. But public opinion means nothing to the rulers of the black nations at risk.

The only issue now is: Who is to be crushed? Is it to be the black working class and the organizing that has led to the most struggle?

A successful workers' revolution will end South Africa's apartheid for once and for all. And it could transform the face of world politics.

It is not to be the black working class and the organizing that has led to the most struggle? It is that is not to happen, if the black movement is to even survive. A mass crash Pretoria quickly and ruthlessly. It needs to make a revolution, to smash the white racist state and to

assert control over the privileged whites who prop it up.

The prime movers in that revolution will have to be the black working class, who are at the heart of the apartheid system of exploitation.

A successful workers' revolution will end South Africa's apartheid for once and for all. And it could transform the face of world politics.

Turn to page 3

You ain't seen nothin' yet ...

Not a video game →

WORKERS look over and operated the city's transport and telephone systems. In factories, shops and department stores, they called meetings and elected management committees. Armed patrols took over the task of policing the city and

If you've seen enough of Reagan already... **or JOIN**

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The furphy against Murphy

judges, who instruct them how to interpret the law. Nothing is better than the Murphy case.

The letter from woman juror to Murphy attacked it in a way which she expressed to be her own, as soon as they heard the prosecution evidence. Sir Justice Henry Cantor's absurd ruling that Murphy was guilty of a conspiracy to subvert the law of the statements is ludicrous. The jury verdict the other way was a triumph. It is a pity that the Government's ruling allowed conspiracy to be their guide. Murphy's own evidence, however, was not so clear, and naturally they are reluctant, but it is within their power to do more justly than the judge, but the law is, and clear is better.

This occurred in one celebrated case in Britain last year. A jury ceased a public servant who admitted leaking documents about the Falklands War. The judge said that the man was acting in the public interest despite his obvious "guilt".

abolished

Of course, if jurors knew their power and duties in relation to some decisions, Sir Hayden uttered just a word when he said that the jury should positively convict in the case of a defendant who was innocent. But when the country's most prominent Labour MP was convicted on similar charges, he was acquitted. He then went to prison for a year. It is a pity that the law is not so clear, and that the jury is not so free to do as it pleases.

Murphy is not so radical. So he is not the Liberal and the press here are eager to "get" him. Murphy has taken a progressive stand in a number of politically-charged legal cases. He opposed the Electoral Margin Juries, the Electoral Law Commission, the 1983 constitutional changes of Northern Ireland and to private schools. He was elected in the 5-2 High Court majority against the Franklin Dam. He is not so radical. So he is not the Liberal and the press here are eager to "get" him.

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law all their lives, jurors usually accept the direction of the bench, when it goes against their own sense of justice or impression of the facts.

The "sanctity of the jury verdict" is a sacred cow. It is really the sanctity of a bourgeois judge's exclusive influence over the jury verdict.

Which brings me to the other great jury verdict, the trial of the robot that jurors should slip back into jury duty, and not be engaged in public discussion of their decisions.

The idea that the jury system is a privileged discussion is obviously absurd. It is a privilege of the individual jurors to be identified and to comment on their decisions affecting the welfare of others, in society without having to justify themselves to anyone but their own consciences.

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THE LABOR Party assault on the Builders' Laborers Federation is an attack on the most basic rights of workers to organise.

The Cain government in Victoria has now passed legislation that denies all rights to BLF members. Their position is summed up in one of the clauses of the new Act.

"A member of BLF who employs in the construction industry, shall... be deemed not to be a worker."

Employers are given the right to sack BLF members without being liable for any form of compensation. Developers are given the right to break contracts with firms using BLF labour.

And the state government itself has the right to break any contract with anyone employing BLF members.

Now here in the legislation is there any provision for making BLF members who are Cain? They have no right to decide which union they wish to belong to.

And just in case this organised victimisation fails to smash the union, the government now has the power to seize the funds and property of the BLF.

The BLF is under attack because it used the correct legal means to defend and improve the wages and conditions of its members, and to serve the laborers who have made it clear that they wish to be other unions who take effective action to defend themselves.

The politicians are coming under pressure from the rising class to act more often further. Attacks on militant unions will be an essential part of the program.

We have to defend the Builders' Laborers, because they are all in the same boat as they are. If they are beaten, the whole union movement will be set back.

Perhaps the most pathetic sight in the whole BLF saga has been the pretence of the Socialist Left in Victoria. This was highlighted by the humiliating start to George Crawford's parliamentary career.

Crawford, who is the federal secretary of the Builders' Union, has long been regarded as the "lion of the left" in Victoria, seen as his staunch defence of "Labor principles".

Crawford's problems began when he announced that he was going to vote against John Cain's legislation. He was the only one out of the whole miserable bunch of "socialist" politicians prepared to vote against the Cain best gesture of defiance.

But the Premier had a word to George and threatened to sue him for libel if he opposed the government's legislation. So rather than the fine position in the Labor caucus, Crawford backed down.

The whole episode has been a study in how the Labor Party has been built by the vicious program of repression and de-unionisation which has been going on in Victoria since the late 1960s.

Again, the Premier is now bawling and George stayed away.

The final backstab was weekend. He threatened at his failure to control the Premier, the Socialist Labor Party conference in Melbourne.

Cain called their bluff, saying he was quite prepared to have

TALES OF SUPER SEMI-HOSES...

George Crawford, on his way to cross the floor so he doesn't have to vote to ban a trade union



handling of the issue debated by a conference. He would make such a conference test the authority of the Government.

The only difference was that while he would have the conference on 10th August, it was held before the critical Numanawing by-election.

This threw the left into turmoil. The Numanawing by-election, which promises to be extremely close, will decide whether the BLF will be subject to an enormous electoral assault.

In the end, the BLF will itself split in two, with just enough of its members deciding to back down and let Cain proceed with hammering the BLF.

And so, rather than defend a militant union, fighting for its existence, a whole section of the Socialist Left decided to let Cain win in the interests of electoral success.

The SL does not want to be blamed if the Party loses Numanawing.

The Socialist Left is incapable of defending the BLF or working class interests in general, because it is committed to working through the Labor Party and the Parliamentary system.

And so it has to subordinate the class struggle to the needs of the elections.

Meanwhile, there is a growing campaign to defend the BLF. At this stage, it seems to be totally unorganised, and to lack the government head-on.

dominated by officials and activists of the BLF for the aggressive tactics. They are convinced that they should be actively involved in the union, but only if wide sections of the BLF are involved in the struggle.

This will not be enough. A lot of workers admire the BLF for its militant stance. They are convinced that they should be actively involved in the union, but only if wide sections of the BLF are involved in the struggle.

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WorkCare or Profit Care?

AMIDST MUCH fanfare, Victoria is getting a new workers' compensation scheme called WorkCare from September.

The details of the scheme highlight the priority that the ALP places on cutting costs to employers, over the needs of injured workers.

Under WorkCare, workers can no longer sue employers for lost wages due to accidents on the job.

Instead, weekly compensation payments will increase to 80 per cent of pre-injury earnings, with a weekly maximum of \$106 weekly maximum of \$380 for a single person. This will be paid as long as a certificate is produced, no retirement age is necessary.

By removing workers' rights to sue employers, the Cain government aims to reduce legal costs in the company system. These have caused workers' compensation programs for employers to spiral, up to triple those in some other states.

For most injured workers, WorkCare will mean increased payments. However, the bulk of the benefits from the new scheme will go to employers - a 50% cut in company premiums in the first year alone - while the arid-bricks are on the work.

A worker with no children and a spouse earning over \$106, will lose off 50% (so, possibly, will lose 50% of his or her weekly grossing over \$400 per week).

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When the embattled South African regime...

...is forced to face the reality of the last year in 36 riot-torn cities and towns, black activists were defiant.

The state will not stop us from declaring our own state of emergency," declared one of the organisers.

In the first six days of the emergency, 18 people were killed and 851 arrested and detained. The wave of militant protest against the apartheid regime, the Johannesburg Congress of Unemployed Workers, has led to the arrest of the deep fears of a South African state rulers, warring the post-1976.

"Things fall apart, the centre can hold," said Mrs. Mure, a woman who is based upon the world.

But while the powerful world powers have shaken the apartheid regime, they also face absolutely central questions about how this regime can be decisively defeated.

Apartheid is not some minor aberration, nor some temporary detour from the path of progress. It is a system of oppression and exploitation which has been built up over the years.

But the Premier had a word to George and threatened to sue him for libel if he opposed the government's legislation. So rather than the fine position in the Labor caucus, Crawford backed down.

The whole episode has been a study in how the Labor Party has been built by the vicious program of repression and de-unionisation which has been going on in Victoria since the late 1960s.

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The Economy

BOLIVIA faces an unprecedented crisis.

The key issue is the economy. Bolivia, like most Latin American countries, has an enormous foreign debt of \$4.4 billion, which is simply coming due.

In January, due to inflation, we easily percent, which is 100,000 percent per year.

Nobody wants the local currency to rise. The more it rises, the less of foreign working, American dollars at a rate of 200,000 to one.

Had the central bank been able to print more money, it could have printed the needed amount, without any real prospect of solving anything.

There are several reasons for the economic crisis. Bolivia's economy is based on the mining industry. Bolivia's economy is based on the mining industry. Bolivia's economy is based on the mining industry.

The government, which controls 90 percent of the economy, could have printed the needed money to solve the crisis.

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and away from productive investment.

The current government has announced a series of measures to solve these problems.

Human Siles Somoza originally headed a coalition with the Government Party and a small social democratic party. His record has been weak.

Several times he has tried to resign, but he has found his way into the Siles presidency.

What the world's economic system from Bolivia, once known as the "breadbasket of Latin America," has become a major economic crisis.

One of the biggest producers of tin in the world, Bolivia's tin industry has been in a state of decline for several years.

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BOLIVIAN miners march during the General Strike last March. They raised the possibility of workers' power without actually overthrowing the government. As a result, there is now discrimination in their ranks.

tion, and when the government said no, they demanded Siles' resignation.

The general Bolivian working class has pushed trade unionism to its most radical possible extreme. But trade unionism cannot solve the crisis in the Bolivian economy.

For that, the workers need to take power themselves. Only they could end the economy by reorganizing to produce for their own needs.

The working class in power could refuse to pay the national debt, and thus relieve themselves of a crushing burden.

The current industry could be suppressed and the land redistributed to the peasants so that useful commodities were produced.

The general strike in March was the high point of two years' struggle. With armed workers' virtual masters of the streets of the capital and willing of bringing their economic demands on a

political initiative, something of a pre-revolutionary climate developed. This isn't to say the workers were on the point of taking power. But the question of power was raised by their actions.

Yet today in Bolivia you reorganizing has come about the discrimination and confusion of the workers. Miners' wives, with a history of militant struggle, fight each other for food, pennies, and workers are at their wits' end.

Honestly, this degeneration results from the high point in March. Having in effect challenged for power, but having failed to follow through, the labor movement is now disoriented.

To regain the initiative, the working class has to be able to offer a solution to the crisis in Bolivia.

It needs to build a new movement among its ranks, a revolutionary movement. And it needs to build a new workers' party that organizes for the workers, taking power themselves, and that organizes for the workers, taking power themselves, and that organizes for the workers, taking power themselves.

The MNR distributed arms to the workers who made the independent their own.

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File 07 27

The Miners

AUSTRIALIAN miners might not believe it!

In Bolivia, workers in the state-owned COMIBOL enterprise have fifty percent participation in management. They have veto power over management decisions. Their delegates are elected and subject to immediate recall.

After two months the government threatened a compromise settlement gave the workers a fifty percent vote on management.

So what is the mine workers' face? Yet, once Bolivia's main export, is a declining industry. COMIBOL's production has dropped drastically since the party's exclusion of the state, but also lack of investment and diversion of resources away from the industry.

Key demands offering the industry are taken by government. The workers have no say in the industry's management, and the state of the industry is a disaster.

With COMIBOL, the risk is what happens to workers when they no longer have the protection of capitalism within the context of the system. Problems of production become their own, rather than workers'.

With the inevitable arrival of a new right-wing government, the risk is that the industry will be sold to foreign interests. The workers will have no say in the industry's management, and the state of the industry is a disaster.

At the other extreme, the Bolivian Communist Party found itself in a contradictory position when the new power-sharing was introduced. They were in the government coalition at the time and also worked on the miners' leadership to solve themselves on both sides.

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The Government

BOLIVIA's modern history begins with the revolution of 1952.

Until that time it was a country dominated by a small, semi-feudal oligarchy—three tin barons and the landlords in the countryside. Since the Spanish conquest the masses had been crushed and oppressed, good only for the extraction of superprofits.

By dependence on the means of production on miners, the miners had a fighting union movement which was central to the revolution and has been a powerful force ever since.

The 1952 revolution began as a military coup planned by the reformist MNR party, which had been prevented from taking office after winning an election. The MNR distributed arms to the workers who made the independent their own.

By 1952 the working class revolution, and a general strike brought down the dictator Miraflores. In 1952 the military attacked the miners to put down a strike. In 1952 the military attacked the miners to put down a strike. In 1952 the military attacked the miners to put down a strike.

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FROM LEFT: Victor Paz, President Zuloaga and General Hugo Banzer. Neither military rule, nor social-democratic style government has been able to solve Bolivia's crisis.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

by Tom O'Lincoln

"THE WORKERS," wrote Karl Marx in one of his most famous statements, "have no country." He called on the workers of the world to unite and he was dead serious about it.

At the same time, he supported quite a number of national movements, most notably the Irish and Polish independence struggles.

In later years, Lenin similarly denounced nationalism and called for worker solidarity across national lines, and gave his ardent expression in the Comintern Manifesto for the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

To many people, this dual stand has seemed contradictory. Quite a bit of socialism has been mixed in, and diluted into a nationalistic orientation at the expense of that fundamental internationalism which is at the heart of revolutionary politics.

Yet the apparent contradiction is easily resolved. Marx and Lenin supported national movements as a means to an end. The end they sought was always the advancement of the worldwide class struggle.

Nations are fundamentally capitalist institutions. Of course, people have identified with bits of territory and with their neighbors for thousands of years. But the emergence of separate national states with integrated national markets took place in recent centuries, along with the rise of bourgeois society.

Throughout the world, the period of the national capitalist movements has been taken up by national movements. For example, the concept of capitalist production, the bourgeoisie must capture the bourgeoisie, and there must be proletarian revolution, which people speak a single message.

There is a national movement in every part of the world. It is the national movement of the oppressed nations.

Marx's day, the "complete victory of commodity production was a progressive development. With the triumph of capitalist national democracy, the growth of the working class, trade unions and workers' parties. In this way, it opened the way for the struggle for socialism.

So Marx supported national movements in those countries which had not yet started in this process. The unification of Germany and Italy, and national independence for Ireland and Ireland, aimed to improve conditions for the class struggle.

He also argued that in defending the rights of oppressed peoples, the workers of more advanced countries could be trained in internationalism. They would appreciate the national movements as a means to an end.

Marx did not seriously apply this method to events outside Europe. But in Lenin's time, that task could not be avoided. Capitalism had become a world-wide system, and an extremely aggressive one. While a minority of rich, industrial nations dominated world trade and politics, the majority of the world's people were held in backwardness.

Lenin, as Marx before him, argued for defending national movements as a means to an end. The right of nations to self-determination must be defended, first as a practical means of training the workers of the industrial societies in internationalism. In addition, the struggle to create modern and independent nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America would create improved conditions for the class struggle.

The main enemy of the international working class was the imperialist bourgeoisie. Lenin argued: "The oppressed nations' struggle could strike blows against this enemy. The workers of the world, in alliance with the oppressed nations, to fight the world-wide system of capitalist oppression and exploitation crumbling down."

Lenin was so emphatic about this aspect of revolutionary strategy, that many self-styled "Leninists" in more recent years have tried to portray him as a nationalist. For many socialists, inspired by the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions, "national liberation" has become the centre of revolutionary strategy.

Yet Lenin was talking of the "own" aim of socialism. The "own" is not only to abolish the present division of mankind into small states and all national isolation, not only to bring the nations closer to each other, but also to unite them.

The alliance with the oppressed nations was only a temporary expedient: "The Comintern Manifesto must enter into the temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy as a tactical, tactical expedient, but not merge with it and aim under no circumstances without the independence of the proletarian movement."

In broad outline, Marx and Lenin's methods are still quite useful today. In many parts of the world, oppressed nations have risen in struggle during the past year. In some cases, they have taken independence by their own hands at the capitalist rulers' expense.

The clearer class are Vietnam and the Vietnamese fought the greatest power on earth, and now. In the process, they made a major contribution to the struggle, a way of freedom that kept the United States itself out.

CASTRO'S rebels - inspired many socialists, but a "national liberation" the centre of revolutionary strategy?

If we're not all in the same boat, should socialists at least try to hitch a ride?

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International Socialists

International Socialist Meeting

AN INTERNATIONAL meeting of the organisations in the International Socialist Movement was held in London in early July.

In all, there were representatives from 15 revolutionary organisations, including Canada, the US, Germany, Britain, Ireland, Greece and our own organisation here in Australia.

In addition, there were representatives from the new groups established in Norway, France and Denmark, as well as individuals from several other countries where the groups are in the process of being established.

The meeting was primarily taken up with discussions of the work of the organisations over the last year. While the political situation varied from country to country, there was a high level of agreement on the approach to be taken.

In a period of generally low level of industrial and political struggle, it means that the approach to be taken is to argue revolutionary politics with a view to increasing its impact in the late sixties and early seventies, there can be a danger of socialists drifting into passivity.

To help counteract this there needs to be increased emphasis on the role of the revolutionary newspaper. In setting a paper, such as the Socialist, on a regular weekly basis and most important, in talking to the people who buy the paper, for revolutionary politics to look onwards beyond their own narrow circle of debate.

A special session of the international meeting was devoted to a discussion of the revolutionary paper and assessing whether the paper produced by the groups fitted the tasks of the current period.

Another important discussion centred on bureaucratic mass strikes, such as the British miners' strike and the Danish General Strike, carried out by the strikers are called from above by the union officials.

It was in 1974, the fascist government in Portugal was deposed by a military coup. The Portuguese economy was one of the weakest in Europe and had been suffering from the effects of the war of liberation being waged against the Portuguese Angola and Mozambique. The army officers who led the coup wanted to install a modernist government that would end the war and give the Portuguese people a better life.

But after 42 years of fascist rule, Portuguese workers moved onto the centre stage demanding far more fundamental changes. For eighteen months, they began to taste what it was like for workers to run the society they control. Tragically, their efforts were ended by a series of betrayals by the Socialist and Communist Parties.

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Socialist Rallies

SYDNEY Friday evenings, 7.30-8.00pm. Venue under Broadway leading to Central Station. Attendance at the Trade Union Club in Foveaux Street. Daily rise to 12.30 and afterwards at the City Centre Hotel.

MELBOURNE Friday night, 10.30-11.00pm in the Dunbar Hotel. Meetings in the bar of the Manor Hotel. Venue, corner Melbourne and Lonsdale Streets.

BRISBANE Friday night, 7.00-8.00pm in the Albert Street end of the Queen Street Mall. Meet us there and on for coffee afterwards.

CANBERRA Saturday mornings, 10.30-11.00am in Perth Park, Civic.

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CAMPUS MEETINGS

MONASH UNIVERSITY Bookstall in the Union every Wednesday from 12 noon to 12pm.

QUEENSLAND Bookstall every Tuesday 10.15-11.15am in the Forum area.

GRIFFITH Bookstall every Wednesday 11.30am-1.30pm in the Underwood.

MELBOURNE How Marxism works - new guide covering on August 11. Every 10.30-11.15am in the Forum area. Venue, 252 Swanston Street. The Russian Revolution. A new study group which will do a variety of readings from the Russian Revolution. Venues at 8.00pm in a room, 5th floor, 252 Swanston St.

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SYDNEY First floor, 362 Pitt Street, City 267 1822 PO Box 88, Alexandria 2015

BRISBANE Uptown, 401 Green Street, City 229 8812 PO Box 129, Woolloongabba, Queensland 4102

CANBERRA GPO Box 1647, Canberra, ACT 2601

WHAT WE STAND FOR

Workers' Power Workers control over the whole of society, based on workers' control of the factories and workplaces. Only the organised working class has the power to create a society free of exploitation, oppression and war. Russia and China are not socialist because they are based on the exploitation of the working class by a bureaucratic ruling class.

Revolution, not Reformism We believe in overthrowing the capitalist system, not patching it up or gradually trying to change it. The present system is the enemy of the labouring masses. A weapon of class rule and can never be used to reverse the process of the working class. There is no parliamentary road to socialism.

Internationalism A socialist revolution cannot survive in one country. It must help build revolutions in other countries or it will be defeated. In the Russian revolution in 1917, We are building an international movement, opposed to parliament and working to overcome national divisions.

Full Equality and Liberation For women, blacks, migrants and all oppressed groups. Racism, sexism and discrimination against migrant peoples are all pillars of the capitalist system. We are opposed to the social persecution of homosexuals.

Revolutionary Party To smash the capitalist state, we need a revolutionary party, organised and built in the workplaces. Without a revolutionary party, the struggles of workers will be crushed.

Rank and File Organisation We do not need these organisations. But the organisations, to fight the bosses when the paid union officials are unwilling. We fight to bring the unions under rank and file control.

IS aims to build a revolutionary party out of the struggles workers are waging today. We fight for a program of industrial and social demands that can strengthen the confidence, courage, organisation and leadership of the working class. It is that which you want to do.

JOIN US!

THE SOCIALIST 3 AUGUST 1985-PAGE 11

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Italy 1920



ITALIAN workers visit their factory — "the revolutionary upsurge was lost."

"I HAD SAID I'D GET FEET UNDER THE BREAK"

It is September 1920, the workers of Italy seized and occupied their factories. They came close to revolution.

In every corner, socialist ideas were spreading. "It's not just work that we do, but we do it with our heads, our objectives, our aims and our hearts," said the socialist leader, Benito Mussolini.

For Benito Mussolini himself, the workers' movement was a political movement. "It's not just work that we do, but we do it with our heads, our objectives, our aims and our hearts," said the socialist leader, Benito Mussolini.

The Government Prefect in Milan reported, "Everything goes on normally" — he was wrong. In fact, the workers were planning to turn their factories into permanent plants, to run themselves and to produce the means of production for the workers. The labor force in every industry was organizing its leading organizations to extend the movement.

The movement's early growth was so rapid that it was difficult to contain. It was not just the workers, but the socialist leaders who called for the workers' movement, the socialist leaders who called for the workers' movement, the socialist leaders who called for the workers' movement.

LOOK AT HIS HISTORY

national movement, as the only way to advance.

Now a revolutionary party was needed throughout Italy as a whole, to raise workers' awareness and organizations nationally and internationally.

But nationally, there was none. The Turin struggle required isolation and went down to defeat. The councils survived only as powerless shells.

The Socialist Party's national leaders were largely in Italian Party leader Serrati declared, "We are not bound to accept battle every time the enemy, feeling himself strong and prepared provokes it."

Alarmed by the factory councils' independence and military Serrati wanted that to remain there within Turin. He was backed by the union bureaucrats, who had seen their independence removed in Turin. The Socialist party paper in Milan refused even to print the strike bulletin.

The main following opponent of Serrati was Amadeo Bordighi, who identified as a communist. Unlike Serrati, Bordighi had taken a principled revolutionary stand against World War One.

But Bordighi, too, turned his back on the Turin strike.

He did not want to build a revolutionary party. But he was at an elite — effectively above the working class. He saw no role for workers until they were prepared to join such a party.

The Turin council's "error," he said, was "to make the question of power in the

The Socialist INTERNATIONAL

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page 5: Resistance grows in Iran

Black workers can DESTROY APARTHEID

IT IS NOW a year since the wave of revolt that engulfs South Africa commenced.

The explosion of struggle which began at Sharpeville, south of Johannesburg, has now spread across the entire country.

The black township rebellion has all but destroyed the system of black administrators and collaborators that the apartheid regime relied on for control. It has been backed by strikes of over 100,000 black students which have closed down schools, by consumer boycotts which threaten to bankrupt white stores, by a three day general strike that paralysed the Transvaal last November.

It has been met by brutal repression from the white regime. More than 600 blacks have died in the streets. Well over 2,000 have been detained under state-of-emergency laws.

And now P.W. Botha has made it clear that the white regime will fight tooth and nail to hang onto its privileges. There will



be no meaningful reforms in South Africa. President Botha promises only blood and iron.

Only this combination of political repression and industrial muscle can destroy apartheid, and with it the capitalist system with which it is interwoven.

Workers' strength was reflected in the abandonment by two big employers, Anglo-American and Saab, of attempts to fire striking workers. The days before Botha declared his state-of-emergency saw strikes shut down the Ford, Volkswagen and General Motors plants in the Port Elizabeth area.

What then is the way forward for the black struggle? How can apartheid be destroyed once and for all?

Firstly we have to identify who actually has the power to destroy apartheid. Who can strangle the South African economy and cut off the flow of profits on which the white ruling class is dependent for its power and privileges?

What is at stake in South Africa is more than just a struggle for democratic rights. Capitalism and apartheid are part of the same economic and social system in South Africa. Only a socialist revolution can sweep both away.

One force and one force alone has that power — the black working class.

What makes the present township revolt so threatening is that it has fused with growing militancy on the part of black workers. The black trade unions numbered from 220,000 members in 1980 to 670,000 three years later.

This will require a network of militants, rooted in the black working class, actively involved in the struggle of the new unions, but constantly arguing that these struggles can only succeed if power built up in the workplaces is used against the state itself.

Black workers have been fighting hard to win better wages and conditions. 1984 saw a record number of black strike days.

It also saw black workers begin to use their economic muscle for political ends. Last November, the main independent union federations, FOSATU and CUSA, joined the UDF. Forum and other community organisations to mount a three day general strike.

Botha rules out reform page 3

factory, rather than political power, central."

The main of workers should wait until the revolutionary party had established the capitalist state. The party would then set up workers' councils based around its own local branches.

DESPITE Turin's defeat by mid-1920 the deep crisis had begun. Italy's mood moved toward Italy as a whole. Turin maintained its sense; they were no longer a sector — weapon against workers.

In August, workers and occupations started rising again. In Milan, one company occupied itself with a lock-out. At once, workers around the city occupied 100 factories. The business responded with a national lock-out.

New factory occupations appeared across the country until half a million workers were in action. In Turin, the life of the city and province remained completely paralysed. "There were absolutely no blackbirds."

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factory, rather than political power, central."

The main of workers should wait until the revolutionary party had established the capitalist state. The party would then set up workers' councils based around its own local branches.

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You ain't seen nothin' yet...

Botha rules out reform

Botha rules out reform page 3

Botha

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Botha

THE International Socialists call ourselves "revolutionary" socialists. But why revolution?

Even among people who might agree that we'd be better off in a genuinely socialist society, there is plenty of resistance to the idea of revolution. It conjures up images of economic chaos, of pointless violence, of desperate struggles that just replace the rule of one minority by the rule of another.

All these images are grounded in fact: the bloody defeat of the working people in revolution after revolution.

But we cannot just dismiss the question of revolution. For a start, they keep on happening. Whether we like it or not. There has been at least one major workers' revolution in each of the last 100 years. Russia in 1917, Germany 1918-23, Hungary 1919, France 1968, Portugal 1974, Iran 1979, Poland 1980, and now the beginning of a new struggle in South Africa.

More important, when we look at what actually happened in each revolution, it becomes clear that revolutions are much more about creation than destruction.

Revolution seems in practice the two problems most consistently raised by critics of socialism: Socialism is about the working class — the vast majority — overthrowing society. But surely the majority are not interested in revolution, not least in the kind of revolution that would overthrow society.

Workers can in fact enter a workshop only on order for a long time. If they feel themselves active and willing to fight for any alternative, they are dismissed and sent to the front lines. They are not allowed to join the party. They are not allowed to join the party.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

People in any society are normally not free to revolution. They grow up accepting the natural order of things, the rule of the bosses, the living conditions of that society.

Latin once wrote a definition of the conditions under which workers become revolutionary: when the ruling class no longer rules in the old way, and when the workers are no longer prepared to be ruled in the new way.

But the continuing crisis pushed the bosses into attacking working conditions. In July 1960, the regime decided on a series of price rises. In practice these were wage cuts in a number of factories where the workers felt strongest, there were strikes. The regime was not taking any notice of these strikes.

By August 1960 they reached Gdansk, where there was a highly public display of opposition, which also was in demands. That was the spark. All over the country workers saw what the strikes began and strike committees were elected to run them. By August the official state run union within a few weeks there were 100,000 workers in Poland in 1981, or sometimes, elements of the middle class can step into the union, such as in Iran in 1979 where a workers' revolt that overthrew the Shah allowed the forces outside to climb to power.

The way to avoid endless repeats of these tragedies is not to avoid revolutions — but to ensure that the majority in any country have prevented the struggle of millions of workers in Poland or Iran — but to build the revolutionary party workers need to win.

Poster of revolutionary soldier and sailor, from Russia 1917.

By Tony Belcher

In other words, the "natural order" itself must start to crack open. Capitalism itself creates the conditions for this to happen: the regular economic fluctuations of the system throw every country after another into deep crisis. Because of the world economy in beyond the control of any group of bosses, the ruling class can become split and incapable of dealing on any way forward.

Workers see not so much their own living standards falling (large drops in wages are necessary to start a revolution) but the whole of society punished by the bosses and their politicians on the left and right unable to do anything about it. They begin to see that the only way out is for themselves to try to run society differently, even if their ideas of how this might be done are quite hazy.

But one other factor is vital: workers must have confidence in their ability to put up a fight. Workers can in fact enter a workshop only on order for a long time. If they feel themselves active and willing to fight for any alternative, they are dismissed and sent to the front lines. They are not allowed to join the party. They are not allowed to join the party.

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ective organization a central to workers' activity from work itself, in any sort of struggle against the boss, or against the whole ruling class. Revolutionary workers' organization involves demanding workers' intent on changing the world is determined to make their own decisions.

The initial phase and scope of revolutionary organization depends on what the workers believe they are doing. In Poland, the workers thought the thing to do was to organize a trade union, though right from the start groups of workers were trying to push way beyond the confines of normal trade union activity.

One basic form that has appeared time and again is the factory council: workers begin to struggle by taking over the factories and electing committees to run them. In Portugal in 1974, some 300 factories were run by the workers. In this case, though, there was very little pressure to link up the factories. Workers looked to a new central government to provide overall direction to their movement.

But the revolutionary political approach reaches the point where events show workers that they themselves need to coordinate the activities of the whole class, then a soviet appears. "Soviet" in a Russian word meaning council. Soviets first appeared in the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, but have been used briefly at other times — Hungary in 1956 and, partially, Chile in 1973.

Soviets are made up of delegates from the workers who elected them. So the soviets can reflect very quickly and accurately the changing wishes of the workers. For, through the soviets, workers can take over the running of society. Workers organizations send their representatives to the soviet, and they take direct part in the decisions of the soviet.

Running soviets democratically becomes not a matter of electing with skilled members, or of electing workers participating in making every decision. But of having a

mechanism that ensures everyone follows the will of the majority.

Rod, an American member of the 1917 revolution, told his system worked in a number of the Russian factories.

"After dinner, maps were spread out on the table. The other officers craned their necks to see the map. I spread and the Chairman of the Regional Committee took the map and file folders ended with another soldier. They were well, the Colonel said, in a different view. Rapidly tracing lines with a pencil, he

gave his orders, which were typed up. The Chairman of the Committee studied the map with a copy of the orders before him.

"All right, he said, Ring signed the orders, stamped in with a round seal taken from his pocket, and presented it to the Colonel. Here was the order.

"All that is required to make the soviet the sole power in the factory is to break the ruling class grip of the old ruling class on the army, the factories, the public service etc, and workers power to be established.



However such a period cannot last forever. The longer things go on without the workers finally defeating the bosses, the more workers begin to wonder if perhaps what they are doing really is just a dream. The ruling class can take time to regroup its supporters and shed the head off the revolution.

The revolutionary party is the key to ensuring that revolutionary upheavals lead to the majority of workers supporting workers' power and ensuring that the revolution goes forward to smashing the remaining power of the bosses. To see why, compare the course of the 1917 Russian revolution, the only one led by a revolutionary party, with some of the failures since then.

Russia's workers and soviets overthrew the Tsar in February 1917. Soviets sprang up throughout the country. But they elected to the soviets delegates who believed that Russia's capitalists should have power. The soviets supported the "bourgeois" Provisional Government.

That meant that the demands of those who had made the revolution could not be met by their leaders, since they conflicted with the demands of the bosses. The workers wanted an 8-hour day, the bosses didn't, the soviet leaders refused to order an 8-hour day. The soldiers wanted peace, the bosses wanted the soviet leaders helped the generals organize a new offensive.

Each turn of events showed more and more to workers that their soviets would have to take full power. The majority most determined to see this happen were organized in the Bolshevik party. They set about winning for all power to the soviets, and standing for election to carry the battle into the soviets. Bolshevik majorities were achieved in soviet after soviet, as the arguments were won throughout the class.

In Poland in 1941, as Solidarity leaders around Lech Walesa began calling for strikes to force the government to negotiate with the bosses, there were a minority of activists who could see the danger. But there was no nucleus of a party around which they could organize to

the challenge, organizing as many workers as possible to reach but all the time making clear that the watering of the Provisional Government and its supporters in the soviets were responsible for bringing the revolution to the brink of disaster. It was the old workers' resistance was to that that Kozminski's coup collapsed.

In Portugal, the ruling class tried twice to stage counter-coups. The official leadership



LECH WALESA with the Pope. Walesa demolished strikes and weakened workers' morale.

workers actually went aside the Provisional Government, enough troops could have been sent down to smother the workers' organization in Portugal. In the Portuguese revolution of 1974-5, the ruling class was able to provoke a premature uprising of a few radicalized army units, which were crushed by the Provisional Government, but was allied with right wing forces desperate to see an end to the soviets and the Provisional Government itself.

The Bolsheviks took up the challenge, organizing as many workers as possible to reach but all the time making clear that the watering of the Provisional Government and its supporters in the soviets were responsible for bringing the revolution to the brink of disaster. It was the old workers' resistance was to that that Kozminski's coup collapsed.

In Portugal, the ruling class tried twice to stage counter-coups. The official leadership

of two unions of socialism have to be done and done. In the past a new -democratic party, to be the "Institutional Road to Socialism" in the 1980s, when workers' struggles and the building of the Bolshevik party would bring the world closer to the achievement of socialism than ever before, or since.

The Revolutionary Road to Socialism.

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RUSSIA: THE MAKING OF THE REVOLUTION

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Workers' road to power

Alliances between workers and bosses often have a long history. Yet they have rarely led the working class to defeat, and often have catastrophe.

The Socialist government of Salvador Allende in Chile included the middle class Radical Party, and in fact came to office through a deal with the main bosses' party, the Christian Democrats. After three years it fell to a military coup — led by Pinochet, a general who Allende had taken into his ministry.

The moderate "Eurocommunist" parties such as the Italian CP preach such alliances (sometimes called "Broad Alliances"). So do most groups on the left in Australia, including those inside the peace movement. In the 1930's these cross-class alliances were glorified with the title of "Popular Fronts." These were formal agreements, usually involving electoral pacts, binding workers to support for bourgeois governments.

Trotsky denounced the first official Popular Front, formed in France 1935. His analysis remains deeply relevant today. DIANE FIELDS examines it.

The French Popular Front was officially launched at a giant demonstration on 14 July 1935.

Symbolically, Communist Party members carried the revolution of the bourgeois republic on the red flag, and sang the French national anthem, the Marseillaise, as the workers marched.

The Commission headed by Popular Front's democratic leader, Leonore Weisler, and the middle class which would form the crucial link between the two from differing classes.

The French Popular Front squandered all the revolutionary potential of the workers' upsurge.



FRENCH workers at a first greeted the Popular Front with enthusiasm.

...first world, are now into misery. And as things are organized at the moment, destined to die amidst the fish in which they first saw the light of day.

This does not happen because of the accidental circumstances of their birth, or because of unfortunate climatic conditions which prevent the land they live on yielding up food, nor because of the primitive or stupid or corrupt nature of their governments which rule their territories.

It happens only because the land which they inhabit, the British world, exists in the measure which the bourgeoisie has owned and controlled by a relatively small group of rotten capitalists who precisely calculate how exactly to exploit them to ensure that they remain rich and rotten.

If this means, as it does, that food which could make children living in misery strong and healthy remains hidden in warehouses surrounded by the sick, then we die.

There will always be families until these people's lives in this world, and some day will see their world ended.

The single most contradictory thing which can be done by anyone concerned about the plight of children dying dreadfully in Africa, is to engage in the widest possible section of the population an implacable hatred of the bourgeoisie.

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For this the rich and the rotten are profoundly grateful to the bourgeoisie. They will be organized in the best of all worlds, and the new future.

Live with like the Madman and fellow fascists, was full of belief.

themselves not just with the reformist organizations but also with outright capitalist parties. And for the Popular Front to work, the CP inside each country could not of course embarrass Trotsky's host government by trying to overthrow them!

The support of Russia was millions upon millions of French working class jobs.

The idea behind the Popular Front strategy did not just arise from Stalin's foreign policy needs. The aim to unite all democratic forces regardless of class, against reaction had a much longer history.

Trotsky cited a previous example of such class collaboration in the behaviour of the reformist Mensheviks in Russia between February and October revolutions of 1917.

While the Mensheviks had collaborated with the capitalists in the Cade't Party in various coalition governments, the Bolsheviks had at all times tried to break this unity to lead the independent interests of the workers.

Trotsky explained that the middle classes would only be to the aid of those who were their effective lead. In precisely because the fascists promised desperate measures to relieve the plight of the peasants and small shopkeepers, who were being driven to the wall by the Great Depression, that they could

Only a revolutionary programme to end the crisis could rally the middle classes to the workers' side. The Popular Front which schemed to subordinate workers' struggles to the interests of the bosses would throw the middle classes into the arms of the fascists.

Trotsky indicated the CP theoreticians who believed that the success of the Popular Front was a matter of simple addition of different class forces. Where the component parts were working in different directions his the enormous strikes of 1936 subsequently revealed the result of their unity would be.

The Popular Front placed tight constraints on those who embraced it. When the CP first proposed what it called the "United Front" to the leaders of the Socialist Party in July 1934 (soon to be renamed the Communist Party, the Radicals), it made it clear that mutual criticism would be ruled out.

In opposition to this direction Trotsky counterposed the concept of the United Front, which was to be a loose coalition of parties and a means for revolutionary work in workers' socialist.

The United Front had no place for the ruling class or its parties, but was a practical alliance of revolutionary and reformist workers' organisations, to achieve common objectives in united struggle. By contrast the Popular Front was a formal political coalition programme and support for the bourgeois government.

The United Front was to increase their support in the working class by proving them that revolutionary work was possible in those circumstances with whom they were allied.

Trotsky's great strength was to clothe his strategic conceptions with the fabric of living struggles. He showed how living the CP inside each country could not of course embarrass Trotsky's host government by trying to overthrow them!

The electoral victory of the Front in April 1936 opened a way of strikes and factory occupations involving, by the workers, inside the occupied factories workers began to feel their own power.

The Popular Front government itself fell in June 1937.

The Radicals, the main capitalist component of the Front, resumed their place as the main parliamentary party, turning on the workers' movement ever more savagely, even banning the CP when it sought to give life to its perspective and prevent the emotional ground of the French working class.

However Trotsky's writings on France remain a rich heritage for those trying to build just an alternative today.

So while Trotsky's analysis was starkly vindicated in his impact on the course of events, there were no forces on the ground to give life to his perspective and prevent the emotional ground of the French working class.

On the outbreak of war a large proportion of the French working class gave their main energy as not Hitler's armies but their own working class. They readily acquired the coming to power of the Popular Front. Many were not naive. Even a majority of Popular Front MPs endorsed Lenin.

Unfortunately the Popular Front of 1936 far from defeating fascism led in fact ensured its victory for 40 years later.

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learn yourself marxism

Socialism in one country!

The Russian revolution proved that revolution can succeed and the working class overthrow capitalism, taking control of society. But it also proved you can't build socialism in just one country.

In fact the only confirmed one of the basic ideas of Marxism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky indeed all Marxists before Stalin, had always insisted that a social revolution could not be successful unless it only survive as an international revolution.

Russia today as a result, not of the revolution of 1917, but of the Great Russian counter-revolution, remained in an unimproving opponent until his death.

But all the social conditions favoured the bureaucracy, and step by step Stalin and his supporters were able to defend their positions, until, by the end of the 1920's, all effective opposition was eliminated, and all workers' rights removed.

The only thing that could have prevented the rise of the bureaucracy was international revolution. If the revolution had spread rapidly to other European countries (as it nearly did in 1918-19) the civil war would have been stopped in its tracks before it began. Even as late as 1923, revolution in Germany (a real possibility) would have transformed the situation. It would have brought aid to poverty-stricken Russia, and so strengthened the workers. It would have freed the threat of intervention and with it the need to compete militarily with the rest of the world with western capitalism.

After the end of the bureaucracy turned its back on the international revolution, it was concerned with developing its own power, hence Stalin's policy of "Socialism in one country."

In practice it means strengthening the state by exploiting the workers and peasants — just as Stalin did.

From Stalin to Gorbachev the bureaucracy has remained unchanged, and its main aim is to hold on to socialism. It is in the process of socialising the world.

But the real reason of the Russian revolution is not that socialism is a necessary work. It is that revolution must spread internationally.

by John Mayneux

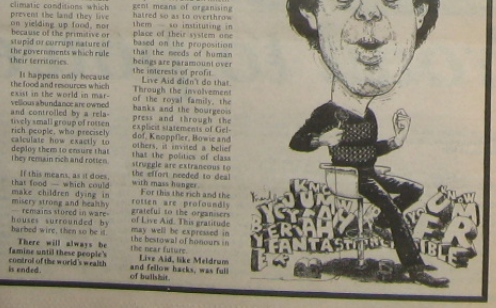
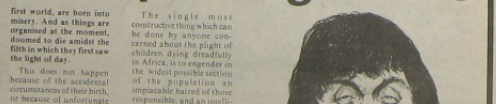
The answer is pissing in the wind.

to become very unpopular, richer had a great opportunity.

All you had to do was flag off Live Aid and perfectly intelligent people would treat you to their full range of frowns, glances and dead looks.

The inescapable Ian McEwan's "True meaning" pronouncements got me indignant made. Eric Clapton was Richard was Eric Clapton from criticism for the reason. There's something so acoustic in the studio and recording studios.

There was Mark Knopfler, who many of us will have regarded as an intelligent and very talented man, answering the question "What can we do?" by suggesting "The best hands should have no more for the Prince in what style itself as a



WITHIN the peace movement, many argue for cross-class alliances.

TEACHERS' CLASS LESSONS

If YOU read a film review with only one star next to it, you know it's either crap or else it's good politics. Teachers falls into the latter category.

An American school that looks and operates like a jail, and reminds you uncomfortably of society, is being used because of its gradualist illiterate.

The board of directors moves to protect their reputation and profits. They know that only fear or favour can guarantee the teachers' interest, and the students? Well, they just don't count.

Teachers are alienated, inarticulate, regimented, state-run, and manipulated by parasites at the top.

While layers on in the school, knifing, nervous breakdowns, suicides, burnings, make an often casual background. It's not like any school we experience, but the social problem we see.

The school also suffers chronically from absenteeism. Teachers know all about taking sick and being subordinate and about how little their pay packet buys.

Unlike most doctors, the problems aren't solved by some heroic individual. The clinic we get is in the character of Alex. But his appeal is simply his honesty to the students, his willingness to put himself on the line.

The movie has one major flaw (though this should define the prospective viewer). The end ignores the teachers could lead a fight back — by organizing a strike, occupying the school and running it alongside the students, but by teaching the students what is right.

Yet fighting through ideas alone limits you to an arena where the enemy has all the advantages. After, they run the school and the school.

If you can see this brilliantly scripted and directed film, it comes near you, you can't take the time out, you won't be disappointed.

by Mark Michael

IS National Consultative Meeting

ON AUGUST 3, members of the International Socialist branch executives around Australia met to look at our work. We discussed the current political situation in Australia, and heard a report from a meeting of our fraternal IS groups overseas which was held recently in London. We went on to tally up the record of our own day-to-day work on the ground.

Sandra Woodworth draws out some of our conclusions. The CLASS struggle in Australia is a well-known one. Australia over the last few years has been one of the most capitalist countries in the world.

Days of mass strike activity have steadily declined. Down to 1 or 2 full days in 1984, the lowest for more than 20 years. There has been no significant challenge to the Prices and Incomes Accord and the right wing policies of the Hawke government.

The low ratings that have occurred for the last few years, including the Accord, such as that by the small First Preference Union, have remained stable. Comments in the last few years, notwithstanding wages have started to decline.

As a result, profits are increasing in an economic recovery. However, the reason for this has not been so large. This is due to the alliance of ALP, ACTU and trade union leaders has proved extremely successful in containing wage growth.

So far realistic assessments of the Hawke government have been a much more successful instrument for raising class policy than that of Malcolm Fraser.

Fraser presided over the last economic recovery, the so-called "miserable decade" of 1980-81. Then, workers took advantage of their own strength, and used the power to make more of the wage losses.

The argument in support of the Accord has necessarily been right-wing while the left has been told that it is a small but useful tool together with the Accord.

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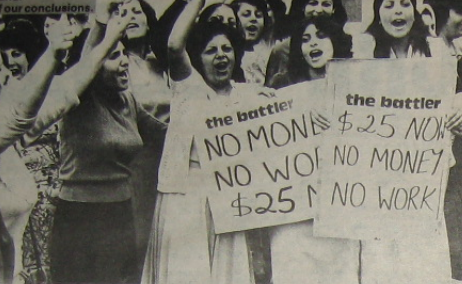
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MIGRANT WOMEN at the Kortex textile factory Melbourne, 1981. Their successful wage campaign was one of many at the time, as the resources boom bred confidence to fight within the working class. Fraser had no Accord to hold workers back.

The result is that while a mass struggle is going on, the group on the opportunities open up. If there might be thousands in the streets, but no new people at the weekly branch meeting, and also new people might be reading the paper, the socialist ideas will not spread out there. It will do little to help the class to become revolutionary.

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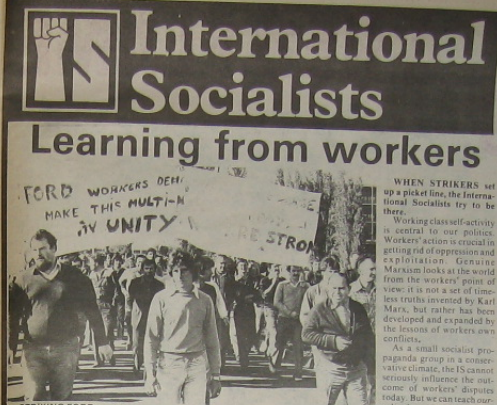
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STRIKING FORD workers march in Melbourne, 1981. Their strike was another opportunity for IS members to get involved in workers' action.

FOR OVER 2 years now, Sydney branch of the IS has been holding regular rallies at the Bondi Junction, and in the Island Under Railways Square.

As well as setting the Socialist Party on the ground, we have been speaking on a wide range of topics from the power of the working class, and why revolution is necessary to get rid of capitalism.

The combination of the petition and the South African article on the front page of the last issue has been collected on the ACTU to organise the maximum possible industrial action in support of the black workers.

We have made it clear that we support for South African black workers comes from the fact that we are revolutionary socialists. So signing the petition is not sufficient to wait for the struggle of the future.

When these struggles erupt, as they surely will in Australia as elsewhere, they will raise difficult questions for us. Many different ideas about how to win will be defined and argued about.

If revolutionaries are not to be demoralised and disaffected by today's temporary setbacks or simply sleep along with the struggles of tomorrow instead of influencing at least some minority, we need to have a solid political foundation.

By keeping our heads in the clouds and our feet firmly planted on the ground, we have managed to maintain our optimism while confronting difficult conditions. Our members are working hard to build the IS so that their revolutionary ideas can have maximum impact the moment workers in struggle begin.

The important of establishing routine propaganda work was highlighted by the recent Danish general strike. The Danish IS group had only existed for a few months and they found that under the pressure of exciting events, it was very easy to let the routine work slide.

Preparation for the political task in the weekly branch meetings was sometimes abetted with thousands picking and demonstrating, it was easy to overlook the role of two people who would be the day-to-day brought along to the meeting.

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IS Socialist Rallies

SYDNEY
Friday evening, a 30-40 minute Socialist Rallying (to be held in the Sydney City Centre) at the Trades Union Club in Broadway, Sydney. This is to be a very special evening. The rally will be held at 11.00 to 12.00 in the night. A book launch will be held at 12.00 in the night. The evening will be held at 12.00 in the night.

MELBOURNE
Friday night, 11.00-12.00 in the night. A book launch will be held at 12.00 in the night. The evening will be held at 12.00 in the night.

BRISBANE
Friday night, 10.00-11.00 in the night. A book launch will be held at 11.00 in the night. The evening will be held at 11.00 in the night.

CANBERRA
Saturday morning, 10.00-12.00 in the night. A book launch will be held at 11.00 in the night. The evening will be held at 11.00 in the night.

MELBOURNE
New Marches Week - a new group has been set up for non-members. Meet every Sunday 3pm in the day. In the day, 10.00-11.00 in the night. A book launch will be held at 11.00 in the night.

BRISBANE
New Marches Week - This new group is looking at the new members of the Brisbane branch. Meet every Sunday 3pm in the day. In the day, 10.00-11.00 in the night. A book launch will be held at 11.00 in the night.

CONTACT US
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GPO Box 1473N, Melbourne, Victoria 3001

SYDNEY
GPO Box 88, Alexandria NSW 267 1822
BRISBANE
GPO Box 121, George Street, Brisbane QLD 4000 229 8832
CANBERRA
GPO Box 1667, Canberra ACT 2601

WHAT WE STAND FOR

Workers' Power
Workers' control over the whole of society, based on workers' control of the factories and workplaces. Only the organised working class has the power to create a society free of exploitation and oppression, and to end the rule of the bourgeoisie. The working class in China and elsewhere is not socialist because they are based on the exploitation of workers by a bureaucratic ruling class.

Revolution, not Reformism
We believe in overthrowing the capitalist system, not patching it up or gradually trying to change it. The state is an instrument of the ruling class, and the only way to overthrow it is by the use of force. The working class must be prepared to use force to overthrow the ruling class.

Internationalism
A socialist revolution cannot survive in one country. It must be a world revolution. The working class in one country cannot build a socialist society without the support of the working class in other countries. The working class must be prepared to fight for the interests of the working class in other countries.

Full Equality and Liberation
For women, blacks, migrants and all oppressed groups. Racism, sexism and discrimination against migrant peoples are all part of the capitalist system. We are opposed to the social preservation of homophobia.

Revolutionary Party
To smash the capitalist state, we need a revolutionary party organised and built in the workplaces. Without a revolutionary party, the struggles of workers will be crushed.

Rank and File Organisation
Workers need to bring their own rank and file organisations into the workplace. These organisations should be based on the workplace and should be controlled by the workers. The rank and file organisations should be prepared to fight for the interests of the workers in the workplace.

IS aims to build a revolutionary party of the working class. The party will be based on the workplace and will be controlled by the workers. The party will be prepared to fight for the interests of the working class in the workplace.

JOIN US!

From the branch meetings

In 1979 a mass intervention overthrew the half century old Somers dictatorship in Nicaragua, and brought the Sandinistas to power. The workers and peasants brought their uprising world wide and their revolutionaries and oppression. Unfortunately it was not enough to overthrow the dictatorship.

Last month Tom O'Linnick, recently returned from Central America spoke on Nicaragua for Brisbane IS. He explained the maximum possible industrial action in support of the black workers.

And defending itself against military aggression by the United States involves up much of the meagre resources which could go to improving the lot of its own population.

Only a workers' revolution that spread internationally can break through such barriers. The Sandinistas are not having class, and do not call themselves revolutionary. They are making peace with the United States. They do not promote revolution beyond their own borders - even in El Salvador, where leftists guarantee a brutal right wing regime.

The Sandinistas have made, stable, secure trade with other capitalist countries, so they have to match these countries' exploitative methods of production. This is done by attacking their own workers and trying to boost the profits of Nicaraguan bosses.

But as Tom's talk showed, workers are capable of moving towards their own revolution to solve the problems that the leaders cannot.

Women
and the struggle for Socialism

SYDNEY
Sydney branch of the International Socialist League, 100-110, 302 794 0000
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GPO Box 1473N, Melbourne 3001

MELBOURNE
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CANBERRA
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STRIKES AND REVOLUTION

"THE TIME is past when workers are but fodder for the bosses. They will not cede but to revolution!" They shall have it.

So ran a workers' leaflet in Canton, on May 14, 1924. It was not an idle threat.

For the local military world, the workers' bosses who favored China's selfish class and pained those with their own. For Europe's imperialists, workers' bosses who were about to free the workers from China headed into one of the most colossal revolutions the world has ever known.

In 1925 the first union, or workers' council, was formed in Hong Kong, as workers took over the city amidst a massive strike against Britain. It was coupled with a trade boycott. Guangdong's success brought their alarm. "Wherever in Kwangtung province there is a highway for the transfer of goods, the picket line presents ready assistance, to open packages, to search individuals... Foreigners as well as Chinese are subject to search."

If there is any infraction of the boycott, the guilty person is brought before the workers' tribunal for punishment. The tribunal is complete and it must be regarded as a law of Hong Kong and Great Britain."

The union organized food distribution, opened and closed shops from ten kilometers and thousands of strikers, set up a hospital and 17 schools. It was known as "Government No. 2" in Hong Kong.

Through vast areas of the countryside, peasants seized land and began making their lives. A Marxist observer described how "everything in the old society was shaken, everything that was old, corrupt, degenerate and decadent. Brinkage went into the hands of the poor, the sick and the aged, of the children, young girls, with bobbed hair and as a different regime, increased the countryside to awaken the peasantry and to show them that there the mould of progress."

"To inflame the high price of grain and cotton was provided in addition through village strikers."

The Chinese Communist Party, founded only in 1921, was pushed rapidly to the leadership of the struggle.

It would have been feared, they could strongly be run over by gunboats. By the mid 1920s, however, a new Revolutionary Policy Club was beginning to recruit Russia. Revolutionary Party (the Red Book) party into a force for its own interests. Interestingly, Stalin was its organizer.

"Thanks the old Bolshevik leadership of Leonid Trotsky, the bourgeoisie had been banished from the international



By Benis Perrowe

workers' revolution. Instead they sought "middle" allies amongst Europe's capitalist classes.

In China they supported the nationalist party of the local capitalists and landowners, the Kuomintang. Since the Kuomintang was hostile to the internationalists in China, the Russian leaders (based there as allies).

The information of Russian political leadership was not clear to the workers, and the Kuomintang reorganized its work to program and set up a military training school for its workers' revolution.

They told the Chinese Communist Party that the role of Chinese workers was pushing the capitalists to take power. They asked that workers should restrain their demands, so as to explain to the Chinese bosses and Chinese merchants. With a weak Kuomintang in Shanghai, the General Labour Union became the headquarters of the struggle. This prompted sympathy strikes in Peking to the north, as well as the massive strike in Hong Kong and Canton. In Hong Kong the workers demanded freedom of speech and of the press, improved work conditions, prohibition of child labor, and the 8-hour day. Armed worker pickets daily, arrested the Shanghai General Labour Union.

On 20 MARCH, 1925 the Kuomintang under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek closed the strike committee's headquarters, dismissed the workers, and arrested communist leaders.

The Sincere Dyeing Co. Conference, which had represented 170,000 Cantonese workers was dissolved. The Kuomintang's Central Labour Union was dissolved and replaced by a new "Union" union to give the Kuomintang better control over the workers at the shop floor.

The workers were surprised and bewildered by what was happening. They'd been told by

the Communist Party that the Kuomintang was a revolutionary party. Chang Kai-shek had been praised among them as a hero of the people.

Stalin used his barter contract in Russia to back the whole defeat up. Workers and peasants in the south learned nothing of what Chang Kai-shek had done to their brothers and sisters, and continued to trust the Kuomintang.

The revolution ruffed on. Spontaneous springing spread across China.

In Wukan the workers seized power. Wang Chong-wei, the leader of the left wing of the Kuomintang, fled there from the repression in Canton and set up a "revolutionary government."

The revolutionists organized the struggle in Shanghai and Hankow to the east. The communists issued a call for a general strike in February, 1925, in which 350,000 workers responded. It was an enormous success.

The communists were relying on Chang Kai-shek's army, which had marched north from Canton, to move into Shanghai and help the workers in their struggle against the imperialists and the local reactionary warlords.

For three days the general strike continued without a hitch. When the communists finally called for an opening the look was that the imperialists were able to slip in down.

They had time to re-organize and regain control of the situation.

A month later, despite the defeat, the communists called another general strike. This time the communist-led strike committee planned an insurrection to coincide with it.

They were surprised and bewildered by what was happening. They'd been told by

The Socialist International

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ALP/ACTU deal means ...

More years of wage cuts

WAGE CUTS, wage cuts and more wage cuts — that's what the ALP/ACTU Prices and Incomes Accord has meant since its inception two and a half years ago.

And while wages have been held down, profits have jumped to record levels. They are up on average 60-70%. The Accord has guaranteed that all the benefits of the current economic recovery have gone to the bosses.

Now the trade union leaders, as an eminently workable, variable deal."

The "Age" went on that it "offers the prospect of greater industrial harmony, economic growth (it increased profits) and wage restraint (as the Fraser Government was able to achieve at any time)".

The disposing will out was not just supported by the right wing unions and grob like new ACTU President Simon Crean and his mate Bill Kelly. It was openly praised by left wing union leaders John Hallensby, the supposedly militant leader of the Metalworkers Union, seconded the ACTU Congress motion endorsing the Accord.

In all, less than 50 out of 1,300 delegates voted against the deal. And the small Food Preservers Union was the only union game enough to argue against it.

The union bureaucrats are pushing two main arguments to justify their continuing support for the Accord. Firstly that will guarantee continuing economic growth and more jobs, secondly that it will help prop up the Hawke government and prevent the union bashing John Howard from coming to power.

As for stopping John Howard, the Accord is not responsible for the economic recovery. The Australian economy is growing because we have latched onto the recovery of the US and Japanese economies. When the US economy goes down the drain again, as looks more and more likely, so will the Australian economy. Accord or no Accord.



SOUTH AFRICA: Pages 3 and 5.

INSIDE
THE
MUM
SOUTH AFRICA: Pages 3 and 5.



THE FACE of wage cutting — clockwise from top right: arch ACTU pragmatist Bill Kelly; new ACTU head Simon Crean; deal with Hawke; Malcolm Hawke and John Hallensby; the supposed left winger who seconded the motion endorsing wage cuts.

Don't forget that in Britain it was their version of the Accord — the Social Contract of the Wilson and Callaghan Labour governments — that prepared the ground for Margaret Thatcher to go on the rampage.

You ain't seen nothin' yet...!

If you've seen enough of Reagan already...

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Meatworkers can

"THIS CASE is plain an example of criminal contempt as there can be," said Mr Justice Lockhart, as he fined the meatworkers union (AMUW) \$100,000, and ordered the further sequestration of union funds to pay for it.

The union's "crime" was their picket lines at three Northern Territory meatworks, ordered on Wednesday. Although they have now lifted the pickets, the judge found the union guilty of maintaining them back in July, in defiance of Federal court orders.

By Ian Rintoul

LAWYERS' Forewarned of the possibility of a ruling in Queensland, the Midgley-Boyd dispute represents a renewed effort against union organisation, wages and conditions. It also shows how ground has been lost in Labor's A-vent.

However, another has been made, such attacks here, involve such union action, including

Postal fightback

FOUR MONTHS ago, the Arbitration Commission gave Australia Post the right, for six months, to stand down any union member in NSW implementing a ban.

Since then, the APTU (postal workers union) officials and many local union reps have been seen to take industrial action. The arguments against the ban are being prepared. One of the ways in which the union has tried to get back to work is by organising a "no work" day on the afternoon of the first day of stand down.

The APTU officials are not willing to back this solidarity. Both Turella and Seven Hills mail centres have applied which brought them in to the year of being stand down. But the officials refused to back them up. Any action will have to be co-ordinated by the rank and file and by union reps.

In the meantime, the fightback has begun. More mail centres are refusing to work overtime arrangements. Several mail centres have held stop-work meetings, and even walkouts. Each time the ban has increased. Each time the ban has increased, the threats of stand down have seemed weaker.

by John Minns and Peter May



PHOTO BY JOHN MINNS AND PETER MAY

Inspecting our identity

ONE OF THE nastiest measures included in Paul Keating's new tax package is the introduction of a national identity card.

The Labor government justify the ID card as a means of reducing tax avoidance. But it is hard to see how a national identity card will do anything to reduce tax avoidance, but it is hard to see how a national identity card will do anything to reduce tax avoidance.

The ID card system will enormously strengthen police power of surveillance over the population. It will be used to identify people who are involved in criminal activities. And despite government assurances, the system is in operation there is no guarantee that centralised information about individuals will not be abused.

Meatworkers' picket lines attack

Practise Act. But the Liberal government and the employers were expected to be satisfied about using these provisions against unions.

New times are changing. Meatworkers boss Paul Maguire has the backing of the National Farmers Federation in pursuing the Meat and Allied Meat Industry Federation in forcing the AMUW through the courts.

The ban and the Liberal's use of the contract labour system being introduced at Midgley-Boyd is a perfect example of "regulation" and "flexible labour relations" moves which allow employers to spit out of a word coverage and negotiate wages and conditions directly with their employees — on terms generally to the bosses' advantage.

The meat union has indicated action will be taken. The court has to be defied. This means bringing an application to the Federal Court. The court has to be defied. This means bringing an application to the Federal Court.

People who through no fault of their own do not have work fight duties staff have been given a very rough deal. And all mail centres have lost out in the new overtime arrangements.

Another argument is that it is not fair to have a ban on picket lines. The Arbitration Commission will reward by withdrawing the stand-down clause.

It is a naive argument. The courts have shown that they are impartial. Just as the Arbitration Commission will reward by withdrawing the stand-down clause.

Several mail centres have held stop-work meetings, and even walkouts. Each time the ban has increased. Each time the ban has increased, the threats of stand down have seemed weaker.

The executive went so far as to call for a secret ballot, but the members all rejected them. The way did the dispute (filed on 16 September). Certainly the demands for better pay and funding and decent care for patients, this was on the heart of the strike, had no effect.

The problem was that nurses had little confidence, for they had no experience of picketing and winning without the officials' leadership. There was no independent network of workers who could take the strike forward.

No, while the numerous meetings called during the strike established a nucleus, but the members all rejected them. The way did the dispute (filed on 16 September). Certainly the demands for better pay and funding and decent care for patients, this was on the heart of the strike, had no effect.

In the face of widespread opposition to identity cards, the Hawke government has been forced to retreat from its original intention of introducing them on the cards. However, the Labor government is working overtime to build up a system of identification.

An interdepartmental committee that might force the issue could include making it next to impossible to get a national health insurance, passports and other documents without a card.

These proposals must be fought. The ID card system will enormously strengthen police power of surveillance over the population. It will be used to identify people who are involved in criminal activities. And despite government assurances, the system is in operation there is no guarantee that centralised information about individuals will not be abused.

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to pickets pending an application to the Arbitration Commission. It is seeking to say the award so that "control" regulations may only take place between the employer and the union.

This would effectively re-establish the union as the sole employer representative. But there is no guarantee that the Commission will agree to this formula.

Regardless of the hearing's outcome, the farming and meat industry bosses plan to initiate further proceedings against the AMUW and its officials. Not only for damages (they are claiming more than \$2 million), but also to re-register the union.

If the employers get away with their actions at Midgley-Boyd, we will certainly see further attacks. Picketing and the National Farmers Federation may look like a common strategy.

But they are winning the support of wider sections of the ruling class. The High Court threw out the Labor party for delivery. Industrial Relations Minister Ralph Willis has come out against the AMUW talk about industrial union. And Premier Industry Minister says the legal actions against the AMUW are an indication of the impurity of the gold price.

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MEMBERS OF THE miners' union on the first day of the strike.

GLIMPSE OF WORKERS' FUTURE

LAST MONTH, striking gold miners, embarking on a strike in South Africa. They gave a hint of the power that could break apartheid.

Across the country, preparations for the strike by both union and non-union generated an atmosphere of immense tension.

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Amidst riots and police repression, black goldminers in South Africa recently staged a two-day strike.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was demanding a pay rise of 22%. Before the strike began, the biggest mineowners conceded the full increase, 6% above inflation and 12% higher than the going rate for pay settlements.

The actual strike took place at some of the smaller mines, which are less well organised. Workers began returning on the second day, in the face of enormous repression, and the union accepted increases below its original demand. At the same time, the mineowners failed to inflict serious damage to the union. NIGEL LAMBERT illustrates the inconclusive outcome of the strike.

African capitalism. It accounts for two thirds of the country's export earnings. Between them, gold and coal mining employ over 100,000 of the total workforce.

The great mining franchise bosses have used their base in the industry to control much of the rest of the economy. Above all, this is true of the giant Anglo-American group, which controls the top five mining houses, five of the top ten manufacturing firms, and ten out of the 15 leading companies.

And they have shown great militancy. In July 1981, 10,000 miners employed by Anglo-American struck for a 10% pay rise. The strike was the largest since 1960, when the largest black union in South Africa, with 200,000 members, went on strike for a 10% pay rise. Last September, while still less than two years old, it won the right to bargain for black miners.

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ACTU Congress

Paving the way for Howard

THE MOST interesting thing at this year's ACTU Congress did not happen inside the Congress Hall.

While the 1200 official delegates were filing in like sheep, 1000 builders' labourers were meeting in the square outside. They called for defence of union rights in their own deregulation case and in that of the so-called Queensland electricity workers.

The first day of the Congress also had a notable absence — no ABC reports, cameras, crews, or they were on strike over staff cuts.

And probably the highlight of the week — asked SEOE of the workers building an SEOE President-elect Simon Crease at the very moment of the union's verbal support for.

The Congress ignored all of this. Within the confines of the Sydney Town Hall a mainly prevailed greater than any delegate could recall.

But the rubber stamp fate of the Congress made it extremely boring, a dull procession of the industrial movement after the fashion of the Kennedys and the Hawke government.

ACTU Secretary Bill Kelly summed it up when he said that there had never been as much goodwill given as above in government. It is a Labor government. But he might have added, for how little more ordinary workers.

by Diane Fields

very useful comment for official unionists.

Speaker after speaker implied that all those who opposed the Accord must lose up to the neck and a hardline "dry" supporters. Crease made it explicit in his opening address on the Floor Program.

In reality, the Accord paves the way for Howard. Because it doesn't just hold down wages, much more importantly it undermines workers' struggle.

This weakens shopfloor organisation, which in turn renders the labour union or the ALP "take care of people", as John Halperny put it. The role of shop stewards becomes, at most, implementing the agreements reached above.

The agreements become, in fact, when the two things come into conflict, it is militancy that must be smothered. This weakens shopfloor organisation, which in turn renders the labour union or the ALP "take care of people", as John Halperny put it. The role of shop stewards becomes, at most, implementing the agreements reached above.

While there is no doubt that the Accord positions the government in a position to enforce its agenda, it is a Labor government. But he might have added, for how little more ordinary workers.

The wages "debts" provided a perfect example. The new

Amidst riots and police repression, black goldminers in South Africa recently staged a two-day strike.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was demanding a pay rise of 22%. Before the strike began, the biggest mineowners conceded the full increase, 6% above inflation and 12% higher than the going rate for pay settlements.

The actual strike took place at some of the smaller mines, which are less well organised. Workers began returning on the second day, in the face of enormous repression, and the union accepted increases below its original demand. At the same time, the mineowners failed to inflict serious damage to the union. NIGEL LAMBERT illustrates the inconclusive outcome of the strike.

African capitalism. It accounts for two thirds of the country's export earnings. Between them, gold and coal mining employ over 100,000 of the total workforce.

The great mining franchise bosses have used their base in the industry to control much of the rest of the economy. Above all, this is true of the giant Anglo-American group, which controls the top five mining houses, five of the top ten manufacturing firms, and ten out of the 15 leading companies.

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1917 WORKERS SEIZE POWER.

IN OCTOBER 1917, the startled capitalist world witnessed the birth of workers' power in Russia. Millions of ordinary workers and peasants took control of the factories and the land, and began running the country themselves.

No single event has done more to prove the ability of common people to overthrow oppression and exploitation, to shape their own destinies and build a new, free world.

The desperate conditions of World War One gave birth to the revolt. The war stretched the backward Russian economy to the limit.

Heavily equipped troops were sent into battles they could not win. Of the 15 million men called up, about half were killed, wounded or missing. Inside the army, soldiers faced barbaric punishments like floggings. The discipline of whole regiments was cracking.

In the cities, food shops were empty. By mid-February 1917, only ten days supply of flour remained in the capital, Petrograd.

On International Women's Day 1917, thousands took to the streets demanding bread. 90,000 workers went on strike and besieged the laws hall. Cautious officers were terrified, soldiers refused to carry out orders and shoot workers.

Instead, 70,000 troops joined the striking workers. The Czar's army fell apart. On 28 February, government ministers were arrested and the Czar abdicated.

by Lesley Penrose

All those in the government including the "socialists," feared and detested the idea of workers' power.

Each day to destroy the other to do its own job.

At first, however, most workers were not clear about this. They elected a majority of moderate socialists to the soviets.

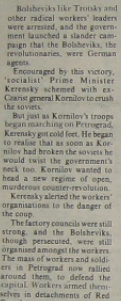
The government had been wanted to straighten the soviet as far as possible. So did the leadership of the moderate socialists. They all saw that the soviet's moderate majority was no guarantee against a future workers' uprising. The workers had to be suppressed.

The bourgeoisie began producing in their own factories and mines, and disrupting the distribution of goods. They hoped to starve the workers into submission. But instead, they simply forced the workers to close down for lack of fuel, raw materials or orders.

The shop committees would send people half-way across Russia to the mines, or down into the Caucasus for oil, or to Crimea for cotton. Others acted as agents to sell the product, or sort out transport arrangements with the railway staff.

The shop committees began to run industry, so that when the time came, the workers could take over society without a collapse into chaos.

Meanwhile the Provisional Government took its own way. It was elected in the summer of July, they exploited the workers' committees' inexperience and confidence. They ordered "red" troops to suppress an anti-war demonstration of workers and soldiers in the capital Petrograd, in the guise of defending the war effort.



WORKERS demolish a statue of the Czar

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SOVIET

During the upsurge, workers set up their own councils, called soviets. These were composed of delegates from all the different factories. The delegates had no special privileges and could be replaced at any time, so that workers were extremely democratic and flexible.

They operated at the local and city-wide levels, and held decisions for the whole workers' movement. They had the character to run society as a whole.

Initially, the soldiers formed their own soviets, joined to those of the workers.

But what of this was going on, the old Czarist state administration remained, still trying to run the country.

It was headed by an unstable, shifting coalition of capitalist politicians and moderate socialists, the Menshevik Social-Revolutionary parties. While workers' soviets were growing up a spoils race of the war profiteers and generals flourished.

The situation of dual power could not last indefinitely. The soviets and the old state were unworkable in mutually hostile

WORKERS' power in operation — a meeting at the massive Putilov factory.



You ain't seen nothin' yet...!

If you've seen enough of Reagan already...

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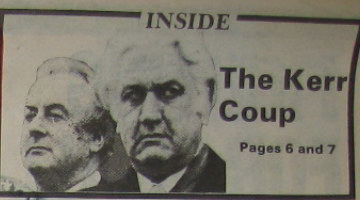
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SOUTH AFRICA

Black workers to power

FOLLOWING THE apartheid regime's execution of black poet Benjamin Moliso, the struggle in South Africa has again reached fever pitch.

For the first time rioting has extended out of the black townships into the central shopping area of Johannesburg. The white population is beginning to feel the fury of black workers.

P.W. Botha's government has mounted a massive show of force to try to intimidate the black population, but no avail. As has happened at every stage in the current revolt, a crack down by the racist state only leads to more determined resistance.

However it is now over a year since the wave of rebellion that engulfed South Africa commenced. The question that increasingly is being posed point blank is how can the apartheid regime be destroyed.

P.W. Botha has made it abundantly clear that there is no peaceful road to reform in South Africa. The white state will fight mercilessly to hang on to its privileges. An armed revolution will be necessary to smash apartheid.

It is in fact the working class has displaced its revolutionary potential time and time again. Spain 1936, Hungary 1956, Chile 1972, Portugal 1974, Poland 1980 and today in South Africa. The Russian revolution is concrete proof that ordinary workers can turn this potential into reality.

the emergence of a well-organised and combative trade union movement. The black unions have won major improvements in wages and conditions. 1984 saw a record number of strike days.

However so far the power has not been a central feature of the wave of resistance, which has centred on action in the black townships. Unless the industrial strength of the black workers is merged together with the courage and determination of the masses in the streets, the current upsurge will eventually be contained and rolled back by the repressive might of the apartheid state.

Workers in Australia and other countries can provide vital solidarity action. The weak long ACTU bans on mail to South Africa, or South Africa. Always flights and South African airports need to be extended into an indefinite time to its knees — the black working class.

Black workers have the industrial muscle to choke off the flow of profits on which South African capitalism depends. Just consider the case of the 700,000 black gold miners. Their strike action would cut off half of South Africa's exports.

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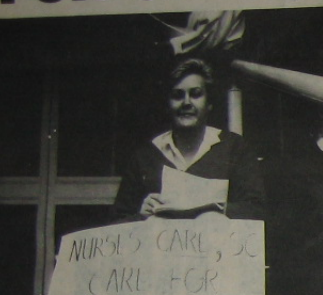


Report From Inside Apartheid page 5

UNCOWED By Botha's Violence, young blacks demonstrate at a funeral in Soweto.

Victorian nurses dispute

FIGHTING FOR SALES



NURSES CARL... CARL... CARL...

LAST MONTH, 20,000 nurses walked out of hospitals around Victoria. Members of the nurses' union (RANF) in Melbourne set up pickets outside the hospital gates.

Five strikes have won so much sympathy from organised workers and the public at large. Motorists driving through the city on their way to work created a festive air as they looted their support for the picket outside the Queen Victoria Hospital.

Radio 3XX reported 40% support for the leaflets with a phone-in.

On the picket line at the Royal Melbourne Hospital, a strike fund bucket raised \$5000 in donations from passersby, workers in the hospital and patients on the first morning.

Building workers at the Royal Melbourne Hospital also promised a collection and hospital staff also promised a collection and hospital staff also promised a collection.

Officials in the Hospital Employees Federation (HEF) assure the pickets that HEF members would not be doing nursing duties. They called on their union officials to do this. They called on their union officials to do this.

ACORN, the government's union, passed a motion of support to the nurses' union. However, it was never part of the picket line of sympathy.

Health, by the picket, he not only joined the Liberals in attacking the union, but claimed that the strike would be very likely cause deaths.

The daily media have joined this blackmail, support for the nurses' demands.

When nurses (or any social service workers) fight for their rights, the hearts of bosses and politicians suddenly go tender for all those who suffer. The daily press highlights any case of hardship while patients wait for treatment.

The Melbourne *Age* awarded sets the nurse/patient ratio at 1:10. In the last year it has risen from 1:20 to 1:50.

Nurses' wages are low (\$378.10 gross after three years training) that trained and experienced nurses are simply referring to work with the strain and stress they suffer. Over 8,000 Victorian nurses did not renew their practicing certificate last year.

The great majority of people have an interest in supporting the strike which comes from any improvement in bring to health services. For when any section of the working class fight and win, they can inspire others to do the same.

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After the Achille Lauro hijacking comes

Leaguists' new target terrorism.

By Diane Fields

EVERYONE who has seen the Egyptian, Mubarak, called it an act of piracy.

It had all the ingredients of the classic hijack — an unarmed civilian airliner diverted in the dead of night by a group of heavily armed would be assassins.

Yet the terrorists in this case were the US Air Force. And western intelligence from London to Canberra praised them for their heroic action against terrorism.

The forcing down of the Egyptian plane to capture the Achille Lauro hijacker is just the latest in a long line of incidents which show that terrorism is all right if you have the backing of a large imperialist state. However, if you represent another power that is the oppressor of the oppressed down in despair to look out for those you see as your oppressors, then you are a terrorist and stand a threat to world peace.

Just this completion was made by Mohammed Abbas, head of the Palestine Liberation Front. We use hand guns in our struggle. They use fighter planes and even nuclear weapons.

Anyone knows no bounds when it comes to the murder of innocent people. It is more deadly attack — an air raid bombing of the PLO's headquarters in Tunis — which led dozens of civilian casualties, homes and their media. The double standards are sometimes disgustingly obvious. So for instance, Margaret Thatcher can attack the "violence" of miners' picket lines trying to defend their livelihoods and communities.

Over the years involving the Achille Lauro is a real issue. The issue was created in 1984 by the use of systematic terror to drive the PLO out of people from their land. It was the Palestinian struggle. We use hand guns in our struggle. They use fighter planes and even nuclear weapons.

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HE GETS to play Rambo at last.

You've defined the term. "We Bugged the Bums." Such an attempt will give him a first hand for new acts of violence.

Similarly in Britain, the brutality efficient policing methods would against miners' picket lines last year were fine perfected in Ireland, and publicly justified by IRA bombings.

So this is where the brutality of the system starts to become visible. The more they have to use violence against the common working people, the harder it becomes for them to resist their violence.

And when those of us workers who are used to workers' own power and control are faced with the common working people, the harder it becomes for them to resist their violence.

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Teacher unions confront Cain

VICTORIA'S teachers are fighting back against some of the worst attacks on their working conditions in years. Their campaign of strikes has brought to an end the cosy relationship between the Cain Labor government and the teacher unions.

Our unions have often donated large sums to Labor's election funds. But teachers are asking for their money back.

The year education spending has been slashed by \$24 million. They call it a "productivity award" but it's a wage cut for 4,000 jobs.

Teachers are asking for increased pay to keep class sizes down and reduce face-to-face teaching time — extremely high demands, something the state's teachers face from

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Sorters resist the mailed fist

AUSTRALIA POST bosses in NSW have chosen 1985 as the year to try and inflict a major defeat on its mail sorters. They are removing many hard-won conditions in one blow. And they have been aided and abetted by the Arbitration Commission.

Early this year an Arbitration Commission inserted a new clause in the mail sorters' award, allowing bosses to stand down any union member implementing a ban. Since then, management has used this power to bypass mail centres in the decentralised network of its express freight and even when they are on strike.

In October, the Commission gave AUSTRALIA POST permission to introduce a new clause in the award which would allow the APTU officials walk out of court.

For weeks Australia Post has been provoking the staff on individual mail centres to walk out. They've been using posters to bypass workbooks, mail centres. They have also tried to discredit metropolitan and country mail sorters, by confining the issue of conditions to one centre — as bait for the moment.

Labour, Communist and Minister Dudley, who in charge of postal services, told Parliament that management had full support, and this includes the use of bypass for strike-breaking. This is no more than what we have expected from government in a long history of taking a hard line against workers' wage works and picket lines in the past few years.

The Wran government in NSW has picketed teachers, casual workers, sewage workers and psychiatric nurses in the past few years.

When Australia Post first tried to introduce the new clause through changes, the officials at the ACTU had to make a decision because they were the only officials who had the right to be defended that the union officials do not have.

The ACTU is holding off any further action while the Arbitration Commission hears an application to give the power workers a federal award, outside Peter's hands. This hearing will probably start on or for 12 to 18 months.

Hughie Hamilton, a TUC Executive member, sponsored a union resolution demanding the SEOEJ workers' defeat. As a result many unions have tried their weekly support levies lapse, and what's worse, rejected an official proposal, which would maintain their weekly levy, after hearing one of the sacked workers address their meeting.

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Slave labour

MOST PEOPLE would probably be shocked if you told them that slave labour existed in Australia.

But that's just what the Government's work experience scheme for high school students amounts to. Under the scheme he had to work on a farm.

The Melbourne daily, The Sun, ran a vitriolic article accusing the BLF of pressuring a boy into \$48 in union fees, and threatening the employer with black bans if he didn't.

The parents complained that the kid had no chance to consult us.

Anyone reading between the lines might wonder why The Sun, didn't manage to get a juicy quote from the kid's parents about the \$48 in union fees. It is possibly because he felt he had done quite well out of the deal.

The union didn't take \$94 out of the miserable \$30 a fortnight that the employer would have paid under the scheme. They insisted he pay the award with a deduction of \$577. A quick mental sum tells us that Rodney, the youth at the centre of the controversy, ended up \$483 ahead.

The Socialist has heard of 15 and 16 year olds being used to cut asbestos and put to work on a disintegrator in a metalwork factory. These jobs are dangerous even for experienced workers who know their rights and know how to use the machinery. Others have done nursing duties in hospitals, with no prior training.

When one worker protested on behalf of a youth about work conditions he was threatened with a \$1000 fine unless he paid up. He was paid to pay out a total of \$45 for protective gear.

On the weekly radio program, the BLF pointed out that if anyone was injured under the work experience scheme, they would be treated as a company employee at the miserable \$33 per day they're being paid. We don't see the bosses' papers attacking that.

At the Commonwealth House of Government workers Hawkie made a great show of looking down with Margaret Thatcher over economic conditions. But while this great statement was being barked in the parliament and abhorring apartheid, 15 overseas children faced discrimination by Hawkie's Government back in Australia.

Their crime? Being unable to pay the \$2,500 fee set by the federal government. To date, 3000 students have refused to pay these charges which a respectable form of racism. They might out overseas students as

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1640 to the present day by Tom Cliff

Ranking from 1640 to the present day. Tom Cliff looks at the long struggle for women's liberation and particularly at the two very real women's movements of the 1960s (1960s)

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"WE USE hand guns in our struggle. They use fighter planes and aircraft carriers."

the fees and, presumably, the deportations.

He might be able to be persuaded into organising some form of industrial action with the government's money. After all, it was Carter who advocated the use of military force to support his policy, before being removed by Federal Police and members of the NSW police Tactical Response Group. 30 students were arrested after an occupation of the GPO on October 10, Education Minister, Susan Ryan, has now promised to meet with overseas students' representatives, but there are fears that the deportations may go ahead well before the court case.

The overseas students have also met with members of the NSW Combined Union Action Bureau. This committee of union officials includes Barry Connor, Secretary of the ACTU. Connor's union covers schools in the Education Department and has been active in the past few years in the proceeding

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ARGUMENTS FOR SOCIALISM

Open Slather

THE FEELINGS of the blacks in South Africa are so intense that they take their own lives. For instance, when whiteman Alan Williams shot his black maid in the back, she found herself screaming in agony with tears in her eyes. He had to be given a bullet.

However when Alan is asked about the case "only taking" the judge, showing her highly developed sense of humour, he says with a grin:

NEW ACTI President, Simon Crick has written in his column indicating his attitude to class collaboration:

"To simply ignore upon the challenge in the business community to give us..."

No wonder the head of the leading international human rights club, the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), praised the leadership of Australia's trade union movement as "a tremendously sensible and responsible..."

ROMANIA'S supposedly socialist government has issued methods of receiving workers' salaries in the form of a monthly wage book to be used in the shops for their own consumption and other...

WHO SAYS science is moral?

The sophisticated and modern scientific device, called the Atomic bomb, created by the Atomic Club, has been used to annihilate the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is the inventor, Robert Serber, who says that he is not responsible for the "bald" killing places to which his invention has been used by the American imperialists.

THE DEVASTATION of Hiroshima after the dropping of the first atom bomb. Reagan's Star Wars plans threaten us not just with more mass devastation but with the destruction of humanity.

"WHAT IF free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant US retaliation to deter a Soviet attack; that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own shores or the threat of our obliteration?" That was Reagan's vision delivered in a speech in 1983. Since then it has come to be known as Star Wars. The idea behind Star Wars is to set up a defensive shield that would make it impossible for the Russians to use their missiles against the West.

Reagan would have been a realist if he had realised that the Americans would renounce their missiles and that Russian mis-

ion dollars are being targeted by comparison, the Apollo moon project only cost \$25 billion. And the required technology for Star Wars is still in its infancy.

The original idea behind Star Wars was not to defend the entire US population, but to defend missiles, such as the MX, in their silos.

The reality is somewhat different. Rather than having disarmament as the goal, Reagan has set his sights on global superiority.

The cost of a comprehensive Star Wars system is astronomical. Figures of one or two trillion dollars are being used.

It is not clear how the US will pay for this. The MX missile is a one-time purchase, but the Star Wars system is a continuous drain on the US economy.

Reagan's Star Wars program is a real threat to the US economy. It is a drain on the US treasury and a burden on the US people.

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By Pat Kavanagh

Project, set for the next 15 to 20 years. The \$25 billion earmarked for the next four years is more than the MX, missile and ICB production put together.

If ever successful the US would have enormous world military superiority. Pentagon strategists look back fondly to the days after 1942 when they were the sole possessors of the atom bomb.

Casper Weinberger has said, "If we can get a system which is effective and which we know can be developed, there will be a situation where we were the only great world nuclear weapons."

The emphasis has not been on great numbers of missiles, but on the quality of the missiles. They have now saved all the other nuclear weapons systems.

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ONE GROUP of workers who have taken strike action are the employees of Edgars stores in the Transvaal. Shido Moleane, trade union organiser for Edgars, said:

"There are now 400 in at 24 stores. It started at the Cresta branch in a suburb of Johannesburg."

A white supervisor told a worker to go and fetch some liquor from the bottle store in the back. When he did not respond immediately, he was reported to the store controller. He said he was talking "bullshit".

"She approached her shop steward who complained to the store manager. He promised to report to his white staff and report back. He never did this, so on Monday they started their sit-down strike."

Management used humiliation to keep them down. This was last year's success. All fought against racism, but they realised that capitalism was the enemy.

The union began to organise workers in Chain Stores, a chain owned by black businessmen.

Management are horrible. We are supposed to be free. There is no real difference from the white stores.

The meeting was a joyful event with no real hostility. They were all in the same boat. They were all in the same boat.

They are organised by the Federal Council of Retail and Allied Workers. It is a union which has been away from the larger

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A DECADE ago this month, the Governor-General John Kerr — supposedly a powerless figurehead — sacked the Labor Government of Gough Whitlam. In its place he installed Liberal opposition leader Malcolm Fraser as caretaker Prime Minister.

The Labor Government had been facing mounting attacks from big business, especially the media. Grabbing their chance, the Liberals used the anti-Labor majority in the Senate, the upper house of parliament, to block the supply of money to the government. This gave Kerr his excuse to act.

DIANE FIELDS analyzes the Kerr Coup, as well as the myths it generated about the Whitlam Government.

ON NOVEMBER 11, 1975, hundreds of thousands of Australian workers spontaneously walked off the job, gathered in mass demonstrations and attacked bastions of the ruling class: the Melbourne Club, Liberal Party headquarters, and the Stock Exchange. Even before the sacking, seven thousand met in the pouring rain in Sydney's Hyde Park, and another 25,000 in Melbourne to protest the blocking of supply.

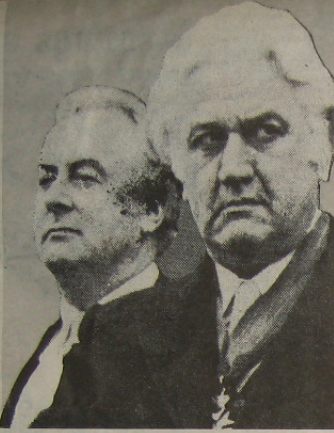
The very morning of the dismissal, a five-cent Labor government workers voted to strike indefinitely, and other workers were to join them if the money supply crisis was not resolved.

This anger manifested the more fundamental repression of ruling class opinion, like the Melbourne Age, whose late in 1975 columnists were still calling on Fraser to back down. Anger turned to rage when Kerr dismissed the Government. On hearing the news, workers all over the country began walking off the job and massing in unplanned demonstrations in every city. Five thousand marched from the Melbourne City Square to the Liberal headquarters, which they proceeded to stone.

Three thousand marched through the streets of Sydney to the Trades Hall, where they called for a general strike. The following day ten thousand construction workers, wharfmen, distillers, mailworkers and many others were on strike.

The rebellion with which the Sydney Stock Exchange had broken the dismissal started first, as thousands of workers gathered to show that they knew who was behind Kerr's coup.

Students were involved in the action as well. A thousand broke



KERRAND Whitlam just before the sacking.

more "acceptable" activities.

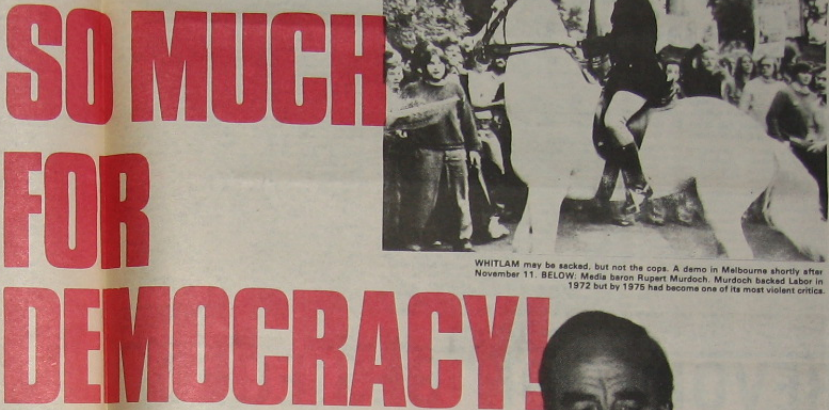
Such luminaries as ACTU President Bob Hawke told workers to "contain their rage," and argued that the best way to support Labor was to go back to work, collect money for the election campaign, and try to convince people to vote ALP in the December 13 election.

This feeble strategy required the ruling class that the workers were under control. The danger over the daily papers rendered their offensive against Labor on economic issues. As a result the Liberals gained a landslide victory at the polls.

THE MANNER of Labor's demise, and the genuine working class anger in its defence, generated many myths about the government of Gough Whitlam. In particular, it recurred one of the most enduring illusions of Australian political life — that the ALP — in government — has provided real changes in society in the interests of working people.

This myth has persisted despite all the evidence to the contrary. The record of Labor in office is a pathetic one. In all, Labor has been in government federally for 23 years

Kerr's Coup, 1975:



A close look at Labor's record reveals a litany of promised reforms that didn't eventuate, or were carried out in a half-hearted or restricted fashion. For women, the 27.5% luxury tax on the Pill was lifted, and the Pill was put on the pharmaceutical benefits list. Just as well — because the ALP retained the conscience vote on abortion.

Despite rhetoric about black rights in 1974 the Department of Aboriginal Affairs underpinned their budget by \$17 million and handed the difference back to consolidated revenue. They didn't want to allocate the

work and mass movements in the streets. The second major assault on working class living standards occurred in Treasurer Bill Hayden's horror budget brought down in 1975. Penalties, school building, urban development and schemes for the unemployed were all slashed.

Previously the November 1974 mid-budget had stepped up subsidies to employers and did a deal on the Prices Stabilization Tribunal, which was supposed to control prices. Not that the PTT had many more to be cut. It had already granted

BHP eight price rises, in two years. Ferns like Bronch Leyland who were in danger of bankruptcy were bought out or propped up by workers' sales.

In fact Labor's program was almost exactly what the Liberals are recommending. No wonder Liberal leader Billy Snedden said after the May 1974 election "We didn't win, but we didn't lose."

Kerr's dismissal of the Whitlam government was a clear victory for the bosses. However it may have been just the elimination of the bosses' offensive against workers' leadership.

By late 1975 the majority of striking class had come to the conclusion that the repressed Liberal Party under Malcolm Fraser was the best bet to complete the job Whitlam had begun.

This was reflected on the floor of Stock Exchanges not only in Australia, but internationally, as Australian share prices shot up once Kerr sacked Whitlam.

Labor had effectively dig its own grave by attacking and demoralizing its working class supporters. Its only lasting contribution was wage indexation, the key mechanism for continuing wage control — which was smashed by widespread industrial action in 1981-82.

that workers did not get full cost of living increases. And just as with the Hawke government's Accord, CPMs were conditional on workers giving up the right to fight the boss. Under Malcolm Fraser, Labor's wage indexation scheme was used to full effect to cut wages for the rest of the 1970's.

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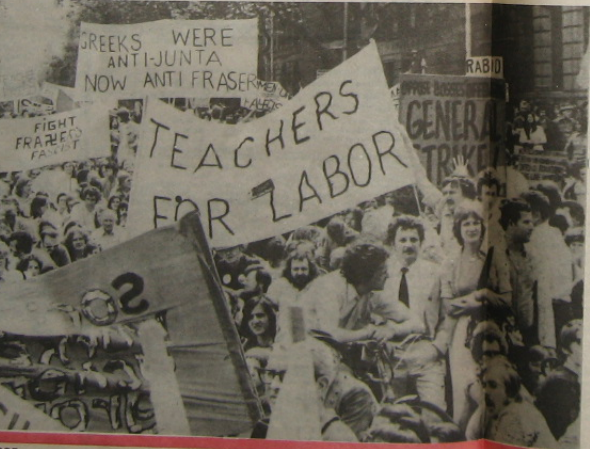
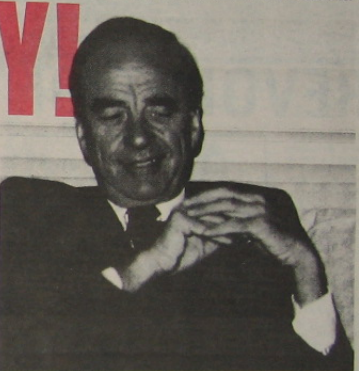
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WHITLAM may be sacked, but not the cops. A demo in Melbourne shortly after November 11. BELOW: Media baron Rupert Murdoch. Murdoch backed Labor in 1972 but by 1975 had become one of its most violent critics.



KERR'S SACKING of the Whitlam government confirmed one of the central propositions of revolutionary socialists, that real power does not reside in parliament.

The real rulers of this society are the tiny minority of extremely wealthy individuals who run big business. They do not get their power by elections but through their economic control over production.

This gives them power far greater than any elected government. If they are not satisfied with a government's performance in protecting their profits, they can refuse to invest, or sown a man on the dollar by taking their money overseas.

They use their power to cause mass unemployment by closing down their mines and factories.

As this economic pressure is not sufficient to bring the government to heel, then these top bosses can turn to their loyal army of followers in the apparatus of the state — the courts, the police, the armed forces, the heads of public service departments.

A few examples from the Whitlam years illustrate very clearly when the top bosses — and army generals stand

and ships because of nuclear tests, strike against conservation, and the Vietnam war, the Sydney BLP green ban against Japanese building developers.

1974 was an explosion of wage militancy. Australian workers spent 620,000 days on strike that year, almost three times as many as the year before, and the same number as the British working class, who were four times as large, and had brought down the Heath government that year.

Finally there was a demonstration of workers' power far more important for the future of the Whitlam government, the rash of strikes over the Kerr Coup. Far from mobilizing that power to defend the Labor leaders and their friends in the ACTU called on workers to that year.

The ALP feared that industrial action could defeat the Liberals, but that it would. Because Labor is fundamentally wedded to parliament, and the capitalist system it manages, the idea of accumulating a force that could get rid of that system was almost beyond their comprehension.

If preferred to lose office, rather than risk a revolution which could have threatened the very basis of capitalist rule.

PROTEST in Melbourne on November 14

Every legal conspiracy

THE BOMBING of the Rainbow Warrior guerrillas shocked a lot of people in both New Zealand and Australia. Here was an undetected and seemingly unaccountable police force exacting the most horrible revenge against innocent individuals whose only crime was their wish to see a better and more humane world.

Worse still, this type of behavior has not generally been seen in this part of the world. In Britain, republicans, but in Australia, definitely not.

What Tom Anderson's memoirs published about the Amanda Margat capture and night ride to play his first *Free Wilson* Tunes and Anderson presents a powerful case against Australia's neo-fascist forces.

Real Dawn members of Amanda Margat were released from jail on an official pardon last May. They had been convicted of conspiracy to murder the leader of the National Front, Fabian Crampton, had spent years in jail and were publicly

branded with the bombing of the Sydney Hilton hotel during the Commonwealth Heads of Government meet in 1978. Yet despite a highly prejudicial press campaign, none of the three four arrested was actually charged with the Hilton bombing. Nor has the NSW government been prepared to fully state their names or to question the role played by the NSW Police Special Branch and ASIO as the whole affair.

When the Hilton bomb exploded on 15 February 1978, ASIO and the State Special Branches were under a cloud. The Hope Royal Commission into ASIO had noted its involvement in a top list of illegal activities, though it simply

regurgitated the Coleman-ASIO allegations. The attack on Special Branch had stopped, a special anti-corruption unit and a reformed Federal Police were to be established under former Socialist Yard head, Sir Robert Marks, and opposition to the bill giving wide powers to ASIO, which was tabled three weeks after the blast, had been effectively vetoed.

Crises of Australian security have been reduced to a small minority viewpoint. There is a lot of evidence that the security forces themselves were responsible for the Hilton bomb which killed three council workers and injured a police man. Prior to the explosion, several garbage trucks had been towed away from the bomb house by security police. One truck was stuck in a position, injured someone. Terry Griffin, later stated:

"My opinion is that a person who may have been in the group of people responsible for the bomb being put there suddenly realised that something had gone wrong, and that he was doing his best to save our lives... I only wish I've been told, and I feel that it is true and I'm sorry to say."

Under cross-examination at the Hope Royal Commission, Griffin stated:

"more exploit. A man called William Reeve-Parker had told me that an Army Warrant Officer had admitted planting a bomb by switching rubbish bins 24 hours earlier. A statutory declaration by Reeve-Parker was shown to the court, but Reeve-Parker was never called to give evidence."

"I was looking for a scapegoat for the Hilton bombing, a seemingly mysterious political villain, someone I could point to and blame for the explosion and a nuisance to one of the major Commonwealth countries. They had been campaigning for the release of their leader, PR Sarkar, from an Indian prison. They were ready-would say that for a set-up. All the cops, and the police, and it came via a certified psychiatrist and police prosecutor, Richard Seary. One track was stuck in a position, injured someone. Terry Griffin, later stated:

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Under cross-examination at the Hope Royal Commission, Griffin stated:

"The police claim to have heard privately from (defendants) were all the product of police verbiage and the only link with the Hilton bomb came from their statements on court claiming the Margat had admitted to. Not long after Seary was secretly paid \$6,000 for his services by the NSW police."

Paul Allner was not allowed to present evidence that he was in Adelaide when the Hilton bombing took place. He has evidence incriminating the NSW Special Branch and ASIO was suppressed and obvious perjury by the police ignored.

The release of the three came after an extensive public campaign which even had conservative sections of the judiciary doubting the decision. Some ALP members, in particular MP George Petersen and Joan Scobie, have called for the abolition of his labor secret police forces. But Labor governments have not.

"You only have to look at the very mixed tone of the NSW Government's paid for the three. While Tom probably didn't intend his book as an argument for revolutionary socialism, he has highlighted how ruthless and unyielding an apparatus the security forces and legal system can be."

The unaccountable assassin who blew the Rainbow Warrior has been exposed as a universal phenomenon.

For more information on this subject, contact the author at the address below.

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Revolution and the Marxist

FOR MARX, "It is not consciousness that determines social being, but social being that determines consciousness."

This is what socialists call a materialist philosophy and it simply means that ideas don't enter people's brains as bolts from the blue. Rather, they reflect the actual circumstances human beings find themselves in.

Therefore to understand and defend any political theory, philosophy or ideology, we need to know the social being which constitutes its foundation.

The social being which starts people to establish organizations to accept claims to the name of Marxism, is his social work. It is in the *Real Marxist Tradition*.

Marx (and those who have left and developed his ideas) did not simply draw up his theory in a laboratory. Marx arrived at Marxism only on the basis of his constant revolutionary workers' circles in Paris in 1843. It was then that Marx discovered "the foundations" of a class with radical thoughts, and first declared its allegiance to the proletariat.

In studying the way capitalism works, and by participating in the constantly recurring struggles in Europe, Marx came to understand that human beings could only be freed by a social revolution.

When workers take power, they don't end a class rule over them. They can't run the factories, the mines and offices. They have to organize a new society. They can't just take over the production for human consumption. They can't just take over the production for human consumption. They can't just take over the production for human consumption.

These workers can't escape their alienation simply by selling their labor or by organizing the work process in the factory.

By Sandra Bloodworth

Alenation can only arise when the workers, the producers themselves, take control over the work process.

Marx also argued that capitalism would periodically go into crisis, because the rate of profit would tend to fall. Other than this theory could only be formulated by the standpoint of the proletariat.

Marx could see—and unlike the bourgeois, freely admit—that the labour of workers is the source of all profits. In fact, he came to understand their frame of competition with each other, are constantly replacing workers with more and more machines. The machines cannot create new wealth and are the rate of profit declines.

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These workers can't escape their alienation simply by selling their labor or by organizing the work process in the factory.

teach yourself marxism

Individualism for all!

"UNDER socialism everyone will be the same." "Socialism means free uniformity." "Socialism denies freedom of the individual!"

It is a fancy free of complaints that most familiar to every body. But before entering these allegations, let's examine the record of capitalism. For those who are supporters of capitalism have always claimed the defence of individuality and individual freedom as its supreme virtues. In fact, individualism and individualism have been the presence of the privileged few. From school uniforms and "queer" babbling, from high rise flats to production lines and typing pools, the tendency of capitalism is precisely to impose "free uniformity" on the working class.

It is the same in the world of art, entertainment and sports. Capitalism produces the "spectator" and the "mass audience"—the majority of the population reduced to the role of passive observers to the activities of a few "stars" produced by a centralized mass media.

All this drives from the fundamental features of the system—in its divisions into classes and its organization of production for profit. The victory of the socialist revolution is the victory of a tiny minority of society means that the individual will participate in the running of society. Through work control each individual would share his or her own working environment.

Through the provision of social services, day care and nursery facilities women would be able to make a free choice about having children. With equal pay and equal relations with men, women would become a matter of free choice not economic dependence.

The individualism of poverty and the drastic reduction of the working week, each of which could be free to invent his or her talents to develop, one of the main reasons for the abolition of the proletariat. The Communist Manifesto, the free individualism of the individual manager also becomes just as free-forming class as the

EVOLUTION OF REVOLUTION

MIKE GONZALEZ new book *Revolution under Fire* is a must for all those seeking to understand the Nicaraguan revolution of 1979.

Gonzalez looks over the last few years during which socialist Raulo and the Sandinistas have imposed an economic military blockade of Nicaragua, armed to defend its economy.

In 1979, the US Senate approved a \$14 million loan to the Contras, a right-wing terror group which launches military attacks on Nicaragua.

Major objectives of the Reagan government's foreign policy is to contain US control over Central America. Hence where ever the US goes, it is there to control, to interfere, to wage war, to wage war, to wage war.

Reagan's policy continues to isolate Sandinista leaders, violence and exploitation in Central America.

For nearly a century, Neo-Protectionism, coffee and sugar has been the life of the economy. In 1980, the US crushed a national independence movement from the US. In 1981, the US backed a new dynasty in Nicaragua, the Somozia family.



EVOLUTION OF REVOLUTION

they gave birth to the Frente Sandinista, the FSLN. From the start, the Sandinistas agreed to unite all sections of the population except class lines, in a national struggle against Somozia and US imperialism. They looked to the peasantry to lead the revolution. In 1978 they abandoned this strategy as peasants and workers moved spontaneously to the leadership of the struggle and by mid-1979 had carried them into power.

Some of the revolution the government has carried out on the number of reforms. There has been reduced to less than half health clinic staff for the common people.

But, as Gonzalez argues, none of these undoubted improvements justifies the state as a workers' and peasants' government, pointing the transition to socialism, which is widespread on the left.

"Populism is not the last of socialism. For socialism is the working class as a result of the which the workers' movement in society directly."

In the absence of real workers' control from below, the Sandinista regime has moved towards the world capitalist. This has increased tension between the regime and the masses who have supported it.

In 1979, the Sandinistas nationalized the economy. Despite all the hardships

the country faces, the Sandinistas still enjoy popular support. But the future of the Nicaraguan revolution is not so sure. The range of options open to the Sandinistas are very limited.

The option of a workers' and peasants strategy will not provide a solution. Put to the test, rates of countries like Mexico and Brazil will take the Sandinistas' dependence on foreign aid and the debt re-structuring imposed by the International Monetary Fund. A workers' and peasants strategy will not provide a solution. Put to the test, rates of countries like Mexico and Brazil will take the Sandinistas' dependence on foreign aid and the debt re-structuring imposed by the International Monetary Fund. A workers' and peasants strategy will not provide a solution. Put to the test, rates of countries like Mexico and Brazil will take the Sandinistas' dependence on foreign aid and the debt re-structuring imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

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As the dollar plunges,

CONSERVATIVES

THE SAGA OF the downward slide of the Australian dollar has dominated the headlines for weeks on end.

In the process the Hawke government has come under the fiercest criticism from the business establishment in its whole period in office.

What is all the fuss about and what is the significance of the dollar's collapse for Australian workers?

While the value of the dollar can seriously effect the living standards of millions of workers, what I have no say over it, and what is significantly affected by the dollar's collapse are Australian workers!

The collapse of the dollar can seriously effect the living standards of millions of workers, what I have no say over it, and what is significantly affected by the dollar's collapse are Australian workers!

The relatively inflexible Australian manufacturing industry has not been able to meet this demand and more and more manufactured products have been sucked in from the comparatively stagnant European countries.

The labor government's initial response to the growing balance of payments deficit was to allow interest rates to rise to attract foreign capital investment.

But interest rates rose to record levels and any further increase increased its risks of the economic recovery by making it too expensive for local business to invest in new projects.

But the Hawke government has failed to reduce its value compared to other currencies. This was hoped, would increase imports making them more expensive, and boost exports by making them cheaper on the market.

The trouble is the benefits of devaluation are long term, the short term it has actually made things worse. Despite a higher cost capital market continued to flood in, increasingly widening the trade deficit and forcing up the inflation rate.

The long back has reached by the value of the dollar ever falling. Many local businesses have panicked as the government has seemed to have lost control of the economy.

One of the major concerns of the business community is that the long term benefits of a strong dollar are being lost to inflation. If the price of Australian exports are more than faster than that of overseas produced goods that will cancel out the benefits of a strong dollar.

The trouble is that the devaluation of the dollar is being used by increasing the price of imports. The houses are

by Mick Armstrong

Ironically the second factor is the very success of the Australian dollar over the last two years. Economic expansion has boosted demand for consumer durables and industrial equipment.

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The trouble is that the devaluation of the dollar is being used by increasing the price of imports. The houses are



AKING AND PAUL KEATING demand that they be compensated for this by wage cuts. In other words that workers should bear all the costs of the devaluation.

Ever since it is only any whom the houses, the Hawke government last September negotiated a renewed Accord.

The Accord folds under this pressure then the Hawke government will have to resort to even tougher and more blatant anti-union policies.

One option would be a credit squeeze which would slow down growth and force up unemployment, in the hope of undermining workers' bargaining strength.

For the moment Hawke and Keating are considering their options. However whatever they decide we can expect to see a renewed boss offensive in the coming months. The ball in the class struggle will be seen during the first two years of Labor's rule in coming to an end.

Whether the Accord could withstand that pressure is another

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Bielkemandar

BIELKE—PETERSEN's changes to Queensland electoral boundaries assure of a majority in Parliament with only 36% of the vote.

The Sunday Mail commented that it is enough to make people lose faith in democracy. One commentator wrote, "the redistribution has reduced parliamentary representation and democracy to an irrelevance."

Pretty heads stuff. And in it is a outrage. The division of the state's seats into regions means that 2300 voters can elect a western member whereas in Brisbane it requires 19,400.

As if this wasn't enough, seats like Peteresen's Barambah, which geographically in the south east zone, have been placed in the country zone where low votes are required. Little patches of ALP voters have been taken out of National electorates and replaced with conservative voters. It is all rather too transparent. Not surprisingly there has been widespread calls for "one vote one value."

Some want to go back to the good old days of National/ Liberal coalition. This is the good old days of the Springbok state of emergency, the Pregnancy Termination Control Bill, the street march ban. Others however, think that one vote one value is a step towards real democracy. Citizens for Freedom, a group made up mainly of academics, plan to lobby Labor and Liberal MPs to get their support for a 'vote one value' vote.

The Liberals, who only chance for power rests in a coalition with the Nationals, have little interest in such principles. The other problem is that just demanding one vote one value creates illusion in the ALP and in particular. Electoral maneuvering creates a substitute for rebuilding working class strength on the shop floor. Before people get carried away with a bit of difference having Labor in office would make, they should reflect on the recent history of the Cain government.

Two events just recently have demonstrated the folly of having illusions in parliament. The first was the tenth anniversary of Whitlam's sacking by the Governor-General. Could anyone really doubt afterwards, the boardroom of big business? Or that the power to change society lies in the mass action workers took as they walked off jobs all over Australia, rather than in the stonewall which occurred in 1978.

Millions of West Australian businessmen Robert Holmebeck and Alan Bond were discussing the Burke Labor government proposal to issue a third TV license — something that neither man wanted. Robert thought that Burke should be reminded that they could continue to bring down the government if Burke didn't do things their way.

Parliament is a sham, and just like many times, Peteresen risk boundaries. As with an capitalist election, the withdrawal of a Holloway-style Labor government would be the vote of an average worker. There can be no real equality as long as a minority owns and controls the wealth of society.



CAIN'S COPS with the Hospital Employees Federation picket, Royal Melbourne Hospital.

TAGGED

FIVE UNION ORGANISERS arrested on a picket line. Union organisers arrested and charged with trespass to prevent them speaking to their members. Others threatened with arrest.

Workers were voted to go on strike locked inside a hospital building by police and bosses for one and a half hours to prevent them joining the pickets outside. Blind workers picketing against poverty level wages along with their guide dogs.

Sounds like South Africa or Poland, or perhaps Queensland? Wrong — it all happened in Victoria under John Cain Labor government.

Members of the Hospital Employees Federation (HEF) had refused to work for four consecutive members who were operating a company which had not been checked for admission. While the Minister for Health, attacked the union's demands for compulsory submission as "totally unreasonable." But what would you expect from the wised who declared that a recent strike by nurses would cause death?

ANGER against Labor at the November combined transport unions rally, Melbourne.

Officials wreck mail strike

MAIL SORTERS IN NSW have lost an important battle. Management have got away with introducing worsened rosters and shift ratios, and a scheme to make people work harder.

Even more disastrous, the bosses are now out to make it much more difficult for the union to operate — by harassing rep about time spent on union business and setting up to victimise key militants.

of the officials was to do nothing. Several county mail centres were told not to support the Sydney mail officers. Post offices whose reps were the union were told to bar their own mail or to "be their own discretion."

At the mass meetings of drivers, postmen and postal officers, the officials refused to argue to support the mail officers. Worst of all an APTU Federal Secretary, Bob Arnold, publicly attacked the strike and stated that the International Socialists were running everything. State Secretary Paul Watson verbally abused him in the press every day.

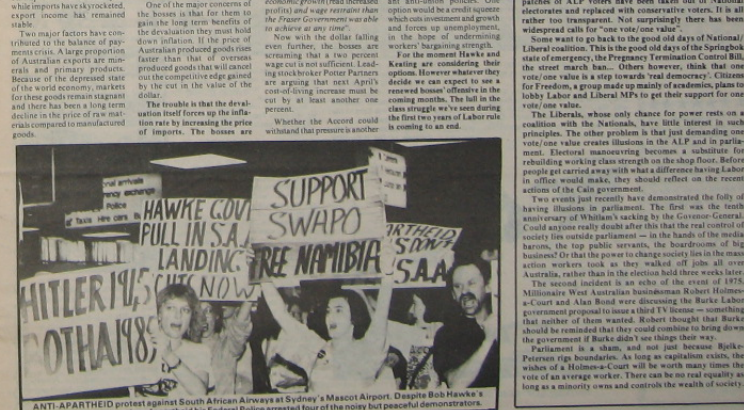
The first mail meeting of the majority vote to back to prepare for battle. They were trying to avoid it. The drivers and other sections, crucial if the sorters were to win, were left completely in the dark and fed into the line of the daily press.

Many voted not to support the mail centres, as they had lost faith in the union altogether. In the aftermath of the defeat they issued a leaflet blaming them for the losses. In effect they are saying that fighting at all was wrong, as if there are any alternatives.

Not Australia Post was determined to attack our rank and file. The more they fought, the more they were determined to win. The more they fought, the more they were determined to win.

The next time we go into battle against the bosses, we have to be clear: the first rule is a fight, we have to win — will be against our own officers.

by John Miles, APTU



ANTI-APARTHEID protest against South African Airways at Sydney's Mascot Airport. Despite Bob Hawke's hypocritical condemnation, apartheid has Federal Police arrested four of the only but peaceful demonstrators.

Opening Women's Eyes

Open Slather

DEBETTS' magazine for the British upper crust, is giving AIDS sufferers from its records. *Barber's* follow. *They find the disease may threaten the "quality" of ruling class blood, because they suggest it is caused by genetic defects. And in fact, AIDS is bad news because of the "spoils" way it is spread.*

THE HALF a million dollar, two-hour play *Mining Magnate* Lang Hancock's wife was in the weather from celebrating her birthday dinner at St. Mary's Harbor, St. As, was up on deck to meet her.

While she was trying to get down, she was being held back by her finger and arm like some other at the bottom of the harbor? an *over* after about a decade in Hancock.

ALL THE trials and tribulations of Liverpool. *Women are also discriminated against in the workplace.*

PHILIP FOLLETT, 130 company Washington building the nuclear power reactor, is a 20 kilometer from an earthquake fault. The reactor is already the most expensive in the world, partly due to \$35 million that was spent on the project of a gift partner of President Nixon. Now the cost has risen a little more. Following guerrilla force up the power line connected to the plant, in solidarity with a three day strike against it, 18,000 workers.

ROB HARVE has been promoting a law about women's sexual abuse. *What has made the law so unpopular is that it is too lenient on the government.*

What is important is to be allowed to regard labor as an deductible if paid to a business. *Demerits' tax shift* has been established. *There is no objection to the expense being recorded on an account book.*

THE ROLLING HOMEWORK. *Now we have come up with a new device to control their dictatorial rule.* *They demand a new mission as "success" complex.* *But their demands seem to be a way to control the privileges of the wealthy.*

PERSONALLY, I shall write you every day. *My favorite band* is *John Lennon*. *John Lennon* is *John Lennon*.

THERE WAS a common saying in Russia early this century: "I thought I saw two people, but it was only a man and his wife."

Such a Russian denial of woman's human dignity is rare today in the developed capitalist world. Nevertheless, it's spirit is still embodied in our laws and in part of the general attitude toward women.

The media, the education system, and "respectable" people of all stripes systematically impose the role that the "natural" role demands they give up everything to job education, bobble, political activity if necessary to buy long care for their families. So in the developed capitalist world, women care for the sick and disabled without receiving any payment.

For most women it means they have to perform two jobs. One in the workplace, the second in the home, for the housework and childcare.

The second, "natural" role often comes to be seen as women's only role. In Liverpool, in Britain, a local councillor addressed right clerical workers as "the wives, mothers and sweethearts of citizens of Liverpool."

The workers retorted that they were "typists, machine operators and clerks" and servants of Liverpool. *Women are also discriminated against in the workplace.*

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by Sandra Bloodworth

A Russian woman tells of her experience of class conflict that was no less bitter than I began for one. But they're saying that they had made out. (There is no mention in certain parts of the economy in order to pay for military equipment.)

But women are not simply passive victims. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, women have organized and fought for equal political rights, for more equitable sexual relations, for equal pay and so on.

In the late 1960's a new women's liberation movement developed. From the anti-Vietnam war movement and the general ferment on the campuses, many women gained the confidence and awareness to take action against their own oppression.

And as they graduated from the universities with the hope of getting conventional, well-paid jobs, many came up against the barrier of sexual discrimination.

At the same time, millions of other women entered the workforce. The struggle of working women for better pay and conditions spurred on the women's liberation movement. In many countries, women now reform such as legal abortions, equal pay and are tried to legal discrimination.

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CLASS STRUGGLE & WOMEN'S LIBERATION
1640 to the present day

Women's unpaid labor in the home is used to help the generalization of wages.

And as capitalism entered the present economic crisis in the early 70's, many of the reforms were either revised or simply forgotten.

But all that has ended under the present system still exists, and we can never accept the conditions for women to completely escape from their oppression.

Only when inequalities of wealth, privilege and prestige have been abolished, when everyone has a say in running society as equals — in other words, only under socialism — will women be able to achieve their liberation.

This means working together and organizing in collectively and for the benefit of all.

In Russia, in 1917, workers did take power. The workers councils or Soviets which ran the country, immediately established equal pay for women.

Marriage was made a purely voluntary agreement and the concept of illegitimacy was abolished. Abortion was made free and legal. So women could freely choose their sexual partners without fear of legal retribution.

Women were no longer expected to carry the double burden of paid work in the factory and unpaid work in the home. Communal kitchens and child care centres were established.

For a brief moment in history, before the revolution was driven back and crushed by imperialist invasion, poverty and isolation from the workers' movement in the West, there was a glimpse of the possibilities of socialism and the liberation of women.

by Tony Cliff.
Available from your local IS branch (see address page 11) for \$8, or post paid, from IS Books, GPO Box 4215, Melbourne, for \$9.

Also available:
Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle. How capitalism distorts sexual relationships.
Communism and the Family. Showing how the family has changed with different class societies, and how it will change under socialism.

A PASOK election rally earlier this year. Now they are attacking workers.

Workers defy the Greek Bosses

by Michael Power

WAGE CUTTING Labor governments can be fought. That's the message from Greek workers who challenged their supposedly 'Socialist' days with a wave of strikes last month.

Just three days after the fourth anniversary of the election of the Socialist (PASOK) government of Andreas Papandrou, protest marches and mass demonstrations erupted in cities and towns across Greece.

More than 20 unions called a series of work stoppages that lasted for a whole week. Greece, like Australia, has a large trade deficit and a foreign debt of \$17 million dollars. The government has responded not by attacking the international bankers, but by attacking its own workers.

Michael Power

The PASOK government has adopted a tough austerity plan, in many ways similar to those favored by US President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. It was an economic "U-turn" like that announced by France's 'Socialist' Premier Francois Mitterand in 1982.

When the cuts were announced, PASOK union leaders on the TUC (the Greek equivalent of the ACTU) and local trade councils called on the government to withdraw the measures.

At this stage it will be more than historic. But then the Communist Party —

The leaders called out their unions — mostly in the public sector — for a 24-hour work strike.

The union officials saw the strike as just the first measure to put pressure on the government. But back and forth the workers demanded more determined action.

PASOK has tried to use the TUC error to get some union officials to police the workers. This in 1983 Papandrou passed laws making public sector strikes virtually illegal after a series of strikes against a wage freeze.

By saying 'no more' to the TUC, the leaders unleashed a wave of anger from those who have really suffered from PASOK's attempts to attack working class living standards.

Since the real impact of the austerity program will not begin to be felt for some months, Papandrou will probably be able to contain the present confrontation. The TUC leaders, by staying at the head of the movement and issuing official endorsement to the strikers, have positioned themselves to do another dirty deal with the government at the next election.

But whether or not they win this round, the workers have shown that they are not prepared to let Greece's Bob Hawke trample all over them.

AFTER THE GENERAL

CHILE'S WORKERS and students have once again challenged the dictatorship of General Pinochet. It is now two years since resistance to the regime deteriorated, and it shows no sign of abating.

Last month demonstrators set up barricades of rocks, rubbish and burning tires in defiance of police. Protesters attacked power lines in the capital Santiago, blowing out large sections of the city two nights in a row.

The level of repression in Chile is one of the most severe in the world. Police and soldiers operate with impunity. A police helicopter fired tear gas canisters into nearby houses. In the latest attacks they have injured over 100 people and arrested 800.

They cannot quell the dissent. In one protest, police and soldiers opened fire from armoured cars. A police helicopter fired tear gas canisters into nearby houses. In the latest attacks they have injured over 100 people and arrested 800.

Even the most bloody and repressive regimes cannot last forever. By reestablishing capitalism, dictatorship restores the industrial struggle. How capitalism distorts sexual relationships. Communism and the Family. Showing how the family has changed with different class societies, and how it will change under socialism.

have been crushed during the preceding period are suddenly revived, the anger and energy of a decade or more re-expands into action in a matter of weeks.

After his death they could emerge as fully fledged multi-party or trade union bureaucrats ready to head off the energies of the working class (as they did in Australia, where the Whitlam government was sacked in 1975).

Under dictatorship the workers and students have a more realistic form of control. A police helicopter fired tear gas canisters into nearby houses. In the latest attacks they have injured over 100 people and arrested 800.

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To remove dictatorship, reformists argue for an alliance with "popular front" of bosses and workers for democracy. The price of this alliance is the surrender of all socialist aims.

When other classes are fighting against the dictatorship, the idea of such an alliance is popular from the dictatorial apparatus. *It is usually means selling the energies of the working class, and preventing them building up their own organization and strength.*

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THE ROBERTS ban on press coverage of "white houses" in South Africa will give even greater freedom to apartheid's security forces to kill and maim.
The absence of cameras will give them even greater licence to rampage through black and coloured townships, and viciously break strikes.

Proof of this came the day after the ban was imposed. Fifteen blacks were killed in three nights of fighting — the largest number in one night for weeks.

In the face of the white backlash shown in five parliamentary by-elections last month, and the ever-rising tide of black and coloured militancy, both now has no other choice than to try and destroy the opposition completely.

The success of black resistance now depends on how much they can take the battle beyond the townships and into the factories. And it depends on how much workers in Australia and in all other countries can weaken and isolate the apartheid regime.

The ANC bans on mail to South Africa, and on flights and shipping, need to be extended to an indefinite ban on all trade with the racist state.

Below we print an interview with NIGEL LAMBERT, recently returned from South Africa, together with his analysis of the prospects for the creation of a revolutionary party of black workers.

What is the scale of events now in South Africa, compared with Sharpeville in 1960 or Soweto in 1976?

It's enormous. Today it affects the whole of South Africa. It's not just the student but the large number of workers, the scientific experts in fact.

In Cape Town the struggle involves coloured and just black Africans. The action is more extensive, geographically and socially.

Yes, but it's not just black Africans. The struggle involves coloured and just black Africans. The action is more extensive, geographically and socially.

The repression doesn't seem to destroy people's willingness to fight.

What effect has the high and widespread level of struggle had on the regime and on big business? Is the regime on the defensive?

The state doesn't seem to suppress the movement the way it did in 1960. One reason is that there is now a substantial trade union movement and repression by the state generally would mean taking on the union.

Yes. The level of struggle in the township has meant that it can't organise society as it did previously, through community councils and the like. In a number of areas its spies and police led back in the 1960s. It is not the same scale as after Sharpeville.

maintaining its rule over black people.
The second problem the regime faces is the attitude of multinationals and capitalists. Sections of capital are very concerned to safeguard their profits and are unwilling to form.

But the regime still retains a degree of initiative.
Yes. The structures of the state are still intact. If the struggle remains at its current level, but at some stage the regime could attempt to repress the movement decisively.

It might try to buy off a section of the black population at the same time. They would also hope that this would pacify sections of multinationals capital.

Why are sections of multinationals capital going for reform rather than repression?
Big business interests are not too bothered whether the regime has a black skin or a white skin. All they want is to ensure profit. But they have a problem. There is a barrier to the transition from a white state to a black state.

The assured the people behind it — white workers, farmers and small businessmen — are actually opposed to a black regime. A black regime would not necessarily directly, but it would challenge the privileges of these smaller firms.

There is no possibility of a peaceful transition to black government because of these layers.

You have this great mass movement covering all sections of black South Africa. What is the United Democratic Front about?

The leadership of the UDF has been heavily repressed. There have been aimed mainly at the UDF and its supporters.

But it's people with UDF politics who provide leadership in most of the townships. It causes a people sympathetic to

the ANC, Viva MK. It's particularly the identification with the armed struggle which gives the ANC a lot of authority in the township.

The idea that there is some force coming from outside to liberate people is very popular because people in the townships still don't believe they can liberate themselves.

That lack of democracy is not acceptable. For instance, every Saturday and Sunday, in the centres of the major cities you will find trade union meetings where people openly discuss how they are going to organize. They could have discussed tactics for the Pollmoor protest.

Because workers were not involved in the planning, there was a degree of resentment and bitterness which must have lowered participation.

The UDF exists on the ground in most places. Most importantly, many more identify with UDF politics. The UDF is not usually the mass organizing body in the township. Its affiliates are, in Soweto, for instance, as far as I know there was no UDF branch. But there is the Student Group Association which is affiliated to the UDF.

In some of the townships in the Eastern Cape there are no formal action committees which have pulled together many leaders who would consider themselves UDF supporters.

The African National Congress still retains enormous support, doesn't it? The supporters of UDF are by and large mostly people who support the ANC.

The ANC are probably getting arms into the townships. In Cape Town, certainly, there have been reports of hand grenades being used on a number of occasions, and it is assumed that these come from MK.

This gives them a lot of credibility among the youth, who would otherwise be fighting back with stones and petrol bombs only.

The ANC's authority is maintained in the townships, not necessarily through a disciplined organization with a mass base, but offers through individuals who may have been in detention on Robben Island, may have a record of struggle goes back to the 1960s. The ANC could operate. These people have enormous credibility in the township.

The ANC has mass support throughout the township. It is not aimed at taking power through an insurrection.

The ANC claim that they can make the township ungovernable, frighten the western capitalists and thereby force a handover of power.



RIOTERS DEFY government repression (above): young blacks lead a funeral procession.

FOR POLITICAL?

we're talking about the struggle in the townships. Can we go on to talk about the struggle in the workplace?

The big problem is that the working class isn't leading the struggle generally. Of course, in the township it is occurring but it's not leading the struggle generally. For example, the metal workers in the Transvaal have decided that all the local unions negotiate plant level deals which could provide them with a lot of money. Or they could be mass strike action over political demands. Or it could be a combination of a state of emergency.

What is the leadership of the trade union movement like?

There is a strong emphasis, particularly in FOSATU, on shop steward organization and workers' control rather than domination by full time officials.

The leaders now understand that the unions have to become involved in political activity.

Union, and the other unions who are going to join it in launching a new federation. This will be very large, organizing over 400,000 workers.

They are more militant and radical than Australian trade union leaders. They are forced to be by circumstances.

Most of the leaders have come out of a history of struggle. The idea of trade union organization is much more democratic than that of almost all union leaders in Australia.

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The leaders now understand that the unions have to become involved in political activity.

MOSES MAYEKISO is the secretary of the powerful Metal and Allied Workers Union in the Transvaal. He lives in one room, no more than 15 feet by ten. In there are two beds; one for himself and his wife and one for his brother.

His six children sleep where they can. There is also a wood burning stove, a sink and a paraffin lamp. There is no direct supply of electricity, and the toilet facilities are shared with six other families.

Despite Moses' union position, he lives in conditions which are no better than most of his members and possibly worse. His situation typifies the democratic traditions which is now well established in the FOSATU unions. The emphasis is on shop steward organization and worker control should be the envy of every trade union militant in Australia.

For all these good things, however, the South African trade union movement is encountering a number of problems. Chiefly, how they should engage in political activity.

One answer was provided by Alec Erwin, national industrial secretary of FOSATU, in an interview with the Socialist (28 September). He argued FOSATU should be politically independent, but that it would be politically premature and risky to launch a workers' party.

Leon Trotsky, the great Russian revolutionary, was particularly contemptuous of this approach. *Factory* he wrote in 1928, "but politically independent" means *de jure* *autonomous*.

At a formal level FOSATU would appear to fully endorse its affiliation to the UDF as any other political organization. The practice, however, is somewhat different.

Notwithstanding the fact that its leadership is still partly bourgeois, the UDF is the dominant political force amongst black workers. In the absence of a mass class political alternative, FOSATU is compelled to back the demonstration, its only alternative at present is to adopt the line of sectarian abstention which would leave members in their lurches.

It is unlikely that such an organisation would be able to lead the masses in struggle, but it would be capable of relating socialist politics to the needs of the working class.

In time, and under the impact of mass struggle and changed political circumstances it may be able to undertake the kind of ANC type politics over the working class. This may be the only one that can provide such a role.

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BLACK GUERRILLAS (above) The African National Congress uses armed forces to break the regime into negotiations.

ARE RUSSIA and Eastern Europe socialist societies, leading the international working class struggle for freedom? Or are they state capitalist, crushing and exploiting workers? Or somewhere in between?

Finding an answer is vital, since workers' struggle have so often been deserted or attacked by their so-called 'friends' and 'leaders'.

The problem people face in deciding, though, is the small amount of reliable evidence about social and political conditions in these countries. So a book such as Harasaki's *A Worker in a Workers' State* is essential reading. Not that the author tries to analyse the society he lives under. He simply describes, in detail, his experiences working on military machines in Eastern Hungary.

He works on the piece-rate system, and describes in fine detail how the system of payment works. He can just make enough money to live on if he works nonstop, and he lacks almost every safety regulation in the workshop. If the military steps up their pace, the production norms are changed and everyone is back to back once more.

The real meaning of the rates is in the uncertain situation of the workers. The bosses do not have to pay them to register that they have happened and then to incorporate it officially by changing the norms.

So workers must make more effort, but make little or no progress in their rewards, just as in the west, there is 'no money'. There is the management, those who give the orders and take the decisions, employ

by Tony Law

complex arguments about whether or not they own the means of production are nothing, but empty talk.

An interesting incident occurs when Harasaki asks the foreman for a day off and a refund: 'It is sure that, in the collective agreement drawn up for the factory, there is some clause which allows him his day off. He asks to see the 'collective' as it is called. He finds it is worded in such a way that he cannot understand it. A fellow worker mocks him for trying to beat the system.

"Did you expect to find anything in the collective which they do not want to have here?" I took a risk and asked him just to be sure? "The union, the company, the whole damn lot!"

In a country where we are told the factories belong to the workers, some strange things happen. If the arrived early for work Harasaki could only enter the workshop with his British passport. There were only two reasons for leaving late, political duties and overtime, and for both you needed a written signed by the foreman, without the foreman's permission you could not go to the change room. No wonder Harasaki felt like a caged beast.

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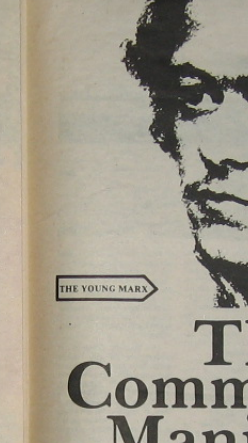
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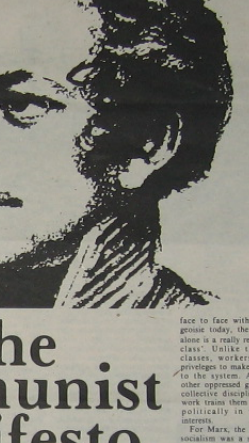
In 1956 the workers of Hungary rose up against a state that was supposedly their 'own'.



In 1981 the workers in Poland rose as well.



The young Marx



The young Marx

The Back Jacobins

WORKERS ARE not the only ones driven to resist capitalism. Since the system first pushed beyond Europe and began conquering the world, the peoples it subjected have fought back.

One of the most remarkable of these struggles was the Black slave revolt on the West Indian island of San Domingo from 1793 to 1803, the only successful slave revolt in history.

In this revolution which CLR James vividly recounts in *The Black Jacobins*, a revolution which transformed slaves who had been treated like animals into a united nation able to resist and repulse the invading armies of five European powers.

As far as James shows, the revolution was not the product of Toussaint's genius, however great Toussaint did not make the revolution, he made it possible. He laid the foundations, but it was the masses who transformed the French society of San Domingo into the independent nation of Haiti.

Spartacus had shown that a powerful army could be forged from slaves, when he reported, in detail, the revolt of Spartacus. Toussaint achieved the same feat.

Spartacus was essentially defeated because his army was not up to the revolution, however well he was trained, and would never be paid into the newly formed republic.

He later found that out, he was not. In reaction to his hesitation on the face of counter-revolution in France, they demand his resignation, forcing a declare and fight for independence.

Nonetheless, Toussaint is rightly the moral figure in *The Black Jacobins*.

When the slaves first set out on the path of revolution, they were little more than a rabble, united only in one purpose: to escape their present condition, individually play a prominent role. The English revolution had Cromwell, the Russian Lenin and Trotsky, the French Robespierre and Danton. In San Domingo the slaves had no such leaders.

you independent? There will be no more when among us... the black and bloody struggle, this ex-slave... the French monarchs, a Spanish invasion, a thousand young British... the French merchants and... the fanaticism of the Blacks... Nor for that matter...

could their British counterparts. But just as Russian workers, inspired by the socialist revolution of 1917, were able to defeat 13 invading armies and internal counter-revolution, so too were the black writing and able to overcome Napoleon's troops, who had long thought of themselves as a power of revolution... the only progress of ideas, which great thinkers bring into the world... Marx, by contrast, starts by looking at the mass of real people who created and altered our world. He sees that any major alteration in the way humans work together to produce food, clothing and shelter also changes the way society is organized and the attitudes of people in it.

As the organization of production changes so do the people's everyday experience. Hence their ideas change too.

The positions of 'great' leaders and thinkers rest on how they see the world, and what they believe them, and that again rests on the general living conditions and attitudes of the 'mass' of people.

For thousands of years, social conditions build inequality and a fight for the scarce goods of society. The first lines of the Manifesto declare, 'the history

LET THE ruling class tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

These are the closing sentences of one of the most famous of Karl Marx's written works, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*. And they express Marx's central goal — the self emancipation of the working class.

The Communist Manifesto was originally written as the programme of the revolutionary Communist League in 1848. Yet after almost 140 years, this idea set out in the Manifesto has stood the test of time.

One of its main themes is Marx's theory of history, known later as historical materialism. From what most of us learn at school, history sometimes seems a meaningless chaos of terrible events, dominated by 'great' individuals like kings, queens and bishops.

But capitalism represents enormous progress compared to previous societies. The pressure of competition between capitalist forces then to expand so as to become more efficient and raise the productivity of labour.

Marx correctly predicted that the growth of the world economy eventually creates a world market and the world economy.

It breaks all nations, on one of production, to create a world after it's own image.

With its efficient production methods, its dynamism and its scientific approach, it created the possibility of satisfying everyone's needs. It creates a world after it's own image, and social harmony.

The young Marx

face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletarian class is a really revolutionary class. Unlike the middle classes, workers have no property to lose, and in particular they have no property to lose, never an end in itself.

The first step in the revolution was the working class to take back control of the world produced by its labour.

Marxism provided an answer to this question, it is that we should build a revolutionary party.

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The road to a green

PROLOGUE The environmental issue hits the headlines. Sometimes through a horror like the Bhopal chemical disaster, where over 200,000 people were blinded or mutilated. Sometimes it's the political wheelings and dealings of groups like the Nuclear Disarmament Party, or the West German Green Party, who have just entered a state government.

Or occasionally it's something like the bombing of the Greenpeace Rainbow Warrior by French agents.

Exposition itself, with its nuclear arsenal, pollution and another dimension of nature guarantees a continuing interest in these issues, and in the environmentalist groups that take them on.

The Greenpeace organisation typifies many features of general public concern. Some of Greenpeace's projects have been quite daring. They have sent rafts into the French nuclear test zone at Mururoa in the Pacific, they have used ships to disrupt whaling operations and the dumping of nuclear waste at sea.

Several times they have been attacked by the powers they face, and they have been fined. One of the first expeditions to Mururoa was interrupted by the French navy. Sailors boarded the yacht and used tear gas to force it to leave.

Environmental groups in Australia have also done some of the world's most impressive building a movement against nuclear mining in the 1970s, which was the first time there was much talk about the way people used energy.

by Tony Belcher

Under today's peace movement with its large but passive occasional rallies, the anti-nuclear campaign staged regular demonstrations and militant attempts to block uranium shipments.

But the environmental movement has declined in strength along with the general decline of radical politics. They are now mostly made up of a small core of activists, and what is applied to the dissemination of groups like Greenpeace to continue trying to protest, we have to say that dissemination alone will not win.

To end environmental problems, first we must be clear about their cause. Many activists see the problem as modern technology, or the way people use it. When environmentalists realised that the world faced an energy crisis, there was much talk about the way people used energy.

Moreover, the analysis could not explain why the energy crisis of the early 1970s disappeared. The reality is that after the help of the oil cartel, advanced technology.

Then with the onset of recession, the tiny minority who actually control the world's industry cut back their plans for expansion, and began to close down factories. The apparent energy shortage rapidly became today's energy glut.

It is the power of this minority ruling class, and its determination to make profits at the expense of the environment that is at the heart of the problem.

Now many environmental activists acknowledge this. The real stumbling block for the movement is in their proposal for action: by argument and protest, to stop bosses feeding up the world.

Governments committed to running capitalism have to listen above all to the arguments and protests of the capitalists. So the Labor government is not prepared to stop something as profitable as uranium mining, despite having a formal policy to do so.

And now, protests from the boardrooms about the costs of environmental protection means that making governments around the world repeal much of the legislation passed in the 1970s.

Often, groups of young Queensland politicians are being taken to the place in the east coast of Queensland where the most serious of pollution is being the result of the introduction of a paper mill, and the introduction of a pulp mill, and the introduction of a pulp mill, and the introduction of a pulp mill.

The Liberal City Council is sponsoring similar legislation through parliament, and the Queensland Government with \$50,000 fines and dismantling of a pulp mill.

A further protest for the right to speak and hear in the north is being organised for Friday night, December 28. For more information contact the IS, on 229-8332.



THE ORIGINS OF THE IS

Throughout the 1930s and into the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky and his followers kept the real Marxist tradition alive for freedom.

But the Trotskyists never came into contact with the fact that Stalin's bureaucrats had restored capitalist policies, they refused even to accept the existence of the long economic boom after the war.

In Britain, in the early 1950s, the IS tendency emerged, carrying with it the best traditions of Trotskyism.

State and Revolution

Marxism has been attacked by bureaucratic distortions, but not by the working class. State and Revolution was Lenin's masterpiece, exposing Marxism's conception of socialism as workers' power from those who sought to twist it.

Neither Washington nor Moscow

Since the 1950s, the world has been divided between the west and the so-called 'socialist' states around Russia. For Marxists this choice is meaningless, since both oppress and exploit workers.

How Marx became a Marxist

Marx did not just dream up the idea of workers' revolution. He saw the potential before him in the real-life battles of the French working class in the 1840s.

International Socialists

Join us at the

IS Conference

Will a revolution liberate women?

What is imperialism?

Will a revolution liberate women?

Will a revolution liberate women?

Will a revolution liberate women?

SYDNEY

Friday evening, 4.30-6.00 in the hall under Broadway leading to Central Station. Alternative to the Trade Union Congress and Political Saturday mornings, 11.00 to 12.30 in the hall at Broad Street, near Central Station. For more information contact the IS, on 229-8332.

MELBOURNE

Friday night, 5.00-6.30pm at the Brisbane Street. For more information contact the IS, on 229-8332.

STUDY GROUPS

Everything you always wanted to know about socialism but were afraid to ask? Sometimes people do feel that about revolutionary class. Sure, there's plenty wrong with existing society, and having workers run things for human and not profit needs.

But how do you get from one to the other? What would capitalism look like? How do the bosses get their power? Why do we say that the working class can create a more and better society? What about Russia—is it socialist? What can you do about this in Australia at 1985?

Anyone interested in socialism clearly wants answers to these and hundreds of other questions. And why not try to make our weekly branch meetings accessible to newcomers. IS can hold study groups for sympathisers—to explain some of the basic ideas that underlie what we have in our talks and public meetings.

In Sydney a new series of sessions for beginners will be held on Wednesday 7pm, in the hall at Broad Street, near Central Station. For details, four numbers of phone for Melbourne—083 2030; Brisbane 229 8332.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

Workers' Power

Workers create all the wealth in society. Socialism can only be built when workers collectively gain control of the factories, the mines and offices and when they control production and distribution for human needs instead of for profit.

Only the working class has the power to create a society free of exploitation, oppression and want. Liberation can only be won through the struggles of workers themselves, organised independently of all other classes and fighting for real workers power—a society based on democratically elected workers' councils.

Revolution, not Reformism

Unlike the Labor Party we believe in overthrowing the capitalist system, not patching it up by gradually trying to change it. The state—Parliament, the military, the law—is a weapon of class rule and can never be used to serve the interests of the working class. There is no parliamentary road to socialism.

Internationalism

Capitalism is a world system. A socialist revolution cannot survive in one country. It must help revolutions in other countries or it will be defeated like the Russian Revolution of 1917. Russia, China and Cuba are not socialist, but state capitalist. We support the struggles of workers in these countries against their bureaucratic ruling class.

We oppose imperialism. East and West support all genuine national liberation struggles and are building an international movement opposed to patriotism and working to overcome national divisions between workers.

Full Equality and Liberation

For women, blacks, migrants and all oppressed groups of racism, sexism and discrimination against migrant people are all pillars of the capitalist system. We are opposed to all forms of discrimination against homosexuals.

Revolutionary Party

To smash the capitalist state, we need a revolutionary party organised and built in the workplace. Without a revolutionary party, the struggles of workers will be crushed. The activities of the IS are directed at taking the initial steps to build such a party. If that's what you want to do.

JOIN US!

South Africa Demo defies Mall ban

COPS ARRESTED five people at a recent demo in the Queen St. Mall, Brisbane. Their crime was 'delivering an address without a permit'.

The demo was to protest the Brisbane Mall Act which bans speaking, singing, assembling, dancing and displaying placards. The Act was originally introduced by a Labor City Council together with the state government.

Nineteen anti-apartheid activists against the Council fought back. For the last two months of the trial the International Socialist Movement was in court every week protesting against 15 speakers in Brisbane but have been arrested. One speaker was playing a 'No Nuclear Disarmament' tape about the nuclear arms race. Another was arrested on Queensland Day, which was held on Queensland Day, which was held on Queensland Day.

organising Queensland politics in the north. All of this has taken place in the east coast of Queensland where the most serious of pollution is being the result of the introduction of a paper mill, and the introduction of a pulp mill, and the introduction of a pulp mill.

The Liberal City Council is sponsoring similar legislation through parliament, and the Queensland Government with \$50,000 fines and dismantling of a pulp mill.

A further protest for the right to speak and hear in the north is being organised for Friday night, December 28. For more information contact the IS, on 229-8332.

GOING BACK to nature in northern NSW. A real 'return to nature' would mean liberation and mass unemployment.

SYDNEY

Meetings of the Sydney Branch of the International Socialists are advertised in the *Worker*, Sydney Working Class. You can phone us on 229-8332.

MELBOURNE

Members of the Melbourne Branch of the International Socialists are advertised in the *Worker*, Melbourne Working Class. You can phone us on 229-8332.

BRISBANE

Members of the Brisbane Branch of the International Socialists are advertised in the *Worker*, Brisbane Working Class. You can phone us on 229-8332.

BRANCH MEETINGS

MELBOURNE

Members of the Melbourne Branch of the International Socialists are advertised in the *Worker*, Melbourne Working Class. You can phone us on 229-8332.

BRISBANE

Members of the Brisbane Branch of the International Socialists are advertised in the *Worker*, Brisbane Working Class. You can phone us on 229-8332.

"We will never pay the fine"

OVER THE last year we have seen a spate of court actions against trade unions. The Masterworks Unions were fined \$100,000 under section 45(1) of the Trades Practices Act over their picket at Melbopriher station in the Northern Territory.

In Queensland Bette-Everson has implemented savage anti-union laws against SECEU workers. While state and federal Labor governments have rushed through parliament vicious penal laws to defuse the militant Builders Labourers Federation. Meanwhile the ACTU movement has not been prepared to mount any concerted defence of our rights.

However just 16 years ago rank and file workers showed there was a way to successfully take on the bosses' courts. A mass strike by 500,000 workers freed jailed union official Clarrie O'Shea and turned the industrial courts' penal powers into a dead letter. ANNE PICOT gives the background to this famous victory.



DETERMINED militancy can defeat anti-union laws.

ON THE MORNING of Thursday 15 May 1969 Clarrie O'Shea addressed a meeting of 2000 workers at Melbourne's Festival Hall. He then marched to the industrial court.

O'Shea had been charged with contempt of court for refusing to produce the Tramways Union's account books. O'Shea told the court he was acting upon the orders of his members, orders made to protect the funds of the union and to protect the rights of workers from the viciousness of the penal provisions of the Arbitration Act.



CLARRIE O'Shea on his release from Pentridge.

There were wild scenes in Melbourne streets as enraged workers fought mounted police. Within 24 hours half a million workers had walked off the job as a wave of strikes and demonstrations spread throughout the country.

The pen-up resistance over 60 years of increasingly vague fines on unions broke like a dam. In Melbourne there was no train, no bus and no electricity. Industry stood still. The docks were empty as the maritime unions all came out. The power workers struck and in the cold wet weather of a Melbourne May the Liberal Premier's Bank imposed democratic power cuts. But would anyone damage workers' enthusiasm?

In Sydney 5000 workers marched through the city in defiance of the police and backed off traffic for 45 minutes. In Queensland the Liberal Government was a general

strike, which spread to dockers in Darwin and to bus drivers in Perth.

On the Tuesday 40 unions came out again and the Trades and Labour Council in South Australia called a general strike.

The enthusiasm and rapid spread of the O'Shea strike shocked the ruling class. Although neither Liberal nor Labor governments were prepared to entirely repeal the penal provisions of the Arbitration Act, the bosses never once dared to revoke their against striking workers in the following sixteen years.

The smashing of the penal powers cancelled the whole tempo of the class struggle in Australia. There was spectacular increase in the number of strikes. Workers had not only won the right to strike — they had also gained the confidence to use it.

This new confidence was reflected on the political front. Thousands of thousands became active in the struggle against conservatism and the Vietnam war and in opposition to South Africa sporting teams.

The six years between 1968 and 1974 was a year of dispute after equal pay for women, a whole new era of union intervention with their green banners.

The mass mobilisation which freed Clarrie O'Shea was not built overnight. Like all major working class victories it grew out of previous developments in the class struggle. The pressure which erupted in May 1969 had been building up in a series of industrial battles over the preceding six years.

During the economic boom of the 1960's working class consciousness gradually recovered from the defeats of the Cold War period. Militant shop stewards and won numerous small disputes. Important gains — increased university pay, special allowances, improved conditions — were made, particularly in the metal trades.

Typically, as one workplace won a wage increase, improvement in conditions, other workers in the same industry would take action to gain the same benefits. The biggest employers would resist the over-award spirit.

Increasingly the boom mounted to the penal provisions of the Arbitration Act. Fighting unions back to work was quicker and easier than lengthy consultations which had to precede any fines and legal costs to the unions began to mount at the same

time as militant workers were increasingly winning over-award payments.

In 1964 there was a major demonstration at General Motors Holden involving 8000 workers in Victoria, and quickly spreading to South Australia. GMH went to the industrial court and got 12 month on-award orders — fines of up to \$500 a day. Typically, the ACTU used the prospect of huge costs to argue for a return to work.

The GMH workers went back having no money, but to put them in perspective, the basic wage at that time was only \$32.

The role of the ACTU in undermining the GMH strike highlights one of the key effects of the penal powers. Union officials had sold financial reasons for pulling their members and controlling strikers.

However as companies started making record profits, workers began putting pressure on the government to give the power of industrial workers the power of united, militant action. At

the same time the huge fines imposed by the court spread resentment of the penal powers.

The magnitude of the fines accumulated in 1968 finally brought home to the union officials that some action was needed against the penal powers before they bankrupted most of the trade union movement. A number of more militant unions declared that they would no longer pay the fines.

The Tramways Union endorsed this defiant stand. They had chalked up a string of fines in a fight with the Melbourne Fairways Board about bus staffings. They promised an immediate national stoppage if any action was taken against them. Other unions made the same declaration.

So when Clarrie O'Shea marched into court in May 1969, the scene was set for the final showdown. A showdown which produced a decisive and long standing victory because workers relied not on 'communist' or political negotiations with the bosses and their governments but determined thousands of workers' power of united, militant action. At

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WAKE UP THE LARGEST MILITANT MAGAZINE

PRIORITY ONE

IF YOU were to believe all the media hype, you might think that Priority One is all about giving young people a fair go.

By PHIL GRIFFITHS

Let's lie it!

This generation is so used to being disabused that even its publicity stunts are a fraud. How many young people read up thinking they were going to 'Talk to Hawke' and found themselves talking to an overworked operator instead?

If Bob Hawke really wanted to know what young people think, he could look at how many voted for the NDP in protest at the government's taking to an overworked operator instead?

But then, the W.A. Labor government offered MacDonaldis the opportunity to say the New scheme to cut wages far more than they had originally wanted! Not only that, but the federal government will pay MacDonaldis a massive subsidy for every 'trainee' they employ.

Here is how the wage rates compare:



This absolute contempt for young people is not accident. As far as the government is concerned, young people are firm and foremost the next generation of workers to be used and exploited in the best interests of Australian capitalists.

So if Australia does demand a more highly trained workforce, Bob Hawke will see to that. His crisis means high youth unemployment and has been demand lower wages from Bob Hawke will find a way to make it happen.

There is only one 'right' that Hawke wants to give 'young Australia', and that's the right to be a non-union, productive and profitable slave of the system.

YOUNG people marching for the Right to Work, in June 1983.

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