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TREASON!!

FOR REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM

No. 4
SPRING
ISSUE

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- 3 AUG 1981
OF VICTORIA

LET'S VOTE FOR OURSELVES



Boycott the
elections

THE 'LABOUR' PARTY IS FULL OF
PETTY BOURGEOISIE - ELITISTS

FRAZER IS A ONE FOOT RULER

PARLIAMENT
CAN ONLY OPPRESS!

REAL FREEDOM - NO RULERS!

VETO
VOTING!

FASCISTS IN AUSTRALIA

Over the last year or two you may have noticed a rash of little paper stickers over the city block and inner suburbs of Melbourne. Usually these stickers have a little picture of the Eureka Flag and some slogan such as "Australia Needs Nuclear Weapons" or "An Enemy of White Australia Policy is an Enemy of the Australian Nation" said Jack Lang." This is the work of the National Alliance, one of our more interesting right-wing organisations. National Alliance is looking for a mass working class base, believes in complete national independence for Australia and opposes multinationals, and is friendly towards non British Europeans. On the other hand it is strongly opposed to any Asian immigration at all, and tries to link this issue to unemployment ("Jobs Not Refugees" - another of their slogans). In other words National Alliance speaks for the average reasonably intelligent Australian bigot. Its potential appeal is therefore much greater than that of other right wing groups, and also greater than the appeal of left-nationalist groups like A.I.M. It is important that we learn more about the National Alliance so we can resist it effectively.

According to an article in the student paper "Farrago" the Alliance has about 250 members. This is roughly how many people belong to the Socialist Workers Party. Small but not insignificant. Many of its members are said to be ex Communists. In particular one of the leaders is said to be an ex member of the S.W.P. On the other



hand they have contacts with Italian neo-fascists. Presumably their friendliness towards European immigrants is not unconnected with their friendliness towards European fascists. They have a more respectable friend in Professor Sir Philip Baxter KBE CMC who has spoken at at least one Alliance meeting (according to one of their leaflets) and has written a foreword to Japan Threat a book by Nicholas Lindeman who is the National Alliances resident theorist. Anti-Uranium protesters may remember Sir Philip as a well known supporter of uranium mining and nuclear weapons for Australia. I think he was chairman or something of the Atomic Energy Commission. With that kind of friend

the Alliance doesn't need a mass base to be a serious pain in the arse.

The main sources of this article were a leaflet recently distributed in the Western suburbs, and other National Alliance propaganda, and an article in Farrago August 1979.

To contact the Alliance yourself write G.P.O. Box 1724P Melbourne. They produce a paper called Audacity, \$6 for 12 issues. Naturally, you would be foolish to use your real name or home address in dealing with these people.

KINGARROY KING

We're just a couple of flaming pommie bastards
We've come downunder for to stay awhile;
We've come to take a gander
At the land of gerrymander
Where the law is somewhat bent
And Mr. Twenty-Seven Percent
Is determined to create the perfect democratic state
One where half the population is in jail.

We didn't come to see you lose the Ashes,
But to see that wise old statesman of the North
Who pursues a sacred mission
To create the right conditions
For a bloody great big carve-up
By the giant corporations,
He's banking on the thanks of the British and the Yanks
And all his pals who're in there at the kill.

Joh's girded up his loins and gone in fighting
'Gainst the unions, the church and all the rest.
For the unions are all commies
And the commies are all pommies
And all the blacks are reds
And every red is just an egghead,
Not to mention Sunday drinkers, and all the other stinkers
Who're opposing Johland's journey to the past.

We've come to see the can'toads and the cockies,
Where one man makes the Great Dividing Range,
HOME ON THE EXCHANGE
WHERE COMALCO AND UTAH CAN PLAY
WHERE THE BULLS AND THE BEARS
ROAM WITHOUT ANY CARES
AND THEIR SKIES ARE UNCLOUDED ALL DAY.

Like Hitler, Nixon, Franco, Mussolini
Joh is just another simple, honest guy;
He just wants to take his share
In aboriginal affairs,
When he swipes their tribal lands
He knows that they will understand
That there is no discrimination, just the interest of the nation,
It's just another great Australian Right.

So long, then, cobbers, heed this little warning,
Though you may think your freedom's in good hands,
Joh has got to bear his crosses,
He must satisfy his bosses,
Wouldn't need to count his losses
If there were no flamin' Aussies...
But uranium pollution may provide a neat solution
For there'll be no bloody people to complain.

SEEGER & MCCOLL

THE STATE IS ALWAYS FASCIST !

Why Labor Won't Win

I am not looking forward to the probable result of the 1980 election.. ..a smug, supercilious Fraser receiving yet another three-year mandate from a chronically neanderthal electorate. I know that I'll be watching TV surrounded by all my friends staring dejectedly into a TV set as the newscaster says "It looks like Labour's 3.6 percent swing will not be good enough to take the key swinging seats in Tasmania, Western Australia and Queensland although there have been some upsets for the Liberals in suburb suburban Victorian and New South Wales electorates.".....and so on. Fraser Again! Bloody fucking shit!

I'm an Anarchist who votes. One of those gradualist reformist anarchists who knows that votes are pretty meaningless - and in fact, are a negation of individual political struggle. But not voting is just as pointless.

I suppose that having been born on the day that the first (and last) State ALP Government, for a generation, was elected to power has something to do with my strong pro-Labour attitude. I am a little sentimental about them and these are a few reasons:

About one third of the Australian electorate are (and always have been) intelligent, honest, courageous and moral. These human beings (most, but not all, of whom could be called "working class") have nobly and heroically resisted attempts by the rich and powerful to jail, kill, rob, cheat and enslave them. This one third of the people may be loosely labelled as the labour movement. Attached to them are all manner of leeches and parasites -

some of whom become Trade Union and Party "machine men". Because they actively seek bureaucratic power they successfully acquire it. And then, (in the words of Lord Acton), "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men."

I've seen it happen even with my closest anarchist friends and they should know better. It's no wonder that power lust reaches epidemic proportions within the A.L.P.

It is the self-seeking and power contests within the A.L.P. machines which have handed the election to Fraser. You cannot blame the right wing of the Labour party for the malaise. There is a deep-seated evil within the Labour party which rests on the fundamental fear of involvement by the party, with the electorate. LABOUR DOESN'T WANT TO WIN.

The A.L.P. hasn't the guts to win. People attribute this to the fact that Bill Hayden has all the qualities of a proficient chartered accountant. However, accountants don't often make for demagogues or charismatic revivalists. This has resulted in many people thinking - "Oh well, we'll wait until Hayden stuffs this one up and then we'll have Hawke as Opposition Leader." They bleat out "We'll win with Hawke," as if they were the sheep in "Animal Farm".

This pathetic searching for a messiah; an Australian brand of Ayatollah, is a perfect symptom of the Labour mental illness.

Rather than build strong, expansive branches, the A.L.P. will issue statements from their offices. They should be ensuring the loyalty and support of the electorate by being

actively involved in the community. There are no short cuts to the creation of an articulate, intelligent electorate - everyone must participate in a cross-fertilization of ideas.

If people are too frightened to answer their front door, if the only things they know are what they see on TV, if they see the A.L.P. preaching at them rather than talking to them, then no wonder Labour always gets thumped at election time.

If Labour relies on charismatic leadership alone it hasn't got a hope in hell. Charismatic leadership is always something that right-wingers will beat social-democrats on. The right have the media and the right are usually cleverer in their unscrupulousness.

The Left must rely on their greatest natural asset - the people. Consequently, people will support Labour only if Labour can provide (and continue providing) community neighbourhood bases where things can be discussed and thrashed out. And then Labour must carry out those ideas.

It is this sort of community involvement which anarchists are carrying out. It is that sort of involvement which is essential to healthy democratic climates. If the A.L.P. studied the behaviour of the anarchist community activists, the counter culturalists, some of the better left wing groups and some of the better unions, the A.L.P. would be a lot better off than it is today.

Shit! Even the Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses are at least prepared to do a bit of door-knocking to drum up support.

IT IS PARLIAMENT, NOT THE PEOPLE,
WHICH IS THE ILLUSION.



NATURAL BIRTH?

"They're a lot of women's libbers gone mad..."

Norm Beischer believes that the presence of the father at the birth of his child is likely to ruin the parents' relationship.

"And surely to God a marriage wouldn't be improved if a woman got asked to look at her husband's private parts while he was up in stirrups being operated on." (National Times Sep. 7-13 1980, p 39.)

The unfortunate fact is that Norm's a very important doctor. In fact he's a professor of Obstetrics at Melbourne Uni. Norm's attitudes to women as displayed in his words above as well as his attitudes to childbirth are symbolic of many things that are wrong with conventional medicine.

I am writing this article because I recently gave birth to my first child in the most fortunate of circumstances - at the Birth Centre in the Queen Victoria Medical Centre. The philosophy of the Birth Centre is that the wishes of the parents should be fulfilled as far as is possible in the most relaxed and informal setting. For the period of the pregnancy the woman attends the centre for all her ante-natal check ups. Her partner is actively welcomed at all times. Both parents also attend a series of classes where the stages of labour, birth and early child care are exhaustively discussed. Consequently the time of the birth the father is unlikely to be horrified by the experience. In fact his active involvement along with the mother and the midwife is far more likely to make the birth an exhilarating if tiring experience.

In recent decades Obstetrics has been under the control of a handful of predominantly male doctors, who like all doctors have been filtered through the effective class system of medical school. If a doctor doesn't start off money and power hungry then there is a good chance he will end up that way. Doctors have successfully mystified medicine to such a degree that Australians have an exaggerated respect for their healing powers. (backed by major pharmaceutical companies).

A significant detail. The midwives at the Birth Centre take the patient's blood pressure and tell her what it is (eg 110 over 70) and explain the significance of this. Gynaecologists I have attended perform the same act and react: "Uh huh" in a very professional voice. When you inquire they

tell you "It's all right - nothing to worry about." The patient isn't respected enough to be allowed access to information about her health. Similarly the Birth Centre has open access to medical files - a practice that should be copied at other medical centres. The patient is welcome to peruse her own history at any stage. Thus she is active in preserving her own health and making informed decisions rather than being "managed" by a professional.

Norm Beischer has a cheek. To describe giving birth as being up in stirrups having one's private parts operated on is to describe a dehumanizing experience. Anyone would think it was Norm doing all the work. In fact the woman is actively labouring.

There certainly is a case for the birthing process taking place where there is access to full medical facilities - after all, some births are difficult/abnormal and require specialized medical help. However women must be kept informed about their bodies and allowed to make decisions effectively at this most vulnerable of times.



HOUSING CO-OPERATIVES

I think it is important to encourage people to set-up and operate within co-operatives. This article is about one type of co-op:- a housing co-operative.

First, what is a housing co-op? It is where a group of people get together to collectively own and manage property for themselves to live in. No individual owns any of the property or has any equity so if someone leaves they take nothing out of the co-operative with them. This means that a new "tenant" just has to be able to afford the rent.

The structure of the co-operative can be chosen by the members to have,

- a strong committee structure where major decisions are made by a committee elected from the membership;
- general meetings with a committee so that major decisions are made by the members and the committee is directed by the membership;
- general membership without a committee where all decisions are made by the membership.

Obviously c) would work best in a small co-operative where the communication problems are fewer.

All this may seem like a bit of

work just to rent a place to live, so why do it? As I have already said, it is the tenants who make the decisions. So you are your own landlord and can jointly decide rents, what repairs to do, design of flats and houses, who can become a tenant, and anything else which affects the group.

As secure housing is the base for all other activities, the co-op can act as a base for many mutual support activities, such as food co-ops, child care and work co-ops.

In this way we can break down the usual property relationships and start to control both our physical and social environment.

G.L.



ARE YOU BEING WATCHED?

Many people on the left joke (and believe) their phones have been tapped? On marches photographers are suspected of being from Special Branch. Are these and other suspicions founded in fact? Now that we are into the season of demonstrations and marches it might be worthwhile considering these questions and also how the Police and Special Branch work in relations with left wing groups.

First they both come well prepared with plenty of information. How they get their information will surprise many people.

1. Most of it comes from press reports, reading magazines, leaflets and papers put out by different groups (like Treason!), all publicly available. All this is recorded and cross indexed.

2. All petitions, however innocuous, have their names and addresses added to the index.

3. People who attend "political" trials or give money in support of their defence maybe photographed and have their names recorded.

4. Informants are another source of information. Not just the paid kind but talkative revolutionaries who think they are talking about things everyone knows all about already. Police and Special Branch also take advantage of splits and factions to gain information from one faction getting back at another.

5. Mail is rarely intercepted when sent to individuals. Much more profitable is mail sent to left wing groups, bookshops etc. As we are all kind enough to put our names and addresses on the back of the envelope, often they don't even need to open it. If they do want to get inside there are a variety of methods to choose from: - a needle thin pen-light slipped inside, X-raying the contents or if they need to remove the letter, very fine tweezers to roll up the letter and pull it under the flap (though it can be difficult to get it back in). If all this fails they will just slit it open and use woodpulp to reseal it by baking.

6. Phone taps come in a variety of forms but can only listen in to your phone conversation. Contrary to common belief, clicks and noises do not mean you are being tapped. More likely evidence is long waits for a dial tone or the phone making "dinging" noises when no-one is using it.

7. Bugs can be in the form of a transmitter, or the present favorite



is to use the telephone line to carry the signal. This is much more difficult to detect as there are no wires and no radio signals. One of this type is the Infinity Bug. This works by someone ringing you up, claiming it is a wrong number but not hanging up when you do. A tone then activates the bug and everything in the room can be heard. If anyone tries to ring you up they get an engaged tone.

Demonstrations and marches provide a prime opportunity to catch the left together. Lots of photographs are taken. The contents of speeches and who made them is recorded. Names of people who appear to be ring leaders are noted. With the new police heli-

copter the addition of zoom cameras will make photography even easier.

On one occasion the Police used a press and TV lorry that was driven in front of the march to control the speed of the march.

Armed with this information people should be more aware of real attempts to eavesdrop or manipulate them at marches and challenge this.

if you agree with the idea of a self-managed non-oppressive society and would like to do something useful to help bring it about, contact us. We would like more people to be involved with the writing, typing, drawing, layout and financing of **TREASON**. Write to P.O. Box 37 East Brunswick or ring 5159534.

Why Revolutionary Anarchism?

Because people must control their own lives.

Because they cannot do that through a beaurocracy, their lives must be locally controlled for people to have a real opportunity to participate.

Because these changes won't happen through parliamentary reforms or any other kind. The people who have the power to change things through these methods want to keep that power.

Because revolutionary changes are the only possibility left. It doesn't have to be violent but there is no way it can be peaceful.

Poland

During the Polish Strikes the well known right-wing academic Frank Knoplemacher spoke on Nationwide. I wasn't watching TV that night but I'm told that he described the strikers as "influenced by anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists."

Of course, the Polish authorities have sometimes abused strikers as "anarchists, criminals and hooligans" but this means little. Certainly, the strikers demands as reported in the press were liberal rather than revolutionary. Two demands in particular sounded a bit reactionary if anything! One was that the "mass media be made available to the Churches", and another demand was that managers should be selected "on merit". However, even in the press we get occasional glimpses of a different picture... Workers cheered a strikeleader who says, "We must be the real masters of our factories", the official Polish newsagency refer guardedly to "anti-socialist forces which fan tension and cry out demagogic slogans", the Churches support for the strikers is lukewarm to the point of being comical, numbers of political dissidents are arrested notably members of a group called K.O.R. which stands in Polish for "Workers Defence Committee."

KOR was set up to co-ordinate defence and aid for the people arrested during the food riots of 1976. After everyone was released KOR changed its name to the Social Self-Defence Committee (but it is still usually referred to as KOR) and worked to promote "an active solidarity of all citizens against the constraints enforced by the authorities." KOR's membership is said to include workers, intellectuals and students.

At least one member of KOR was on the "Presidium" of the Interfactory Strike Committee and the so-called "leader" of the strike, Lech Walesa, is or was a correspondent of Robotnik ("Worker") KOR's newspaper.

So, what are the politics of KOR? In 1977 Adam Michnik, a KOR activist, wrote an article for the French paper Le Monde in which he described KOR as a "movement for democratic self-management." Later in the article he says that KOR "is not an opposition movement either, in the traditional sense of the term, because its participants do not seek to take power. They defend civil and human rights and want to extend democratic rights." The activist also described KOR as representing the current oriented toward developing direct workers' democracy. All this sounds like what we call "Libertarian socialism" over here.

On the other hand, a recent issue of the "Spartacist", a Trotskyist paper, gives a partial list of the founding members of KOR. The list includes pre-war politicians, left Catholics and even a priest. Janek Kuron, the man usually described as the leader of KOR., is described by the Sparts as an ex-syndicalist turned social-democrat.

members and talked of "independent self governed institutions" and "representative organisations for workers, peasants and artisans."

Other organisations exist, but so far as I can see they are all right-wing-clerical, nationalist even anti-semitic. A depressing possibility is that these right wing organisations may be just as influential amongst the workers as leftist groups such as KOR. It is hardly a secret that Catholicism is rampant even amongst the most militant workers. Edmund Gierek, ex leader of the Polish Communist Party, is reported to have described the opposition as having "anarchist and neo-trotskyist links" (whatever a neo-trotskyist may be!) but it is hard to find clear evidence of this. If there are Anarchists in Poland it seems that they work within groups such as KOR rather than forming their own.

Meanwhile the free trade-union "leader" Lech Walesa is already getting himself a chauffeured limousine and referring to the Poles as his "36 million children". First Gomulka and then Gierek came to power with the acclaim of the workers and were destroyed when they betrayed the workers. If Lech Walesa goes the same way then a libertarian revolution may become possible in Poland.

Sources

Solidarity for Social Revolution, April 1978. Open Road Spring 1978. Black Flag Vol. 5 No. 2 1977. The Age, 24/8 - 16/9. Australasian Spartacist, September, 1980.

... and that same evening Lenin's "thunder-like speech" shocks SRs, Mensheviks and even loyal Bolsheviks ...

A POEM FOR TODAY

It was crisis day in the central committee,
The party was hushed and still,
As a comrade rose with a question;
"Are we doomed to go down hill?"
The General Secretary made reply,
"If workers' pay more for the food they gnaw,
We'll all be home and dry."
"How true! How true!" cried the workers,
"Let's end this wicked strike.
We don't want a rise in wages,
They can stick it where they like."
"Thank God! Thank God!"
Sobbed the bureaucrats,
"There's faith on the factory floor,
We'll give up our power and privilege
And throw in our lot with the poor."
They abolished the police and army,
And ran with eager feet,
To give power to the factory councils,
And the people in the street.
They prayed in all the factories,
For the dispersal of the mob.
And Pope John-Paul astonished them all,
By getting an honest job.
Soon all the people prospered
And the devil became a saint,
And the state one day quite withered away,
When workers exercised restraint.
And the cities were filled with singing
And the sound of laughter spread
And hand took hand in that golden land.
AND PIGS FLEW OVERHEAD.

Reprinted from News from Nowhere Newsletter of the Freedom Collective in Western Australia. Write to "Freedom Collective" P.O. Box 203, Freemantle. 6160.

The Russian revolution accomplished by YOU has prepared the way and opened a new epoch. Long live the worldwide socialist revolution!



A LETTER!

Dear Comrades,

In answer to J.T.'s article 'In defense of anarchist revolution! I heartily agree with his/her criticisms of the present situation. We have to keep our groups small and loosely associated; if we have good communications between these groups there's no need for any larger organisation. Communication is vital and the highest priority should be directed toward self-sufficiency in this, above all else. Revolutionary situations can happen overnight, they are not the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. If they are to be fully exploited for their potential we have to know they exist. We can't go on relying on the states communications systems that would be blacked out in the event of a serious insurrection anyway.

I'm ready to link up with anarchists in my area too form an action/theory group as long as the emphasis is on action. I think theory can best be appreciated in practise. The trouble is if you drop out of the various reformist movements you condemn yourself to almost pure theory, the trick is recognising and exposing the authoritarian elements in any organisation yet still collaborating(!) with them in the wider struggle. We can't insulate ourselves from them completely. This is something we should be thrashing out now. How much solidarity and co-ordination we should have with them? As far as I'm concerned I'd like to see us involved with the Prisoners' Action Group. However, this is my personal hobby-horse and I'll leave it at that until I hear from Brunswick anarchists, come on out. I know your there!

love and Treason,
Matt Taylor.

A COMMENT

As a participant in the Treason collective I'd like to raise a topic which may be of interest to you.

That is, how can we as anti-authoritarians relate to working people through propaganda to the best positive effect, ie influence people to challenge the system.

It has been argued that as only 2%-10% of Australians are open to the Anarchist principle of self-management on an Industrial, Community and personal level we should be working to influence this minority and win them over first. This attitude has been reflected in the content of Treason and has been criticised as looking in toward the existing left-wing groupings instead of trying to reach out to reach out to ordinary workers.

Most people reading Treason would need to have worked in or hung around the left political scene to understand or appreciate the politics it represents. This is understandable since we the writers are mainly veteran anarchist who see themselves as separate from the rest of society. We know the reason for our unhappiness, apolitical people just live through it.

Even so, our impression on "ordinary" people can be damaging if we don't achieve communication on a broader level. Well, how do we go about this? I suggest not commenting on the intricacies of what other groups on the left are doing unless it is relevant to a particular struggle. This is very dull for people who haven't been following the politics of other tendencies and gives people the idea that they're not in the IN-crowd.

Use of left wing jargon might be unavoidable but should be kept to a minimum and used when we can't express the same meaning in everyday language. I know people who put shit on us for what they think is our heavy political ideas and then, in conversation, come out with anti-state and pro collective solidarity feelings. They haven't seen the connection there and this, I think, is an indication of a lack somewhere.

In the future Treason will I hope have a more honest, gut feeling content with people expressing their personal views and then trying to put them into a political perspective.

love Maz.

A STRIKE

The fundamental point about the garbo's strike was "if they didn't strike they'd lose their jobs." Noone but fools would dig their own graves by working for a boss who was planning to sack them. Waverley Council, a Liberal dominated council, wants to give its rubbish removal service over to private contractors. The normal sort of unsubstantiated claptrap was offered in defence of this radically right-wing position e.g. Private contractors would be more efficient. Funny, when was the last time you heard of your garbage not being picked up? (It's more likely to happen with private contractors than with council workers because the labour vs capital dispute tends to increase if the workers' future is less certain - which is the case with entrepreneurs.)

The most disgusting part of the dispute was the support given to the Waverley Council by the State Liberal government. Lindsay Thompson sent in the cops to break the garbos' picket lines around the rubbish tips and went on television to encourage citizens to use the tips. Obviously the state government is hoping for a victory for their colleagues in Waverley Council as this would encourage other government, local government and semi government bodies to sack workers and engage private enterprise. After all, this has been the strategy of all Anti-Labour parties well before Ayn Rand was a twinkle in her parents eye.

And what has the Trades Hall Council done? T.H.C. Sec. Stone and his opportunist sell-out union hacks have grizzled that "noble and magnanimous union" the Transport Workers Union might be put out of work if the Municipal Employees' Union (Garbos) don't end their strike. So the T.H.C. (sounds like some opiate of the people) recommended that all the garbos go back (except for the Waverley garbos), promising eternal love, support and devotion to their cause if they followed this strategy.

So where to now? Well it's certain that the garbos will win their struggle. A minor setback for Waverley Council and the Liberal Party. A major setback for the individual garbo whose debts are ever mounting. What worker can afford to lose a month's pay?

Perhaps the Union movement ought to start turning their Unions into giant worker collectives which could beat the private contractors at their own game. That way the garbos might lose some of their vulnerability as employees while still maintaining their union clout. The more business-people we put out of a job the better. Worker Co-ops and collectives represent the great hope for the working class. By organising economically we will defeat them politically. Strikes are but a defence of the labour movement. Collectives are the attack.



BAKUNIN ON ELECTIONS

Men once believed that the establishment of universal suffrage would guarantee the freedom of the peoples. That, alas, was a great illusion, and the realization of that illusion has led in many places to the downfall and demoralization of the radical party. The radicals did not wish to deceive the people - or so the liberal papers assure us - but in that case they were certainly deceived themselves. They were genuinely convinced when they promised the people freedom through universal suffrage, and inspired by that conviction they were able to arouse the masses and overthrow the established aristocratic governments. Today, having learnt from experience and power politics, they have lost faith in themselves and in their principles and in that way they have sunk into defeat and corruption.

Yet the whole thing seemed so natural and so simple; once legislative and executive power emanated directly from a popular election, must it not become the pure expression of the people's will, and could that will produce anything other than freedom and well-being among the populace?

The whole deception of the representative system lies in the fiction that a government and a legislature emerging out of a popular election must or even can represent the real will of the people. Instinctively and inevitably the people expected two things: the greatest possible material prosperity combined with the greatest freedom of movement and action; that means the best organization of popular economic interests, and the complete absence of any kind of power or political organization - since all political organization is destined to end in the negation of freedom. Such are the basic longings of the people.

The instincts of the rulers, whether they legislate or execute the laws are - by the very fact of their exceptional position - diametrically opposite. However democratic may be their feelings and their intentions, once they achieve the elevation of office they can only view society in the same way as a schoolmaster views his pupils and between pupils and teachers equality cannot exist. On one side there is the feeling of superiority that is inevitably provoked by a position of superiority; on the other side, there is the sense of inferiority which follows from the superiority of the teacher, whether he is exercising an executive or a legislative power. Whoever talks of political power talks of domination; but where domination exists there is inevitably a somewhat large section of society that is dominated, and these who are dominated quite naturally detest their dominators, while the dominators have no choice but to subdue and oppress those they dominate.

This is the eternal history of political power, ever since that power has appeared in the world. This is what also explains why and how the most extreme of democrats, the

most raging rebels become the most cautious of conservatives as soon as they attain power. Such recantations are usually regarded as acts of treason, but that is an error; there main cause is simply the change of position and hence of perspective.

In (Australia), as elsewhere, the ruling class is completely different and separate from the mass of the government. Here, as everywhere, no matter how egalitarian our political constitution may be, it is the bourgeoisie who rule, and it is the people-workers and (farmers) -who obey their laws. The people have neither the leisure nor the necessary education to occupy themselves with government. Since the bourgeoisie have both, they have, in fact if not by right, exclusive privilege. Thus, in (Australia) as elsewhere, political equality is merely a puerile fiction, a lie.

But how, separated as they are from the people by all the economic and social circumstances of their existence, can the bourgeoisie express in laws and in government, the feelings, ideas and wishes of the people? It is impossible, and daily experience in fact proves that, in legislation as well as government, the bourgeoisie is mainly directed by its own interests and prejudices without any great concern for those of the people.

It is true that all our legislators, as well as all the members of (State) governments, are elected, directly or indirectly, by the people. It is true that on election day even the proudest of bourgeoisie, is they have any political ambitions, are obliged to pay court to Her Majesty, the Sovereign People. But once the elections are over, the people return to their work and the bourgeoisie to their profitable business and political intrigues. They can neither meet nor recognize each other again. And how can one expect the people, burdened by their work and ignorant for the most part of current problems, to supervise the political actions of their representatives? In reality, the control exercised by voters on their elected representatives is a pure fiction. But since, in the representative system, popular control is the only guarantee of the people's freedom, it is quite evident that such freedom in its turn is no more than a fiction.

NOTE: This article by Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) was written in Switzerland, with specific reference to Switzerland. We have substituted Australian references in brackets.

