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HAWKE'S LATEST FRAUD

**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.

Like hell it is!

This government is so used to being dishonest that even its publicity stunts were a fraud. How many young people rang 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 export of uranium, in protest at the U.S. bases and the visits of American warships.

training

But the publicity campaign is really a smoke-screen for something much more important: the government's new system of youth training schemes. These represent a savage new attack on the wages, conditions and rights of young workers.

At the moment, there are many different schemes for training young workers. Apprentices, for instance, go to trade school and are supposed to be trained on the job as well. They are paid wages for the time they spend studying and the bosses pay for their on-the-job training, because it is the boss who benefits from it.

The government's new scheme throws that out the window. Young workers will no longer be paid while they train. Instead, they will get only three days pay a week, and nothing for the two days they are expected to spend at college.

But this is not enough for Hawke and his mates. They think "the trainee wage should be below current hourly rates."

Worse still, they are trying to re-introduce "junior rates" into wards where union action has forced their abolition, where everyone gets the adult rate irrespective of their age. This would

By
PHIL GRIFFITHS

mean a massive cut in wages for "trainee" builders labourers, for instance.

But if you really want to know what Labor governments think of young people, just look at Western Australia.

When the Western Australian Industrial Commission said it would allow companies to apply for permission to pay young people under the award, Labor did nothing.

When MacDonalds, one of the most notorious exploiters of young people jumped at the chance to cut their already miserable wages, Labor did nothing. It was a determined campaign by unemployed people and unions that forced MacDonalds to back down.

But then, the W.A. Labor government offered MacDonalds the opportunity to use the new scheme to cut wages far more than they had originally wanted! Not only that, but the Federal government will pay MacDonalds a massive subsidy for every "trained" they employ.

Here is how the wage rates compare:

Age	Award Rate	What MacDonalds wanted to pay	What MacDonalds will pay "trainees"
15	\$137.60	\$103.20	\$90
16	\$163.10	\$123.60	\$90
17	\$192.00	\$144.80	\$90

This absolute contempt for young people is no accident. As far as the government is concerned, young people are first and foremost the next generation of workers to be used and exploited in the best interests of Australian capitalism.

So if Australian bosses demand a more highly trained workforce, fine. Bob Hawke will see to that. If the crisis means high youth unemployment and the bosses demand lower wages, fine. 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 more efficient, productive and profitable tool of the system.

In the national interest of course.



YOUNG people marching for the Right to Work, in June 1983.

BLIND WORKERS FIGHT BACK

GAINS COOPS smashing a picket line of blind workers employed by the Victorian Institute of the Blind.

The workers were striking to get the miserable CPI increases that most other workers receive through Arbitration. To protect the picket line, some of the workers carried themselves to the fence of the institute, but the cops, with the aid of bot cutters, tore them away and dragged them to a waiting police wagon.

Also arrested that week were the HEF state secretary, Les Butler, and S union organisers. Their crime? Picketing during a dispute at a Melbourne hospital.

POWER WORKERS SOLID AGAIN

AT A mass meeting held in Brisbane just before Christmas the SEQEB workers showed their growing discontent with the lack of action of their officials.

They reacted with bitterness when it was put before the meeting and voted upon the motion and the fact demanding that the Electrical Trades Union set a national boycott.

It took about a week to get Roy Penman, national president of the FTU, to call the meeting. At the time there was no way the FTU was going to meet with the union's demands because of a 50% wage increase.

Penman's actions caused the union officials to be overwhelmed and the union officials were the last to be heard.

Half-hearted transport blockades of Queensland were held in 1985. The Federal Labor government would pass legislation which was such a defeat for the union. It was a sign that the union was not going to do anything to help its members.

For anyone who thought they had seen everything, Ray Dempsy, president of the Trades and Labor Council, made a grandstanding appeal to the union as the spirit of Christmas goodwill and reward the backbreaking SEQEB workers.

Porters of course got their Christmas present 11 months ago when the TLU and ACTU called industrial action that would have defeated the Queensland Government.

At that time power workers had taken solidarity action making power black-outs that shut down Queensland industry. Great minds. No less workers, assistance workers, railway electricians and others had taken strike action - action which "Power activists" would "organise the government".

The workers who voted for Penman before Christmas also voted to raise new issues that were not on the official agenda.

FAILED LIB.
THE HAWKE government has been criticised for its attitude to the union movement. The union movement has been criticised for its attitude to the union movement.

The plan goes to \$102,159 a year - goes to \$102,159 a year - goes to \$102,159 a year.

Steve Carter expressed his disgust with the approach.



PRESSURE GROWS ON THE BLF

THE LABOR Party campaign to smash the Builders Laborers Federation was stepped up last month.

The Victorian government finally forced all the major building employers to sign its new "Code of Conduct".

Under the Code, employers agree not to hire members of the BLF, since the union has been de-registered from the Arbitration Commission.

The aim of this is clear: when the union is finally de-registered, simultaneously lost out every member of the union in a concerted attempt to smash it once and for all.

BL Hayden and Bob Have have been quick to get on to the act. The Australian Labor government is the only government in the world (apart from Israel) to back Reagan's call for a trade boycott of Libya.

While even extreme right wingers like Margaret Thatcher and the German Chancellor Kohl have come out against Reagan's boycott, the Hawks government has adopted its usual fawning attitude to US imperialism.

Whether it be US nuclear bases, US intervention in Latin America or attacks on New Zealand, but not nuclear waste, the Labor Party has proved itself to be one of Ronald Reagan's slavish supporters.

BL Hayden, who in no breath does it is impossible to organise a trade boycott of the South Africa, in the next days "It was there in the air" - the international boycott (of the BLF) would be staggering.

The boycott is staggering. What the press, Hayden, Hawk and so on don't tell you is that the international boycott will have real value for the Venice and Rome airport deals. It is not at the feet of Gaddafi, the Palestinians, but at the feet of the porters who scream "Terrorism".

For many building sites, this will mean a wage cut as well as an increase in the working week from 36 to 38 hours a week.

The successful organizing of the "Code of Conduct" represents a setback for the BLF. Some of the employers who have now signed it were quite happy doing deals with BLF officials.

The Cain government was prepared to use quite extreme methods to force bosses like Grolla and Heron to sign their union-busting manifesto.

The government threatened to deny them planning permission for new developments, it threatened to force to leave office space they had built and in desperation, even threatened to have Grolla's electricity, gas and water cut off.

When it comes to smashing a "refuge" union, there is no end to the degree to which labor is prepared to coerce individual workers. But if it's a matter of defending workers' interests, that's an entirely different matter!

Stake-up in P.S. Union

THERE has been a major stake-up in the NSW branch of the public service unions, the ACOA.

After nearly ten years in office, Secretary Barry Carter has narrowly missed re-election. He was defeated by Trevor Dempsy, the candidate of a left-wing electoral grouping called Rank and File Action.

Dempsy tried his success in reaching disillusioned workers with Carter. This included the height at the beginning of 1985 with the Queensland extension of the ACOA's long running wage case.

In answer to a claim for improvements for six years, members were granted a miserable 2% increase.

The only Carter was prepared to win by their own action is, pushed they look for other solutions.

In this case, the election of a new Secretary is seen as an alternative to organizing at the rank and file for a real fight-back.

RFA election material fits the mood by the members could provide a breakthrough in regard to agreements on the courts, they argued that they would do a better job than Carter in making agreements, appearing in the courts and so on.

What they offered was a left-wing version of Carter's strategy. The failure to argue to win by their own action is, pushed they look for other solutions.

BOMB LIBYA back to the Stone Age. That has been the thrust of the newspaper headlines over the last month.

In vain the deaths of a Palestinian and Vienna airports there has been mounting pressure over "terrorism". Every newspaper headline by spigotted "revs" on the "terrorism".

A leading US Congressman has called on Reagan to organize the assassination of Libya's Gaddafi.

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WHO ARE THE REAL TERRORISTS? West Beirut after one of Israel's daylight bombing attacks. Tel Aviv never looked like this.

PARASITES
 IN 1970 there were 100 million parasites in Australia.

Today there are 200 million parasites in Australia.

It is a document just released by the Minister for Social Security, Phillip Rask, which "blows a trumpet".

It appears that these millionaires, who are one-third of 1 per cent of the population, control 90 per cent of the country's wealth.

As yet, it is not in this country, mainly, according to the report's findings.

This wealth could be used to improve the living standards of the mass of the Australian population. It is used to build high-tech

on schools or new high-tech buildings in the third world.

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THE BARBARIAN



JOH Blake Peterson's appalling record of attacking civil liberties is now to review.

He added a new feather to his cap just before Christmas by sending police in uniform cheap to stop Santa Claus from descending on the Queen St. Mall.

In early October twelve people were arrested in the Mall for protesting at the presence of a US warship in Brisbane Harbour. A week later four were arrested for speaking in the Mall, and the following Friday five more for the same "crime".

In response to these attacks a rally was called for the 28th December in the Mall in order to try and exercise the right to sell, leaflet and speak publicly.

About 300 people, including Santa Claus, attended. Santa attempted to speak but was quickly hooded off by the police amid shouts of "let him speak." A number of people who attempted to speak were quickly arrested - some for the "crime" of buying a copy of "The Socialist".

The arrest of Santa generated interest in the Mall from shoppers in the Mall, so in the next morning's Courier Mail a reporter in destroying Zaret, destruction of the region and sweeping away the Arab flag.

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because of the havoc Israel and US imperialism have wreaked in the Middle East.

It should come as no surprise that there has been an upsurge of "terrorism" in the Middle East over the last year. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon by breaking up the forces of the PLO and scattering the remaining fighters all over the Arab world is being denounced by the Palestinian people to new depths of despair.

Many Palestinians youth have been merrily dispatched to the mainstreamed by the maintenance of the PLO ground in the Arab world. They remain like a rat in a hole, and they remain like a rat in a hole, and they remain like a rat in a hole.

HOW MARXISM WORKS
 The only force which has been able to contain their own barbarism, that is, the force which has been able to contain their own barbarism, that is, the force which has been able to contain their own barbarism.

WAGE CUT
SIMON Carter, the "Sympathetic" new leader of the ACTU, has agreed to a 5% wage cut in the steel industry, agreed to higher productivity, a no-strike deal and forgetting all day long outside the workplace.

For every percentage point a company that BHP adds to its profit margin there is a hundred dollars of unemployment added to a people.

The Accord was offered to workers as the best deal available. But it is a deal that will lead to the destruction of the steel industry.

JOH'S COPS ARREST SANTA

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AN OLD DEAL IN NEW CLOTHES

WHEN *Devil on the Cross* first appeared in Kenya, the government tried to suppress it. Its author, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, was detained without trial and then driven into exile.

Reading the English translation you can see why. The novel is one of the most powerful and bitter attacks on a ruling class ever written on the continent. Like Ngugi's workbooks for example, *Devil on the Cross* is dominated by two main themes. One is the great Mau Mau

rebellion of the 1950s, the heroic peasant war against British colonial rule which brought down Kenya's independence.

The other is the betrayal of that struggle by the rulers of the new Kenya. In the main, because they have not been the Kenyan masses but a new black bourgeoisie.

The freedom struggle was dominated by the Kikuyu peasant class. It fought the land issue from within by white settlers. But the land reform after independence brought out the smaller white and transferred their farms to African capitalists. Many of them are closely allied

to the ruling party, KANU. The big plantations and the mining heights of finance and industry are still controlled by the institutions which have made Kenya one of their main centers of operation in Africa.

Ngugi sums this up in an image. His chief character, Wainaina, is disturbed by a roaring nightmarish dream in which he is surrounded by a crowd of black people dressed in red. "After three days there came another dream in which the white men who killed the Devil down from the Cross. And they knelt down before him, and they prayed to him in loud voices."

IS HE REALLY A ...

BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN

is still a member of the American Steelworkers Union. His first band was called Steel Mill. At a British concert, in 1964 he donated \$16,000 to the striking coal miners. He donated money to union food banks in the States. When Ronald Reagan was elected he expressed his admiration for him. Springsteen was heard to say that it wasn't

in Springsteen's later songs the sense of loneliness, hardship and despair, a deteriorating society eats into the fabric of individual lives, the booming which is easy escape of the highway is less prominent.

As Springsteen puts it: "Born to Run was a spiritual record in dealing with values. And then Nebraska was about the breakdown of all those values, of all those things. It was kind of about a spiritual crisis in which man is left alone. It's like he has nothing left to tie him into society any more."

He's isolated from the government, isolated from his job, isolated from his family... isolated from his friends. That's what the record is all about.

Such a view has inevitable consequences: women are rarely the ones who "swish off the dirt, talking about the funk" in preparation for going out to work. It's all time. Time after time they feature as yet another means of escape, just life beyond the rack of the factory.

The songs simply reproduce the predominant view of women: "I've been working real hard trying to get my hands clean. Tonight we'll drink that dirty road and get it all away. You buy you a gold ring and a pretty dress of mine, but just one kiss will get those things for you."

All this of course is without saying the obvious: Springsteen's where it is today prominently has to be put in the form of CBS promoted him. And Springsteen's songs which he always professes to have written are really a product of the "new New York" (not just) that is in the air, which really broke Springsteen worldwide — "Born to Run" — was given a massive publicity burst.

being him to give them a peevish list of rebels of countering. "And they before began to say, and they stood up and began to talk towards Wainaina laughing and at the end of this large bellows which had now inherited all the evils of this world."

Ngugi's main target is these big-bellied blacks in suits, the new Kenyan capitalists.

The climax of the book is "a conversation to reflect seven years of the modern history of Kenya." One capitalist comes forward after another to boast before the panel of Western judges about his feats in

exploiting Kenyan workers and peasants. "I've seen the future of rock and roll, and its change, change, hereism as a matter of fact. Springsteen's music is anything but futuristic. It is faithful in spirit as well as in form to a formula that was perfected by Chuck Berry."

Ngugi's view of its basic rock and roll foundations, in spite of the often melodramatic lyrics. Springsteen's music commands respect because it is a worker's music.

In a world with the plague and the phony Springsteen music. He talks with an authority and compassion, not about the individual, but about what is there of three waning pulses to use today, but about problems and escapes which are a romanticized picture of those who surround his audience.

It is a quality which has not eluded the attention of the establishment. Springsteen's home state, New Jersey, adopted "Born to Run" as its youth anthem. The New Jersey Legislature had this to say: "He has invested their commonwealth lives, their Saturday night adventures, their sexual and religious highway moments with all the significance of rock and roll myth... His music has done more than any Chamber of Commerce promotion committee could do."

The fact that it is a romanticized picture is vital. It is the element of idealization which makes Springsteen's music so effective by listening to him. Few will say he's the concert, jump into the bus, "32 Ford and speed away from it all down Thunder Road."

In the morning it will be back to work with the fading memory of someone who sang of an escape with which they can identify. A vicarious pleasure twice removed. And passive with it.

So, should we be grateful for a spirit of energetic rock borrowed from two generations before us, perhaps we should view them as applied lyrics which show sympathy? Well, if the alternative is to give the philosophy a better hearing, "War is stupid. People are stupid" — yet perhaps we should.

And undoubtedly, a performer who is committed enough to do more than go through the poses and collect the ticket money is a welcome exception.

But when Springsteen says, "I've been working real hard trying to get my hands clean. Tonight we'll drink that dirty road and get it all away. You buy you a gold ring and a pretty dress of mine, but just one kiss will get those things for you."

It is in this simple sense, it obscures the fact that Springsteen's music is the question of the alienation and despair of the modern working class. He demands that we be more critical of his solution than that of leaver writers.

There's a study in the music world which suggests that the Simon Carter and Meibourne was a good example.

lies in Ngugi's tendency to exaggerate the continuity between the trial war against British colonialism and the present day struggle.

He doesn't see clearly enough that Kenya capitalism can only be overturned by the modern working class which it created.

The great teachers and students who confront the Devil come from the streets, and not the book are cardboard cut-outs, not real people.

The novel is written in a language which mingles the rhetoric of traditional peasant story-telling, and the religious imagery of the New Testament. These facts Ngugi's attempt to reach beyond the narrow boundaries of the African man of letters, as does his

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...good intentions.

IN 1984 Australia was rocked by a wave of racist filth. The liberal consensus that had papered over the cracks of white Australia was ripped away.

Tiny groups of neo-fascists like National Action gave the contours of the new Australia. David on the East and Melbourne were festooned with racist posters and graffiti.

Many of the ACTU's would never sleep to a music solution to unemployment. There seems to be an assumption that enlightenment comes from a couple of generations living next door to migrants.

All of this occurred as a result of a speech made in Warrambool (Vic) to a rotary dinner by Geoffrey Blainey, Professor of History at Melbourne University.

Geoffrey Blainey's attack on Asian immigration unleashed an extraordinary amount of public comment. "Surrender Australia" lists more than 500 articles in newspapers and magazines over a five-month period in 1984.

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teach yourself marxism

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IS Conference 1986

1986 is a summary of the industrial and political report prepared for the 1986 conference of the International Socialist Movement by John Paine, a member of the IS National Executive.

FOR SOCIALISTS the last three years since Bob Hawke was elected have been extremely difficult. Politics in Australia have moved decidedly to the right.

But just as important has been the passivity with which Hawke's attacks have been accepted.

The need of tactics has plummeted as the number of demonstrators has fallen. These days the only pickets are on the streets of Australian cities. The only question is whether that picketing is done by the workers or the bosses.

For some people in Australia, the past year has been a good one. With the economy growing at 5% per

annum, and profits up 50-70% to record previous levels, Australian bosses have enjoyed a prosperity unknown to most of their fellow-workers overseas.

But the wealth of BHP (572 million profit last year) does not reflect an increase in living standards for all Australians, or a return to long-term boom conditions.

The bosses themselves have little confidence in that own system that is not investing their massive profits back into it - capital investment last year was less than in the resources boom of 1980-81.

The good fortune of the bosses has been bought at the expense of those who produce the wealth in the first place - Australian workers. By the majority of the population, the past

three years have been the worst in preparation for when the economy starts to wind down again.

The ALP government has made sure workers were not to get a week that all the benefits of the economy have gone to the ruling class. Just compare their "success" for the 17% wage rise during the resources boom over 1984.

The Accord Mark II, which includes a 2% discounting of the next national wage case, is a further tightening of the screws. Hawke knows who calls the shots, so when the bosses started whinging about the falling dollar, tighter wage controls were the answer.

The ALP's move to the right on a range of issues stems from the same source, whether it is uranium policy,

cheating the working class of even more of the value they produce. The money that will be going into their pockets will be going into the pockets of the new class of highly-productive workers working harder and faster. Their bourgeois economic reform is designed to allow for productivity till July this year, but to be cut on the 1st of August.

However it may be cut so much that the year as a whole ends up as a deal slightly off in the bank by the deal weight of the union bureaucracy. While union officials do doubt plans for role, other factors have been at work in determining how little the officials and the Accord have been challenged.

The fact that the strike figures since 1981 have been the lowest since last 1960 has meant most workers do not have any experience of struggle, much less of struggles that win.

Therefore even when action has taken place, a passivity that is born of a lack of confidence by workers in their own strength has been the hallmark.

At the same time as NSW psychics, nurses threw out two official recommendations to go back to work, they failed to initiate any independent action such as pickets and solidarity action that could have won their strike.

So that while the minority who want to fight can sometimes win the majority in action (as they did in the postal dispute in NSW last October), they are not holding them in the face of the combined opposition of the officials and government (let alone the bosses).

Offering financial and moral support to passivity on another side as well. While militants may depise their officials for their lack of fight, they come to rely on them more and more.

Sometimes this depise that the rank and file will never be able to achieve anything, flows over into recalcitrance. The idea that getting nice officials will improve the situation (see story on ACOA election, page 10).

As far as the union officials are concerned, all these features are signs of the success of the Accord. In fact, each one paves the way for a more successful policy by Labor or the combined opposition of the officials and government (let alone the bosses).

options

And those options are beginning to change. If the Accord paves the way for a more successful policy by Labor or the combined opposition of the officials and government (let alone the bosses).

For the time being, however, the ALP government has made sure workers were not to get a week that all the benefits of the economy have gone to the ruling class. Just compare their "success" for the 17% wage rise during the resources boom over 1984.

The Accord Mark II, which includes a 2% discounting of the next national wage case, is a further tightening of the screws. Hawke knows who calls the shots, so when the bosses started whinging about the falling dollar, tighter wage controls were the answer.

The fact that the strike figures since 1981 have been the lowest since last 1960 has meant most workers do not have any experience of struggle, much less of struggles that win.

Therefore even when action has taken place, a passivity that is born of a lack of confidence by workers in their own strength has been the hallmark.

At the same time as NSW psychics, nurses threw out two official recommendations to go back to work, they failed to initiate any independent action such as pickets and solidarity action that could have won their strike.

So that while the minority who want to fight can sometimes win the majority in action (as they did in the postal dispute in NSW last October), they are not holding them in the face of the combined opposition of the officials and government (let alone the bosses).

International Socialists Conference '86

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS WAS HELD AT THE FIRST WEEKEND OF JANUARY IN MELBOURNE.

Annually conferences provide an opportunity for the organising committee to report on the work of the previous year, and to assess the prospects for the coming year.

By sharing the experiences of the different branches and generalising from the various lessons members have learnt, we are able to go forward into the new year with a clearer understanding of the tasks that face us.

future

The whole of Saturday therefore was spent reviewing our work and the prospects for the immediate future.

There were sessions on the state of the class struggle today and tomorrow.

Make 1986 a Good Year!

MAXISTS don't just read books about revolutions we organise to make them happen.

It is with this mind that *Socialist Worker*, the newspaper of the British Socialist Workers Party, has published the **1986 Socialist Diary**.

The diary contains chronological information of interest to any socialist as well as a lot of dates and black pages. It will tell you what great events, revolutions, famines etc. happened on various days.

But more importantly the diary is packed with politics - the year around the theme of the "Populists".

The idea of the Populist Front campaign programme in the mid 1930s, as an accompaniment to the Communist International, was to bring the rise of Hitler and threat of fascism.

Involved in alliance between so-called "progressive" forces - the Communist parties, the socialist and labour parties, and new left-wing organisations - to fight policies similar to today's Australian Democrats - in order to defeat fascism.

The Populist Front was primarily an electoral alliance. It was to be used to bring about the election of left-wing governments rather than struggle by the workers as the most important way to fight fascism.

SYDNEY

Sunday Branch of the International Socialists meets at 7.30pm on Sunday, 13th January, 1986. Tickets \$1.00. Bookings contact: 421 George St, Sydney. Tel: 229 2222.

Monday 15th January. This story of how a 1960's revolution nearly toppled the Blair Government.

The Rights of Education, 3 February. The original text of the 1960's revolution.

China 1975 to 1976. February. The programme of the 1975 revolution.

Britain and America 17 February. Film of the 1960's revolution.

MELBOURNE

Monday 17th January. The International Socialists meets at 7.30pm on Monday, 17th January, 1986. Tickets \$1.00. Bookings contact: 421 George St, Sydney. Tel: 229 2222.

periods such as today can become indispensable when the workers move into struggle in the future.

Conferring, as the title of our book says, with all our members as to the reasons of the organisation and stage a major educational task.

On the 1st and 2nd Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 3rd and 4th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 5th and 6th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 7th and 8th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 9th and 10th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 11th and 12th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 13th and 14th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 15th and 16th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 17th and 18th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 19th and 20th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 21st and 22nd Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 23rd and 24th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

On the 25th and 26th Sunday there were no less than fourteen talks on issues ranging from Marxist economics, to the class nature of Russia, to women's liberation and lessons from revolutionary history.

CONTACT US

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PO Box 88, Alexandria 2015

BRISBANE

Uplands, 401 George Street, City 229 8212

PO Box 329, Woolloongabba, Queensland 4102

CANBERRA

GPO Box 1162, Canberra, ACT 2601

SOCIALIST RALLIES

SYDNEY

Friday evenings, 4.30-6.00 in the Austral under Melbourne heading to Central Station. Afterwards at the Trade Union Club & Free Press, Streetly Hill for drink, drinks and discussion.

Friday evenings, 7.15 to 8.30 in the hall at Bond Junction near Burns Road, and afterwards at the Trade Union Club.

MELBOURNE

Friday night, 10.00-11.00 in the Ballarat Street in the Bourke Street Mall. Afterwards in the bar at the Manor House Hotel, corner Acheron and Central Streets.

BRISBANE

Friday evenings, 8.30-10.00, King George Square, Queensland House. Afterwards in the bar at the Manor House Hotel, corner Acheron and Central Streets.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

Workers' Power

Workers create all the wealth in society. Socialism can only be built when workers collectively seize control of the factories, the mines and offices and democratically plan 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 the struggle 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 Labour Party we believe in overthrowing the capitalist system, not patching it up or 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 build 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 must support all genuine national liberation struggles.

We 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. Racism, sexism and discrimination against migrant peoples 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 workplaces. 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!

ROSS HAWKE



The storming of the Melbourne Club by the unemployed in late 1982. Since the advent of the Hawke government the level of the 1986 strike has been comparatively low.

...a working hard for a smaller return.

The Accord has allowed the bosses to reap the benefits of the ruling class. It has made it possible for the ruling class to have a more successful policy by Labor or the combined opposition of the officials and government (let alone the bosses).

Offering financial and moral support to passivity on another side as well. While militants may depise their officials for their lack of fight, they come to rely on them more and more.

Sometimes this depise that the rank and file will never be able to achieve anything, flows over into recalcitrance. The idea that getting nice officials will improve the situation (see story on ACOA election, page 10).

As far as the union officials are concerned, all these features are signs of the success of the Accord. In fact, each one paves the way for a more successful policy by Labor or the combined opposition of the officials and government (let alone the bosses).

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The Socialist

INTERNATIONAL

Incorporating The Battler, No. 184 February 1986 Registered with Post Office - Publication 97 002 40 cents

The first fruit of revolution has led to defeat and destruction. In the first a new depression rule.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD TO SOCIALISM

In the War, the Communist Party road has proved a dead-end. There is a third alternative. The revolution is necessary to free (and free) the people from the capitalist system. (From 13 Books OPO Box 18738 Melbourne 3001.)

Postwar struggles, 1945-47:

The workers roared in Japan

AUSTRALIAN BOSSES like to peddle the image of Japanese workers as hard working, loyal employees, not interested in strikes. This is nonsense!

by Brian Penrose

The Japanese working class have a tradition of militant class struggle to match any other. In fact, between 1945 and 1947 the working class launched an heroic struggle that threatened to destroy the ruling class, and with it the whole capitalist system in Japan.

Selling guns took over barracks, formed self-organising committees, and set up workers' courts in its particularly hot moments.

The unions became organising centres, sending delegations of workers to spread the struggle to other mines.

Mines demanded more food, and better treatment at work. The government was told that they had no spare labour in the mines demanded quick repairs to their home countries.

Workers subjected management, forcibly in most cases, to mass negotiations with the whole workforce. Collective bargaining that the bosses had always fought was being imposed on them from below.

In the heat of the battle more workers were taken, and many of the old unions set up by management and the state.

The importance of food to the economy meant that the workers could successfully strike to win their demands. But in other industries this wasn't possible. If workers struck the bosses would close the workplace down, the employment meant starvation.

So workers turned the schools and issued management orders. Then they took over the running of the factories themselves.

Between January and May 1946 140,000 workers were

involved in "production control" (as it became known). Another 180,000 were involved in strikes and in the "hunger train" that took city dwellers out to the countryside in search of food. In the weeks that followed the trains, turning and changing no fans from their passengers.

Metal workers who'd taken over their factory began making desperately needed building materials for the reconstruction.

The reason for this upsurge was the economic and social problems brought about by Japan's defeat in World War II.

Japanese workers were forced to bear the burden of the war and the post-war reconstruction.

Food shortages drove millions of workers to the countryside in search of food. Between February 1944 and November 1945 945 million Japanese moved out of the cities. In Tokyo, the capital, the population fell by a massive 4 million.

There were cases of people dying in the streets from starvation.

Partly this was because of a failed harvest. But also because they were burning food and wood and selling them on the black market.

Wages were pitifully low. A day labourer earned 100 or so yen a day. Yet the cost of a small bowl of rice was 10 yen and a bowl of soup 15 yen. Workers were reduced to seeing their personal possessions as food for their families.

Unemployment was rampant. 55 million workers were thrown onto the streets as houses closed down while enterprises at the end of the war. Another 80 million soldiers home from abroad flooded the job market.

Everywhere million people were homeless after bombing raids by the US had destroyed 35% of housing.

Despite their fierce resistance to these harsh conditions, the workers did not abandon their democratic ideas all at once.

Even the militant miners declared they wanted a free labour-capital relationship of equality between self-organising labour and self-reliance capital.

Their bosses were terrified at their law. They kept the bosses up to date about what was happening inside the workplace

DEVASTATION IN Nagasaki. The war brought starvation, mass unemployment and acute housing shortages.

and tried to keep to the production already established. The bosses responded defiantly. They used police repression, squeezed finances, blocked the flow of raw materials to production-control factories, and denied them access to markets.

But the bosses' attacks spurred the workers to break out of some of their concerns for legality. They had to take control of production and set their own terms, simply to defend themselves.

Production control could only survive if it spread. So they also attempted to establish national worker organisations between industries. A significant step for such bodies on a more developed scale had been set at the time of the Communist Party's formation.

In May 1946, at the height of the movement, no massive demonstrations rocked the Japanese ruling class.

The first wave of the May Day rallies then drew two million workers and peasants took to the streets



GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, US Commander and the real power in Japan after the war.

You had the irony of MacArthur, a man with impeccable right-wing anti-communist credentials, financing thousands of political prisoners—including members of the Japanese Communist Party.

MacArthur did not see all this, of course, out of a love of freedom and democracy. He served the interests of American bosses. They hoped that by setting up a parliament and electing the Socialist Party, and progressive liberals from the middle and ruling classes.

In early 1944 when the government workers proposed a national general strike for higher wages, MacArthur did a quick about-face. He threatened to use all his power to smash the strike.

From now on the US tried to strengthen, rather than weaken the Japanese bosses and the state apparatus.

Under such heavy pressure the union leaders called the strike of the militant workers. And the Japanese bosses went on the attack to stiff back workers' gains and to wipe out the independence unions and replace them with company unions.

The next time Japanese workers make Japan with revolutionary upheavals, the lessons from their defeat of 1945-47 will be crucial in stopping anti-capitalism and creating a society run by the Japanese workers themselves.

to demand food, democracy, and the re-ignition of the "Peace Minister".

The second was the "People's Rally for Obtaining Food" in Tokyo on May 19. A quarter of a million demonstrated.

And on both occasions large marches went to the Imperial Palace to press their demands.

The Japanese ruling class were frightened and moved more forcibly after the May demonstrations to crush the workers' movement. Two of the biggest production control struggles were broken.

But Government attempts to slash 75,000 rail workers and 47,000 shipping workers were rolled back through mass actions by workers. Not only did they protest their jobs but they also won a substantial wage rise!

This typified the period. The winter of 1946-7 was one of "trench warfare" between the classes, with both sides using and winning individual battles. But neither side could break through the other's defence to inflict total defeat.

The US forces of occupation had deliberately weakened the old ruling order. This was prevented in part by reprimanding the workers' upsurge.

Before the war, the police and local government organisations had considerable power of surveillance and control over workers and peasants daily lives.

For instance, during the war ration distribution, labour activities and the industrial situation. (Which controlled the majority of Japanese workers) were all run through the police stations.

As commander of the occupying forces, General Douglas MacArthur abolished the political police and repressive anti-worker laws and outlawed the powers of other sections of the police.

He set the schools in motion for land reform for peasants, the establishment of labour unions, 80% freedom for women, freedom of the press, civil and political rights.

the Japanese Socialist Party, which leadership supported local right-wing anti-communist elements, financing thousands of political prisoners—including members of the Japanese Communist Party.

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EMPEROR HIROHITO.

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Why haven't you got a job?

It's all my fault.

It's my boss's fault.

It's all the fault.

It's the system's fault.

It's the ruling class's fault.

It's the whole lot.

It's the ruling class's fault.

It's the whole lot.

It's the ruling class's fault.

It's the whole lot.

Philippine Elections: BEHIND THE SCENES

By Phil Griffiths

YOU'VE GOT to hand it to Ferdinand Marcos.

The recent Philippine presidential election was one long carnival of graft, fraud, corruption and intimidation.

In just eight hours of polling, at least 35 people were assassinated, including opposition politicians and members of NAMFREL, the election "watchdog" organisation.

More than one million voters in anti-Marcos areas like Manila found their names had been removed from their local electoral rolls and transferred to distant provinces.

This not only denied them a vote, but allowed pro-Marcos elements the chance to use their votes in the provinces.

On its own, this scam could have won a million votes to the old dictator.

In addition, there were a battery of laws all designed to keep Marcos in power. The Marcos-controlled Parliament is supposed to declare the result within 15 days. If it decided to investigate every disputed return, it could delay proceedings forever.

And then there is that other Marcos gem, which requires that presidential contenders have to have lived within the Philippines for the whole year previous to the election.

Since the Aquinos were forced into exile, like most of his opponents, he can legally deny his victory.

And finally, there is the sheer violence of the election, with countless numbers of poll-watchers shot at, beaten up and dispersed, and their ballot papers stolen and destroyed.

There is a virtually nothing the opposition can do to stop the fraud. The police, the electoral commission, the judges and thousands of goon squads are all in the pay of the president and all loyal to him.

And if, against all the odds, Aquino had been able to defeat Marcos in the vote, he still had the army behind him, ready to step in and suppress "disturbances".

The "moderate" opposition led by wealthy landowners has had its chance.

Political power does not grow out of the ballot box!

All hands on the ballot box!

INSIDE:

The dilemma of U.S. Imperialism

—p 3

It was totally unable to get rid of Marcos and his machine, despite the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the population.

This became political power does not grow out of the ballot box. It is held, instead, by the capitalist state machine. The police, the courts, and the army.

In countries like Australia, the state machine usually allows the voters to choose between Labor Party politicians and Liberals because they are all loyal to the system.

But in the Philippines, the state machine is the creation of the Marcos dictatorship. There was never any real chance it would let Aquino take office even if the did win the election.

The strategy of fighting Marcos by electoral means has failed, and this was inevitable.

The whole fraudulent exercise has shown, yet again, that there is no peaceful way to remove the dictatorship. It must be done by force, by revolution.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALISM
Capitalism is a system of class exploitation. It is the cause of the economic crises of the 20th century. It is a system of exploitation which is produced and maintained by the ruling class.

WORKERS' POWER
The working class has the power to create a society free of exploitation, oppression and class divisions.

REVOLUTION
The working class must overthrow capitalism and establish a socialist society.

INTERNATIONALISM
Capitalism is a world system. A revolution in one country will not succeed unless it is part of a world revolution.

RUPERT Murdoch will have to be one of the most shrewd producers of the Australian ruling class. Not content with buying right wing lies through his Australian media outlets, he long ago decided to internationalize his empire by attacking the weak unions in Austria and leading the fight to smash them in the US, Murdoch is in and out respecting the exotic in Rome.

Murdoch's right wing newspapers make more than half of his world empire's profits. Last year that was around \$120 million on the back of every worker he employs.

The British great unions have a tradition of strong organization and solid new workers in the Fleet Street have successfully created the Murdoch however it is not to smash the residence of the Fleet Street newspaper.

He has been spreading lies about how much protest workers can try to and justify his operation. To the extent that they are well paid workers should value them for limiting the extent of Murdoch's exploitation.

While ongoing operations going at the old offices of his newspapers, Murdoch built a massive new plant at Wapping near London complete with state-of-the-art printing presses and a new plant to put a U.S. national back to shame.

A secret Murdoch operation, carried out with the aid of the right wing (British) union has provided the workforce. And in the last weeks of January, staff divisions of the Times and Sun began taking off the press at Wapping.

Murdoch has laid down an ultimatum to striking printers that if they want their jobs back they must agree to virtual slave conditions.

There will be no recognition of any union changes or branches. There is no strike in any industrial action taken by its members. Anyone taking part in a strike will be sacked on the spot without any right of appeal.

Murdoch is clearly out to smash union organization completely. He is introducing the new technology just as much for this reason as for the savings it will bring in profitability.

And neither is Murdoch the only Australian imperialist involved. Sir Peter Abeles, Murdoch's partner at Affinity, and big boss of the Australia-wide-national, TNT, is also involved in the same game as he is ploughing through the picket lines at Wapping.

It's common for the elite in Australia to go about how easy foreign multi-nationals are.

Of course foreign multi-nationals are nasty. But the implications of Murdoch and Abeles are showing. Australian bosses can lead the world exploitation and union-busting.

In Australia, where the economic crisis is less severe, Abeles is a loud and enthusiastic proponent of the bosses co-operating with unions. He has had a long and friendly relationship with Bob Hawke. But as his behaviour in Britain shows, as soon as the crisis squerzes, he will expect Abeles to change his opinion.

Abeles and his mate in the Australian ruling class will attack Australian workers with the same ferocity he is now displaying in Britain.

By Robert Blackwell

DRIVERS DEFEND BUS DRIVERS

BP PETROL tanker drivers in Melbourne have been on strike now for 4 weeks to defend their jobs.

The 37 drivers, members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) set up picket lines on 14 January in order to stop BP getting their work for non-union contractors.

The drivers are paid less and have inadequate safety devices on their trucks. One driver told The Socialist of a non-union mate who had lost 'year in a tanker fire.

The specific work the company wants to take away is the delivery of petrol to *Fundal* Petrol stores in Geelong, which is one device each. But the drivers know that if BP gets away with it the rest will follow.

The picket force has now increased to 100. The last 10 drivers jobs at BP.

The strike has 100 BP petrol tankers in Melbourne, and has put an extra burden on the other strikers. This is the way to win.

The company has repeatedly refused to change its position yet the farce of going to the arbitration commission continues. The union has been in the commission 6 times already.

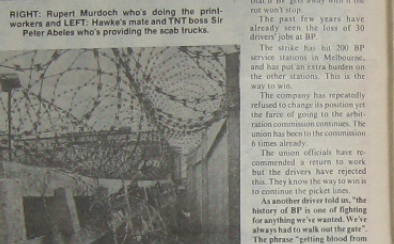
The union officials have recommended a return to work without any change in conditions. This is another drive to win to another drive to win.

"The history of BP is one of fighting against the union," says a spokesman. "We've always had to walk out the gate." The phrase "picketing" is used for BP.

When the drivers waited 35 hour week in 1971, it took a 17 week strike. But they were not content with that because it's not having State and Federal Labor government which improves conditions on the job but rather strong and confident workplace organisation.

Tom Onag

RIGHT: Rupert Murdoch's who's doing the print-workers and LEFT: Hawke's mate and TNT boss Sir Peter Abeles who's providing the back bricks.



MURDOCH'S scab fortress at Wapping.

How can the interests of the local community be protected? How can workers and small business be protected? How can the interests of the community be protected? How can workers and small business be protected? How can the interests of the community be protected? How can workers and small business be protected?

THE PRESS

free enterprise rhetoric, and going through the petrol exorcism. But Hawke's taking seriously about his OPEC is in fact the government's pocket, not the industry and no good capitalist would sell oil for ideology.

ANOTHER big loser will be our own Bob Hawke.

For a number of years now, the Federal Government has used an oil exorcism to match Australian oil prices with the level of world prices, even though some of production are at fairly low levels.

This exorcism income—some \$4 billion a year—has gone into the government's pocket, not into a reserve fund to pay for a major industry.

It would mean cheaper petrol—perhaps a couple of shillings cheaper. But it would also wreck the centrepiece of Hawke's strategy to win the next election — his plan for major state oil income tax cuts.

If we could show that a fraud tax issue will be Hawke can only afford to cut income taxes because of the state's rigs out of workers' pockets for satisfaction.

OPEC oil chief Shari Yamet

The whole business is a copy-book illustration of the scarcity of capitalist competition with the capitalists, not private companies. It's just a matter of how much they can get away with.

The only difference this time is that it's whole countries that are the capitalists, not private companies. It's a classic example of how nationalised industries are just as subject to the laws of the capitalist system as private ones.

So much for the idea, long dominant on the left, that nationalisation is itself progressive change — that nationalisation is itself progressive change.

We can't predict the outcome of this latest outbreak of economic chaos. Margaret Thatcher may well have to swallow her

ANALYSIS OF THE PHILIPPINE STRIKE

ONE of the most remarkable aspects of the Philippine election was the enormous mass movement supporting Cory Aquino.

Everywhere she went, she was greeted with incredible enthusiasm and joy by the vast numbers of people who flocked to her rallies.

Her final rally in Manila was reported to have attracted two million people.

And yet, when Marcos attacked her first by having a program, he was right. In reality her political platform consisted of just one item: *I am not Ferdinand's wife.*

But for the mass of the population, that seemed to be the rest of her program.

An Aquino victory would have given nothing to the workers and peasants of the Philippines.

Aquino herself is labourably wealthy and her backers are among the richest landowners and exploiters in the Philippines.

Her husband, Benigno Aquino, was always a loyal ally of US imperialism and defender of its military intervention.

As Governor of Ilocos in the 1940s, he was every bit as ruthless as Marcos.

The belief that killed this former CIA operative transformed into a major party leader was to symbolize resistance to the regime.

Her young wife Laurel is a former Marcos grantee and close supporter of Marcos for several years. She has a more than 20-year record of military and police work with Marcos.

It also explains the incredible support for Aquino in the western press. Even Rupert Murdoch's ultraright wing papers have vigorously exposed the corruption and ballot-rigging of the Marcos camp.

Last, but by no means least, Cory Aquino was the candidate of U.S. imperialism. The multinational, the bankers and most of the U.S. government were right behind her.

It also explains why she have distanced themselves from her long-time ally Marcos, we need to look at the roots of the crisis in the Philippines.

For the past century, the country has been dominated by American imperialism. The American granted independence after the Second World War, but still required the Philippine government to give them land for military bases as well as giving American multinational the right to unbridled exploitation of the working class.

This forced the development of an increasingly authoritarian and centralised state apparatus, which was necessary to contain working class and peasant struggle.

In its time, development of the Marcos regime, with its open corruption, its psychotic public policy, its routine murder of trade union officials and opposition politicians was just what U.S. imperialism wanted.

But the development of the regime took on a life of its own, and has now gone too far for the liking of the American boss.

Corruption was necessary to maintain the system, but it has become so necessary that it has become a self-perpetuating system.

Like the NPA continues to fight, this will soon pose a threat to America's vital military interests in the region.

The growing corruption and repression, the growing Marcos domination of the state machine.

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mean that his crimes were able to use repression against his commercial rivals by the ruling class. Thus, the ruling class will split into rival factions.

At the same time, the economic growth of the late 1970s, which was partly the result of massive corruption, led to new organisation and confidence among the workers.

A new union movement was set up in 1980 and is organising a growing wave of strikes against the bosses and the regime.

So, by 1982 there was a ruling class becoming more and more divided, a regime becoming more and more corrupt and resting on a narrower base ever base of American government, backed by some key Aquino, which were being could defend the anger and militancy of the masses.

The second was the assassination of Benigno Aquino in late 1983.

Aquino was sent back to Manila, from the United States, with the explicit backing of the multinationals who hoped that he could eventually replace Marcos and defuse the situation.

Instead, he was greeted at the airport. This confirmed the fears of the Americans and led to a massive flight of capital from the country, thus deepening the threat economic crisis, as well as triggering off the great anti-Marcos movement yet to come.

The American ruling class is now in an incredibly deep dilemma. They can see all the elements of a revolutionary situation developing without any sign of controlling drug.

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It is impossible to predict what will happen in the turmoil of the coming days. The struggle will follow the chaotic form. A rising tide of anti-Marcos sentiment will sweep through the country, as well as the top state and military officials are likely to be swept up with the Marcos machine.

This means that it will take a revolutionary movement some time before bringing even the limited democracy of a new bourgeois parliament. But a revolution against Marcos would in turn raise the possibility of the masses right-wing campaign of the going further, and this would be running more than anything.

Supporting Marcos is possible. At least he has an armed force at his disposal. Marcos has more chance of shooting down a revolutionary challenge of the masses throughout South-East Asia than Cory Aquino.

But the problems for the

CRISIS

JUST about every economic commentator insists that we are in the midst of a major economic recovery.

In one sense they're right compared to only a few years ago, more wealth is being produced, and unemployment has stopped rising. Yet just below the surface of the recovery, the vast pools of poverty, unemployment, and waste, which were the world's economic crisis over the last 15 years, remain all too completely untouched.

In this year of recovery, another 30 million people in the third world will die of starvation and related diseases. Food shortages will send them wandering through the cities of "socialist" Eastern Europe. The world economy may have broken out from the depths of its latest trough. It may have gained a slight relief from the agonizing spasms of its economic decay. But it is still sick. It is still throwing the figures of millions of workers in the west into the maw of unemployment.

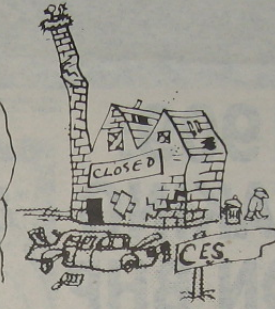
It is still roasting millions in the west, it generates from Afghanistan to Nicaragua. Measly starvation stalks North Africa like an invading army while food riots in the cities and warehouses of the west. Capitalism is dying, and as it dies, it carries a trail of death behind it as grim as a trail of blood in the tracks of a wounded steed. Our rulers and their pundits, the academic pundits, the writers of editorials, politicians from John Howard to Bob Hawke of these "free" and educated men and women have a simple

not to grow food on their land. The European Economic Community hoards up food stocks and stores them away. The EEC's "winter mountains" and "winter lakes" are a standing joke in European political circles. Last year the EEC spent some \$1.2 billion simply on storage costs for its surplus.

If the EEC's stockpiles were released, if the American farmers grew more crops, too much food would appear on the market, prices would fall, and profits in the food industry would disappear. So we see this certainty about contrast at the heart of all the symptoms of the economic recession, on one hand vast productive resources going to waste on the other hand equally vast pools of poverty.

On the one hand unemployed workers and idle factories, on the other increasing poverty. On one hand the new micro-computer technology seems to promise major improvements in the quality of life. As production becomes automated, workers should become easier and the working day shorter. But the ruling class use the new technology to increase their flexibility at the expense of jobs. One section of the workers must be sacrificed in order to bring hard a new, another section gets a zero-hour working day via the

SOCIALISM WILL NEVER WORK AS WELL AS CAPITALISM.



Parties and union officials have all forced workers to keep their heads down.

The great depression of the 1930s saw, initially a steep decline in strikes. It took one of the short periods of economic upswing, in the mid 30s, to restore some confidence. But as soon as workers thought they could fight back, strikes broke out in country after country, a general strike and a wave of factory occupations in France, a revolutionary wave in Spain, a strike wave in the USA in which workers built from scratch an entirely new federation of unions, the CIO.

CONFIDENCE

1918 was a great year of worker's struggle. And workers can go much further than just defending themselves against the boss' attacks. Every decade this century, in one or more countries, the working class has created massive revolutionary movements which have tried to build an alternative society.

The most recent example has been the Solidarity movement in Poland in 1980-81, and now the first stirrings of a new workers' struggle in South Africa.

The British miners' strike of 1984-5. The only cure for the ills of capitalism is its destruction — by the working class.



THE BRITISH miners' strike of 1984-5. The only cure for the ills of capitalism is its destruction — by the working class.

What Causes the Crisis?

THERE'S yet another side to the question of profits. Karl Marx predicted that, as capitalism grew, the ability of the capitalists to make further profits would decrease. Marx spent a great deal of time proving in theory why this would be so.

Today the facts speak for themselves. In the USA, average profit rates have fallen from around 22 per cent in the 1960s to 16 per cent in 1980, and in Japan from 24 to 14 per cent. Similar falls can be seen throughout the world, including the state capitalist economies of Eastern Europe.

When profits are high, the heart of the system beats rapidly, the monster jerks into life, growing and reproducing and earning out wealth at a rapid rate. But as profits rates decline, the system becomes more and more sluggish and dies.

THE GIGES OF DYING SYSTEM

FALLING

Behind, a modern industrial nation, advanced in technology, decided in 1980 with whole sections of industry stopped, and shortages of even the most basic goods.

COMPETITIVE STRUGGLE

Off course the workers and the consumers are the same people. Competitive struggle means will ability to produce goods to waste in the form of goods workers can't afford to buy.

INDUSTRY

In discussing the falling rate of profit, Marx argued that it could not take the form of a steady decline. Capitalism is made of the competitive clash of separate companies and nations.

PROFIT

Open a newspaper at the business section and you can find two types of articles. The first type quotes some boss who is not interested in making the sorts of capital investment in new factories, new assembly lines that would be needed to create some real consumers, aren't buying enough cars, washing machines, or whatever, so he can't make a profit.

The increase in industrial production has come largely through the restarting of already existing production lines, which can be quickly shut down again next recession. The huge profits have gone on takeover bids, on speculation, on increasing automation of factories, and in the USA, on financing a vast arm buildup programme.

And now, with the giant US and Japanese economies showing signs of slowing down, the next turn of the cycle, a plunge to deeper recession, is on the cards.

PROFIT

So that in Australia over the past decade, we've seen a period of recession in late 1976, the recovery in 1980, another recession with a "new boom" recovery of 1981, another recession with a "new boom" recovery of 1982, and the present period of relative calm.

It is this cycle, which produced the current recovery, not any government action, nor in the meantime, the other companies are desperately trying to cut out their costs to 50¢, but although individual bosses can race ahead for a while, for the whole system it is a race to disaster.

So, this jump in profits will

PROFIT

plunge go longer and deeper: the combi-shorter and halderer. On this ride a minority get all the thrill, but the majority just get motion-sickness.

But the Marxist argument is not that recession will automatically be a reason to fight workers' need some confidence in their ability to win. This is what's missing today.

The backing, the wage cuts, the rampans of Reagan and Thatcher, the cowardice of Labor



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IN RUSSIA, February 23 1917, women textile workers poured onto the streets of Petrograd to celebrate International Women's Day and to demand bread for their starving families.

Their food, deflated automobiles gave lead to other workers who would draw a behind a mounting wave of strikes and demonstrations.

On the 23 February 30,000 workers struck. By the end of the day 200,000 Petrograd workers were on strike.

As one witness said, "The working women, driven to desperation by starvation and war, came along like a hurricane that destroyed everything in its path with the violence of an elemental force."

"The revolutionary march of the women, full of the hatred of centuries of oppression, was the spark that set light to the great flame of the February Revolution, that Revolution which was to shatter Czarism."

The Russia of January 1917 was dominated by Czarism. It was a regime which deflected the feudal landowners and the rising capitalist class.

Police spies, priests, Secretan guards, and Louis Coussak took were the instruments of violence that maintained the Czar's rule. This whole structure ruthlessly repressed and controlled the lower classes who formed the backbone of the population — the peasantry and the working class.

In the country, 150 million workers, had the country filled the land would be one day the first. But their periodic, sporadic and their legal release from serfdom in 1861 had not brought them any closer to ridding their lives.

In the urban areas however a working class was growing and it developed a social and economic power capable of smashing this whole structure and freeing the Russian people once and for all.

The war had placed a heavy burden on the working masses of Russia. It took their sons, fathers, husbands, and lovers off to the front to have them senselessly butchered to prove the rick of the Czar and boost the profits of the capitalists.

It caused hunger and starvation at home as food shortages became critical. By mid-February 1917 there was only 10 days supply of flour left in Petrograd!

A Czarist police report of January 1917 warned the authorities of the developing revolutionary atmosphere among what they called "the masses of families, exhausted from endless standing in line at the stores, tormented by the look of their half-starving and sick children."

But the Czar was helpless to

deal with the rising tide of anger which in February was transformed into a tide of revolt. The troops sent in to beat the workers' movement became more and more unreliable. Strikes and demonstrating workers, whose confidence had grown through their actions on the streets and in the factories, stood face to face with the soldiers and argued with them. Workers appealed to these peasants-in-army and not to shoot their sisters and brothers who were fighting for bread and peace.

Leon Trotsky wrote that women workers were "more bold than the men, going right up to the soldiers, taking hold of their rifles, and virtually commanding them to join the workers' struggle."

Their arguments won over a minority of the soldiers to actively support the revolution and neutralized the rest who refused to fire on the demonstrators.

Head in hand with this vast increasing discontent at the front. The tide of defections and desertions washed the army to the extent that it began to disintegrate.

In response the generals re-introduced flogging. But not even this barbaric punishment could hold the army together. With the spreading of discontent the revolutionary soldiers in the ranks began to get a hearing. More and more the soldiers were won to the demand of peace at any price.

When the workers of Petrograd rose they were able to win the sympathy of a discontented army. And this support from the rank and file of the overwhelmingly peasant army was central to the success of the February Revolution.

The workers' movement had been well prepared for the revolution, even though it was a spontaneous uprising that took the organized revolutionaries by surprise.

Although it began on February 23, the revolution had its roots in the previous struggles of the working and peasant classes of Russia. These struggles had educated the militants and Lenin's Bolshevik Party had absorbed them in revolutionary politics.

When Trotsky asked the question, Who led the February Revolution, he answered: "We can answer definitely enough. Conscious and organized workers led it, for the most part by the party of Lenin."

Yet this alone would not have been enough to ensure the success of the revolution.

As Lenin said, "For a revolution to take place, it is not usually sufficient for the lower classes not to want to live in the old way; it is also necessary that the upper classes should be unable to live in the old way."

This was the second ingredient of their revolution — the decaying from within of

the other who was the changing class and within the army itself. The First World War had been dragging on for 2 1/2 years. More and more soldiers were being killed for a war they felt had nothing to do with them. Of the 15 million Russian mobilized, 20 million were killed, and a further 3 million wounded or captured.

Neither could it see its old methods of repression. The cities on the basis of the increasingly militant and hostile soldiers were being turned on the Czar himself and not on the people.

The impotence of the rulers to act led to feuds, squabbles and splits in the ruling circles. This only further weakened the Czarist regime.

Czarism became more and more a regime in permanent crisis. In the 2 1/2 years of war Russia had 4 different Prime Ministers, 5 Ministers of the Interior, 4 Ministers of Agriculture, and 3 Ministers of War!

Five days before the February Revolution the Czarina wrote the Czar that the masses must "feel your fist" — they must learn to fear you."

But the troops hoisted to make the workers "feel" the Czar's "fist" by shooting them. More and more the troops fraternized with the demonstrators. And at times even encouraged them with cries of "Peace harder."

By February 27 a whole regiment deserted to the insurgents.

Three days later the Czar abdicated. Russia was free from centuries of brutal repression from these parasitic rulers.

Nevertheless, though the revolution had educated the militants and the Czar's "fist" by shooting them. More and more the troops fraternized with the demonstrators. And at times even encouraged them with cries of "Peace harder."

Trotsky wrote that the leadership of the workers "proved sufficient to guarantee victory for the revolution, but was not adequate to transfer immediately into the hands of the proletariat the leadership of the revolution."

"These insensurate crowds have not clearly defined what they want, but they are saturated with an acid hatred of what they do not want — the Czar, the war, and repression."

It would take another 6 months of intense class struggle and a further revolution, in October 1917 for the workers to take power for themselves.

GARETH JEKINS TOUR

Come and hear leading British revolutionary, Gareth Jenkins speak on socialist politics today.

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Brisbane — Wednesday 26 March — "Parliament or Revolution?"
Full Details Page 3



MARCOS FALLS... BOTH NEXT!

A TYRANT has fallen.

The twenty year rule of Ferdinand Marcos has come to an end. Since the shooting of Benigno Aquino in August 1983, the tide of struggle against the corrupt and decaying Marcos regime has steadily risen.

By last February this year had reached the stage where even some of Marcos' oldest cronies, his defence minister Enrie, and the brutal General Ramos, were forced to break with him. They attempted a military coup in order to forestall the rising tide of struggle. But instead they accelerated the old's volcanic disintegration.

Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, came out into the streets of Manila to support the coup. The tanks and machine guns of Marcos were made powerless by a wall of human resistance.

The army began to crumble. Ware upon tireless wave of demonstrators broke against the barbed wire defences of the Makinban Palace.

Within days, Marcos, who for two decades had ruled over the Philippines with an iron fist, was forced to flee the country. Like so many dictators before him, Basista of Cuba, the Shah of Iran, and recently Baby Doc Duvalier of Haiti, he has been thrown into the velvet padded



THE WORLD'S TYRANTS

A DICTATOR'S LAST FRIEND

WHEN Ferdinand E. Marcos had himself declared the end of last month's presidential "election", he was rightly applauded by the rest of the world.

Even politicians as reactionary and stupid as Ronald Reagan could see that he had stolen it, and that this was going to cause "problems".

And so in the days after the official pronouncement, he didn't receive a single message of congratulations on the "victory".

"Well, actually, he did receive one. No, it wasn't from Pinochet of Chile. Nor from Chun of South Korea who has certainly learnt a few of Marcos' tricks, nor Israel, nor even Margaret Thatcher. And the South African president was only busy to bother."

No, the one, the only message of congratulations came from Moscow.

For many days in mid-February, Pravda and the Russian news agency, TASS, both repeatedly declared Marcos his "victory".

In a commentary on Thursday 20 February, TASS attacked Reagan and the American government for questioning the legitimacy of the election.

It laid out something about the "legitimacy" of the elections the Russians ran themselves!

To reactionary socialists, this vile and disgusting support for the most discredited dictator is no surprise. Russia is just as much an imperialist power as the US and just as prepared to back the most brutal regimes if it is in their interests.

Russia has nothing to do with socialism.

The power of the Russian bureaucracy is based on the exploitation of both its own workers, and those in the "domestic"

CZARISM CRUMBLES!



PALACES that had been the playgrounds of the Czarist aristocracy, became, after February, the headquarters of the Soviets and the socialist parties.

If you've seen enough of Reagan already... You ain't seen nothin' yet...!

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WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALISM

Capitalism is a system of control and exploitation. Although workers fight it, they have no real control over it. It is controlled and run by the rich.

Production is carried out for profit and not human need. Workers' interests are completely ignored in this system, which is based on greed and exploitation.

WORKERS' POWER

Only the working class has the power to overthrow a society based on exploitation, oppression and exploitation.

Liberation can only be won through the struggle of workers themselves. Organized independently of employers and fighting for their interests alone — a workers' party is essential for workers' liberation.

Workers' parties are essential to the task of building the new revolutionary movement. They are essential to the task of building the new society.

REVOLUTION

Under the Labor Party, we have seen the development of the capitalist system, not ending it or introducing any new system.

The capitalist class machine — the Labor Party — is a machine of class rule. It is a machine of class rule. It is a machine of class rule.

INTERNATIONALISM

There is no world system. A world system is a world system. A world system is a world system.

We oppose imperialism. End the arms race. End the arms race. End the arms race.

FULL EQUALITY & LIBERATION

For the liberation of all oppressed peoples. For the liberation of all oppressed peoples. For the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To win the political party, we need a revolutionary party. To win the political party, we need a revolutionary party.

JOIN US!

WE HAVE the bizarre situation in Victoria where the Cain Labor government is more militant about smashing the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) than some of the building industry bosses.

The Melbourne Age editorial of 13 February summed it up: "Thanks to the determination of the ACTU and the Labor government, the BLF is hemmed in on each circumstance. The unions' change of strategy is remote. Every unionist, every socialist must defend the BLF against those attacks. The union is not being dogged by the Labor government because Norm Gallagher is a civil and decent worker with the boss."

The BLF has been punished for helping the nerves to defend its members' wages and conditions, for doing so in a manner in these days of "boomness".

In 1984 it was the BLF who charged up the steps of Parliament House in Melbourne over health and safety legislation.

In 1985, it was the BLF who called for support for the dairy farmers against the state Labor government and the rich dairy. Early this year, it was the BLF who went to court through Melbourne against a nuclear waste disposal agreement.

It has been the BLF who have fought for the tip to pin wires



By Sandra Bloodworth

outside the Prices and Incomes Accord. The charges against Gallagher are simply a cover for Labor's anti-union activities. In the end the courts were forced to admit that Gallagher's job was illegitimate into bringing a verdict of guilt.

When it comes down to it the BLF is not about to be dragged down by the bosses. But because it refuses to abide by a much more arrogant deal, the anti-working class deal between the ACTU and the Labor government.

It has been the BLF who have fought for the tip to pin wires

MANY militants look to the BLF and know that if they are beaten, it's going to be harder for everyone to defend their own conditions.

Many are not happy with the Labor Party's attacks on the union. At the last general meeting of the Victorian branch of the post office government for its union.

The original motion referred only to the BLF, but this was amended to include opposition to the attacks on all trade unions.

One speaker pointed out the Murdoch's attacks on the British print workers were made easier because the British miners had been left to fight alone.

The motion was passed overwhelmingly. Now this kind of sympathy has to be turned into active solidarity with the BLF.

On 14 February, building employers began locking out workers who refused to lift union bans. The idea that the police will be needed to enforce the BLF was a trial run. Four hundred

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in the Picket Line

The Labor government and the building bosses began what they hoped would be the final assault on the BLF by backing 2,500 building industry orders in February. About 60% of the BLF's work was lost.

"We are not running a six-day strike," said the BLF. "We are running a six-day strike."

"We are not running a six-day strike," said the BLF. "We are running a six-day strike."

labor has set out to restore the fortunes of Australian capitalism by forcing wages and boosting profits, and the centre of their strategy is the Accord, which relies on the trade union bureaucracy being absolutely committed to wage restraint.

So far, it has worked. But not in the building industry. In a time of high profits, workers can reduce their strength. The BLF has used the building boom to extract improvements in wages and conditions.

It also denies the 18% reduction pay rise from last November to members of the BLF, and will help create safety standards.

Cain said publicly that he didn't care one iota that his threatened actions were illegal if it meant smashing the BLF, he would break the law.

It's not hard to understand why some bosses had to be bulldozed into signing the code of conduct at the risk of industrial action. Hecker corporation, headed by George Hecker, exports its profits to pension funds.

Nevertheless, the boss pile behind the Labor strategy.

They demanded payment of the 18% and payments for the time their members had been locked out. Pickets were kept in the city in Melbourne.

Food with the prospect of starvation in April, the BLF has other choices but to fight for its life. It can't just sit and wait. Nor can it rely on the courts to stop the bosses.

What will be needed to defuse the deregulation legislation is an alternative with real demands that all members see as worth fighting for.

And they will have to demand solidarity from all building workers no matter what their officials say.

If all the big projects, like Portland Aluminium Smelter, Jack O'Connell's Yarra Yarra project, the new Melbourne stadium, then it wouldn't take long for the building government to see that it would be too expensive to smash the BLF.

During the lock-out in Victoria the government tried to force the world to feed the world's population for most of this century. But all of this century, millions have starved.

But there is nothing natural about the world's food production. The world's food is produced for the purpose of making a profit. This means that the difference between full and empty bellies for starving nations is reduced to a purely financial question.

This despotic behaviour can be stopped by the international solidarity of the self-confident workers who fight against the bosses' attacks. All of which will be done up and left to the bosses, but encourage them to step up their offensive.

If there is to be a serious resistance to this offensive, it must begin with unorganised workers of the embattled building labourers.

Gareth Jenkins to tour



BRITISH revolutionary Gareth Jenkins is set to tour Australia in March and April for the International Socialists.

He will be speaking at a number of public meetings. These will include a meeting in Brisbane on the topic 'Parliament or Revolution' on March 26, a talk on the topic 'What is Revolutionary Socialism?' in Sydney on March 24 and on 'Why You Should Be a Socialist' in Melbourne on April 10.

Jenkins, a leading intellectual of the Socialist Workers Party, will also give a series of talks on university campuses on the subject of 'The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx'.

Gareth Jenkins has written numerous articles on the Labor Party in Britain for the magazine 'Socialist Worker Review' and for the newspaper 'Socialist Worker'.

He is also an expert on the current political situation in France and will be speaking on the French elections (which will have taken place on March 16) at the weekend schools the International Socialists will be holding in Sydney and Melbourne to coincide with his tour.

The weekend schools will be open to both members and sympathisers and will be held in Melbourne on April 5 and 6 and in Sydney on April 12 and 13.

INDIA HAS TOO MUCH FOOD!

INCREDIBLE though it may seem, India has too much food.

By Phil Griffiths

Despite the fact that three hundred million people in India are starving, a total for 1981 is expected. A total for 1981 is expected. A total for 1981 is expected.

As of December 1, 1981, the Indian government was holding 17 million tonnes of wheat and 75 million tonnes of other grains. It's costing the government \$300 million a year for storage.

And they're so short of storage facilities that millions of tonnes of wheat and rice are being stored outside, under plastic sheeting, where it's rotting to rot.

The problem is simple: not only does India produce "too much" food, but there is a world glut of wheat, so the government can't buy a buyer for its surplus.

Meanwhile, hungry million people will starve to death in the Third World this year.

We are given the impression that the starvation is simply a natural disaster — like a flood or a bushfire. The victims suffer the consequences of a world response, and the aid flows in.

But there is nothing natural about the world's food production. The world's food is produced for the purpose of making a profit. This means that the difference between full and empty bellies for starving nations is reduced to a purely financial question.

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poverty as well. They can't sell what they've produced, and so they go broke — which in India can mean joining the ranks of the starving.

In other words, people aren't just starving in India despite the surplus of food. Some of them are starving because there is too much food.

The Indian government has been lashed full circle to the point where an abundance of food is the cause of hunger.

And the response of the Indian government to the economic crisis is the same as capitalist governments all over the world. They're trying to make the workers and peasants of India pay for the crisis.

The Indian government has been lashed with a debt of \$4 billion. The government's only way of raising cash to pay off the debt is to get it from the people. It has raised the price of wheat and rice products by 24-40%.

When slum dwellers look to their streets to protest, Rajiv Gandhi had 2000 of them arrested.

The system can no longer feed its slaves. But neither capitalism nor the building capitalists will stop the building capitalists.

Instead they cling to their state-monopoly and slavery. This is an alternative to this modernism. And it is a workers' power.

Workers have the power to smash the system. They have the power to create a new system based on co-operation and collective ownership.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

SYDNEY
"What is Revolutionary Socialism?"
Mon. 24 March, 7.00 pm, 1st Floor, 42 Meagher St, Chippendale (entrance in Chippendale St.)

BRISBANE
"Parliament or Revolution"
Wed 28 March, 7.00 pm, upstairs 601 George St, City.

MELBOURNE
"Why You Should Be a Socialist"
Thurs. 10 April, 7.00 pm, Room SA, 5th Floor, 202 Swanton St, City.

CAMPUS MEETINGS

"The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx"

BRISBANE
Grimm University, Tues. 23 March, University of Queensland, Wed. 28 March.

MELBOURNE
CITY, Thurs. 3 April, La Trobe University, Tues. 9 April, Melbourne University, Thurs. 10 April.

SYDNEY
Macquarie University, Mon. 14 April, 1 pm Function Room 3, Sydney University, Tues. 13 April, 1 pm Cantina Lecture Room 1, University of NSW, Wed. 18 April, Mowbray Brown Room 02.

BRANCH MEETINGS

SYDNEY
The Socialist Revolutionist, 1987, April, 11.30 pm, 1st Floor, 42 Meagher St, Chippendale (entrance in Chippendale St.)

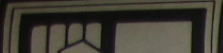
MELBOURNE
Party and Office, April 11, 7.00 pm, Room SA, 5th Floor, 202 Swanton St, City. All analyses of the meetings and will include talks on the working class and a revolutionary party.

WEEKEND SCHOOLS

MELBOURNE
APRIL 5 & 6, Room SA 5th Floor, 202 Swanton St, City. The school will cover the themes of internationalism and will include talks on: — The Labor Party — Trotsky and Stalinism. — The Left and the British Labor Party.

SYDNEY
APRIL 12 & 13, 1st Floor, 42 Meagher St, Chippendale (entrance in Chippendale St.), will include a talk on "France Under Lenin".

THE WORKERS TAKE POWER



IT is certainly likely that a revolution will involve some violence for the simple reason that the ruling class is not going to surrender its wealth and power peacefully.

For the same reason, to reject revolution because it involves violence is to reject the possibility of getting rid of capitalism.

And however much violence there may be in a revolution, it pales into insignificance compared to the violence involved in allowing the system to continue.

Capitalism is inseparable from violence and prepares it every turn. Thus we see the violence inherent in the daily process of capitalist production where the health, safety and often the lives of workers are systematically sacrificed to the pursuit of profit.

There is the violence of child labour, thousands of millions in poverty, and hundreds of millions to starvation in a world overflowing with wealth.

There is the violence of the military dictatorships—the brutal firm in which capitalism survives in many parts of the world, and the violence of imperialism which supports and maintains those dictatorships.

There is the violence of capitalism now which has culminated at least 100 million times this century and which threatens the ultimate violence of the nuclear holocaust.

Capitalism is a system driven, in the blood of its victims, to its own destruction. It is only too quick to condemn the violence of those who oppose it.

A short survey of the daily papers is enough to reassure that "violence is inevitably, but thing, and that only such



FOR the black workers of South Africa there is no question of a choice between violence and pacifism.

Do they have to involve violence?

It is because just such a process had taken place in the Russian Revolution of 1917 that the October intervention in Portugal was only a handful of men.

The Bolsheviks had over the support of so much of the army that the ruling class was forced to give up without a real fight.

It is also important to remember that revolution didn't begin with acts of violence by revolutionaries. They arose from the class struggle itself and grew when the class antagonisms in capitalism had gone.

They take the form of acts of strikes and demonstrations and are inevitably met by the ruling class with brutal repression. The workers' violence always begins as acts of self-defence.

LENIN wrote *State and Revolution* in August and September 1917. The topic was an urgent, practical one. Earlier that year, the February Revolution in Russia had given birth to opposing types of power.

The workers had set up soviets or workers' councils. The soviets were chosen by the workers and had begun to challenge the bosses control over the factories.

Each soviet elected delegates to larger regional soviets and within weeks of the victory in February a network of soviets had spread throughout Russia—the beginning of a new and more complete form of democracy, of workers' power.

Although the soviets however they remained the old organs of capitalist rule and some even tried to renege on the gains left by the October Revolution.

The army remained intact and fighting the First World War. The prisons had been emptied of political prisoners in February. But they remained in the same hands, waiting for the next batch of working class prisoners.

And above all this, ruled a "provisional government" comprised of those capitalist politicians who were willing to be critical of the Czar in the past. Workers' power, in the shape of the soviets, and bourgeois power, in the shape of the parliament, stood side by side, pushing the revolution forward in spite of the opposition.

Then, as one was going to win our "World and should the state be overthrown by the workers."

Originally Lenin intended to write a concluding chapter on the experience of the Russian Revolution of 1905 and 1917. But as he admits in the preface, he was "interrupted by the crisis leading up to the outbreak of the revolution."

Such an "interruption" could simply become a right wing. At the horrors of the First World War instead, he used to meet legacy traditions of anti-specific opposition to the war and to distance himself from the right-wing.

It is a shame because the war had been the left of Bill Bland, who, like Lenin, turned to fundamentals. Kautsky never recovered from his defeat to parliamentary democracy in the existing state.

"Democracy" in a parliamentary form is a sham because the transition to socialism must be made without touching the institutions of the state. The army, judiciary, prison and police force were politically neutral and could remain intact.

Lenin, then, based no easy claim to be taking on what was no longer be called directly, but required a power appearing to regulate conflicts and stop them from tearing society apart.

The state does so to ensure that it alone possesses a monopoly of organized violence. It is only police force, prison, special bodies of armed men claim to operate the state of society.

What Lenin sets out in the pamphlet is that the state is the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilable class antagonisms.

But in reality the state exists as the instrument of one class (the ruling class) to oppress the other, subordinate classes.

Why did Lenin find it necessary to spell all this out? Because opponents like Kautsky argued that the bourgeoisie, parliamentary state was an exception to the general rule.

Universal suffrage, they claimed, allowed the working class to enter politics, take over the modern state machinery, and set to work for the benefit of society as a whole.

What this pamphlet laid out was a clear argument concerning the nature of the state and the role of the political class, as this class was

Gareth Jenkins Reviews Lenin's Pamphlet "State and Revolution"

There still was the way in which "mass" theoreticians justified the betrayal. And the worst offender was Karl Kautsky, the "Pope of Marxism," who had once been a correspondent of Engels, and who was the internationally revered leader of the biggest Marxist party in Europe, the German Social Democratic Party.

Kautsky had betrayed the Marxist principle; he was supposed to personally embody by refusing to oppose the Czarist war effort, the outbreak of World War I, the overthrow of the tsarist monarchy as not a step to take as this betrayal might make it seem.

devotion

Despite his betrayal, Kautsky didn't simply become a right wing. At the horrors of the First World War instead, he used to meet legacy traditions of anti-specific opposition to the war and to distance himself from the right-wing.

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A MILITIA-WOMAN in Barcelona during the Spanish Revolution of 1936. The workers have to be prepared to set up their own organs of state power to replace the army, the police force etc.

violence of class antagonisms." That is to say, the state arises when antagonisms between the classes with conflicting interests can no longer be called directly, but require a power appearing to regulate conflicts and stop them from tearing society apart.

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needed a state with which to hold down their class enemy, they no longer needed a state to ensure economic exploitation.

Their direct control over production meant that a start could be made on production for use instead of for profit.

So Lenin concluded, it would no longer be a state in the proper sense of the word, but a semi-state, one that would "with away" in Engels' words as the need to oppress its opponents died away and exploitation by labour by capital was replaced by social cooperation.

The wealth of concrete detail that Lenin brings to bear on his argument shows exactly how workers' power arising out of smashing up the old state, can replace the first steps towards socialism, and eventually to communism.

Despite the long time we are living in, every strike gives us an insight of that power, we are too close to it will over the boss and workers' struggle to set up their own organs of state, democratic institutions in the class representation.

The message of the *State and Revolution* is not only to be heeded by the "revolutionary" but by the "bourgeois" Lenin pointed to us the revolutionary class difference, the actual experience of the workers.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS NATIONAL OFFICE
 GPO Box 14729, Melbourne, Victoria 3001, Australia 063 3090
MELBOURNE
 Fifth floor, 252 Swanston Street, City, Melbourne, Victoria 3001
 GPO Box 14729, Melbourne, Victoria 3001
SYDNEY
 First floor, 42 Magellan St, Chippendale, N.S.W. 2015
 GPO Box 88, Alexandria, N.S.W. 2015
BRISBANE
 Ustinov, 401 George Street, City, Brisbane, Queensland 4102
 GPO Box 329, Brisbane, Queensland 4102
CANBERRA
 P.O. Box 1687, Canberra, ACT 2601
 Canberra 061 467 6838

BRANCH MEETINGS

Our branch meetings are the most important part of our political routine. They usually begin with a major talk and discussion on some aspect of socialist politics. The meetings start punctually, and last a couple of hours, but there are always plenty of people who stay afterwards for more discussion.

Sydney Branch of the International Socialists meets every Monday night at 7 pm, 141 Magellan St, Chippendale (entrance in Chippendale Plaza 686 4664) for details.

In the Working Class Front—10 March, Dave Mann explains the truth that capitalism is becoming more and more hostile since what he *Third World Strategy* 27 March, why is there starvation in Ethiopia and why is it going to get us up there?

Public Meeting—21 March, Why is there starvation in Ethiopia and why is it going to get us up there?

Revolutionary Internationalist—24 March, Gareth Jenkins reviews the case for socialism.

Communist Internationalist—24 March, Founding in the wake of the Russian Revolution, the Communist International set the last of leading world revolution. Gareth Jenkins reviews the history.

BRISBANE
 Brisbane Branch of the International Socialists meets every Monday night at 7 pm, Ustinov, 401 George St, City, Brisbane, Queensland 4102
 Summary 1923, 10 March, The crisis of the revolutionary upsurge in Germany, after the first two days.
 Carlisle Bridge Way, 7 March, Russian long marches have been demonstrated. This is why and why not?

Public Meeting—20 March, Leading British socialist Gareth Jenkins poses the alternative to socialists—parliamentary reform or revolutionary revolution.

Canberra, Peacemaker or Warmonger? 21 March, What is the message of Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with the mass of Russian workers?

MELBOURNE
 Melbourne Branch of the International Socialists meets every Tuesday night at 7 pm, Melbourne Ave, 301 Swanston St, City, Melbourne, Victoria 3001
 What is Revolution today? 14 March, The situation of the world
 The Workers' Struggle in the Third World 22 March, The situation in the Third World
 Internationalist 10 March, Why is there starvation in Ethiopia and why is it going to get us up there?

Public Meeting—21 March, Why is there starvation in Ethiopia and why is it going to get us up there?

**Neither Washington Nor Moscow! 24 March, International Socialists meet every Tuesday night at 7 pm, Melbourne Ave, 301 Swanston St, City, Melbourne, Victoria 3001
 Party and Class, 1 April, International Socialist, Gareth Jenkins reviews the relationship between the Revolutionary party and the working class.**

CANBERRA
 For details of Canberra meetings, please ring Tom on 07 8528 after hours.

SOCIALIST RALLIES

MELBOURNE
 Friday night, 15th March, 9.30 pm, Melbourne Ave, 301 Swanston St, City, Melbourne, Victoria 3001
 8th anniversary of the Japanese sinking of the Marco Polo, 15th March, 9.30 pm, Melbourne Ave, 301 Swanston St, City, Melbourne, Victoria 3001

SYDNEY
 Friday evenings, 5.30 pm, 500 George Street, New West Sydney, New South Wales
 10th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, 15th March, 9.30 pm, 141 Magellan St, Chippendale, New South Wales

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PLAIN clothes police in Sweden — the violence of the ruling class.

THE PHILIPPINES:

THE PAST few weeks have been an inspiration to all revolutionary socialists.

The twenty-year dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos has been driven from power by a military rebellion and mass uprising.

We have seen the army split, troops top to bottom in the face of a massive popular movement, overthrowing the repressive power of the military.

We have seen for ourselves, how millions of ordinary people were prepared to stand up to the might of the Marcos army to stop them putting down the military rebels.

And we saw the soldiers here that will fight after the crowd had argued with them, telling them not to do the killing demanded by the diva dictator.

Last week in Manila showed the power of the masses to change the world. They overthrew their initiative and heroic movement all eyes who think that only the educated, intellectual elite can change the lot for the better.

But even in this situation were turning back the tanks, the capitalists and generals of the Philippines, along with the American government were working hard to try them from their victory.

limited

Part of the problem is the limited nature of the struggle itself. The military is not Filipinos who came out into the streets to bring down the Marcos dictatorship but to overthrow the government.

Clearly, the Aquino government will try to run the Philippines in the interests of the big capitalists, the landowners and imperialism, American as well as American. That's why Marcos and his family have joined Ronald Reagan in rebuking Aquino's new government.

But the workers of the cities, and the poor tenant farmers will resist. They do not risk their lives doing Marcos from power so that his family could return to "normal."

And what is perhaps worse, there is no prospect in sight of any recovery.

So what is a few wealthy landowners continue to live in luxury, while a few giant corporations still claim vast massive profits, most of the 55 million people living in the Philippines will be condemned to live in the deeper misery.

And it will be the job of the Aquino government, run by generals and industrialists, to keep the disaster under control. The economic crisis really created in 1983, which Aquino's son, Benigno Aquino, was the victor.

Salvador Laurel himself was leader of the Marcos-installed ruling party, the KBL. He through backward legal law and

only books with the dictator in 1986.

The rest of the Aquino government is dominated by military businessmen and Marcos cronies. There is no difference between the military and the same position under Marcos.

He will address vitriolic attacks at a social age, presiding the final crisis of the regime.

Enrique was Defense Minister right through the final period of martial law, from 1972-81, directly responsible for the suppression of workers and the shooting of picketers, and the orgy of torture and violence unleashed against ordinary Filipinos.

Army Chief General Ramos held the same position under Marcos for most of his year. He was personally responsible for establishing a massacre by the military of some 23 demonstrators on Negros island as recently as last September.

As governor of the central bank, Aquino was chosen Jose Fernandez, the man who also held that post under Marcos.

What can ordinary workers and starving peasants expect with this in the Cabinet? Minister for Natural Resources is Ernest Macaraig, the former executive secretary to Marcos.

Luis Villaraza, who was Trade Minister under Marcos until 1984, is the new head of the Presidential Commission on Government Reorganization.

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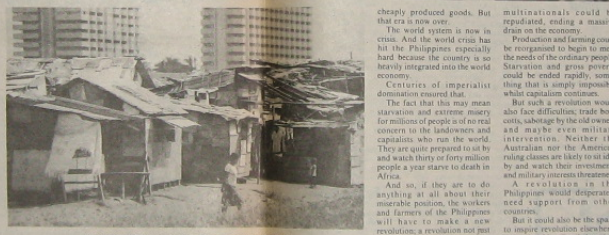
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A SQUATTER village in the Pasay sector of Manila.

few of them have prospects of work, even at a minimum wage. There is no social security system for the unemployed and with external debts of \$440 billion, the government has no money to fund one.

What's more, the landowners, the industrialists and the foreign banks are hardly likely to agree to their profits being taxed to provide for relief at all ports of "rescue packages" the IMF explicitly demanding wage restraint.

The foreign banks are not the slightest bit interested now in how their loans were spent, whether they were wasted or not, in the fact that they were used to make Marcos and his cronies fabulously wealthy.

All they care about is that they lent the country billions of dollars and they want their loans and interest paid back.

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The Rising Tide of Class Struggle

UNDERLYING the political crisis in the Philippines lies an extraordinary growth in the class struggle and the militant union movement.

The level of strike activity has doubled in each of the last two years, and the militant union federation, the KMM, now claims well over half a million members.

Philippine workers have been forced to organize and defend themselves in the face of the most violent repression since August 1985 in one crackdown alone.

Once again under a rising Austrian trade union delegation, "I will not see, I don't know how or where but will be kind soon."

Effective picketing has been completely illegal. In the year up to April 1985, some fifteen workers were killed on picket lines by company security goons, usually police or the military.

Another striking technique of the bosses has been "sabotage" where militant workers were tortured and then murdered and the body disposed of.

These brutal techniques are used by all bosses. One worker was shot and hospitalized on a picket line in Holland Milk, which is part owned by the Australian Dairy Corporation, during a four month strike in 1984.

But while this extreme brutality made organizing difficult, Marcos was unable to contain sympathy strikes, political strikes and general strikes.

A recent MOLE report compared that "mass action" (not longer confined to company level) but are broadly based and critical of government economic policies.

Four months in the past four years there have been numerous general strikes on the Batang Expanding Zone.

The system of export processing zones was set up as part of the drive to industrialize the economy and then export the goods produced. The government has provided special incentives.

There was also another general strike in June last year, in opposition to the Batang nuclear power plant being built by the Westinghouse company.

The strike began with a three-day walkout by 700 workers from the export processing zone and grew to include seven of the twelve towns in the Batang province, as well as a 43 kilometer march by 20,000 people.

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They only defied the government's strike laws, even to they were being held in mass to a military camp. This struggle opened a battle cry at the level of strike work.

By 1986 the workers resistance saw a new turning point with the formation of the KMM, the first of May Movement. The KMM organizes the militant unions in the Philippines, in competition with the right-wing TUCP.

The May Day rally organized last year by the KMM saw some 300,000 workers marching against the regime.

In response, 14,000 workers from other factories in the zone came out spontaneously in support, and paraded the area.

President Marcos was forced to personally intervene and agree to their demands.

The second general strike took place in October 1985, when the management of a British electronics firm, Acme, went back with a mass rally. The military tried to smash the strike, but targets and truncheons failed to break the picket line.

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AQUINO and Laurel: the Marcos dictatorship without Marcos.

Phil Robinson, Financial Review

ANTI-SHOOT police beat a striker on the picket line at the Artes Factory in Manila — after he had been shot twice!

66 iary

1936 was one of the great years of working class history. In 1936, workers across the world began to fight back against capitalist systems which had been exploiting and oppressing them.

But if the struggles of 1936 started as acts of self-defence, they soon began to give shape to the vision of a society run by working people themselves.

THE AMERICAN critics hated it. Lidded at the box office. When I went to see Revolution, I was expecting a sappy well-lubricated film at best.

My liberal film critic told me and it sticks of class. I was deeply moved. And could see from the beginning why the critics hated it.

For a start, the leaders aren't in it. There's no George Washington, Ben Franklin, Tom Paine. Instead there's just Tom Doherty, a worker played by Al Pacino.

There's a scene where the Americans have been whipped by the British redoubt. Doherty has his son throw away revolutionary army uniforms and mobilise against slavery.

The icon asks, "What do we do when the consequences of every working class drift in history."

From the beginning, the revolution is a mass movement of all working class people. It's not a small group of idealists.

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THE BRITISH arrive in New York having defeated the revolutionary army at Brooklyn.

part of American mythology, that is, "Stay close to the officers. They never get close to the rank."

No wonder the American revolution is a myth. Not like a myth - like a story.

I should explain that the American Revolution was a bourgeois revolution. It was led from start to finish, by merchants, lawyers and slave-

owners. For these groups, trade was everything. They were bitter about taxes and customs. They protested in the sacred name of property.

Their slogan was, "No Taxation Without Representation." In those days only men of property voted, and only they paid taxes.

Once these workers began to fight overseas, they drew in the urban workers. Merchants and lawyers organised the Boston Tea Party, but it was workers, blacks and street boys who were the backbone of the revolution.

Kinn's part is not that bad. She's a woman who's a fighter. But she isn't got the experience that she needs.

All-American women, from those who were working and paid in full work. They come from where they're all going.

The revolution in the Age and the Sydney Morning Herald didn't like the movie much either. It's just an American's a bourgeois revolution. We

state had to be smashed by a new workers' revolution.

In China, in the middle of 1926, he led the Chinese revolution to hand over their arms to Chang Kai-Shek and by themselves with him. Chiang turned around and butchered at many thousands of his own people.

The disastrous one day period of 1928 was his responsibility for the successful Chinese revolution, as even that would have been stopped by joint action of the communist and social-democratic parties.

With the new threat of Nazi power in Germany, Stalin then ordered a sudden reversal. Khrushchev's speech was told to all the communists, not only workers' party leaders, but with openly hostile communists in the notorious Popular Front.

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COUNTER-revolutionary loyalists turn on an evening's entertainment for the officers of the imperialist army.

They're independent of the elected their own officers, arriving in camp for battle and having no work later for the army or a roll in the bay.

The professional army, the "working class," were fought of the "drugs" of society - the Communist Party.

For the first time they fought the British army to a standstill. Eventually the French joined in to have a go at the British.

The revolution had won, and the victor was Congress, the executive committee of the rich. All this the film shows, often in vivid, unspoken images. Towards the end the army of the revolution marches off, jubilation in rags and tatters.

Two black men and women walk in the other direction, in slow silence. Behind them rattle a white man on a horse. Slaves to market.

The main aim of the film is the heroine, played by Natasha Kinski. In Hollywood films these days the women are usually stereotypes - Barbie dolls that talk. This has a conscious revenge for the women of the liberation movement.

Kinn's part is not that bad. She's a woman who's a fighter. But she isn't got the experience that she needs.

All-American women, from those who were working and paid in full work. They come from where they're all going.

The revolution in the Age and the Sydney Morning Herald didn't like the movie much either. It's just an American's a bourgeois revolution. We

state had to be smashed by a new workers' revolution.

In China, in the middle of 1926, he led the Chinese revolution to hand over their arms to Chang Kai-Shek and by themselves with him. Chiang turned around and butchered at many thousands of his own people.

The disastrous one day period of 1928 was his responsibility for the successful Chinese revolution, as even that would have been stopped by joint action of the communist and social-democratic parties.

LESSON

THE FEDERAL election campaign of December 1984 looked as if it was going to be one of the dullist in history.

Yet, as it dragged on to its inevitable conclusion of a Labor victory, a new political party emerged into the limelight and stole the attention of a sensation-starved media.

The National Disarmament Party had been formed only six months earlier as a reaction to the disgusting betrayal of the Hawke government.

It ended up polling some 600,000 votes, winning one Senate seat and coming within an eye of winning a second.

Today, however, the party remains a shadow of its former self, with such a promising beginning has shattered into nothing.

The dust had hardly settled from the election when a new NDP senator and Quaker, Jo Valentine, announced her dissatisfaction with the NDP's policy of unilateral disarmament.

Underlining in the demand the disarmament be carried out here and now, regardless of whether the latter side, for instance the Russians, have been disarming themselves.



Jo Valentine contemplates... her next? Or maybe it's her parliamentary pension.

There have naturally been many attempts to explain the rapid collapse of the NDP. Many have pointed to the party's original platform was not enough to sustain a political party.

There was one major problem with the NDP's platform. It was too broad, too vague, and too idealistic.

In October last year, the Victorian branch of the NDP, Martin Packer, and the Victorian branch of the ALP, Di Brecht, both announced their intention to leave the party.

Packer revealed that the NDP in Victoria had slipped from 120 to 18 in the six months since he split.

The stated goals of the NDP, removal of the US base and the ending of uranium mining, are concessions that the Australian ruling class will not and cannot afford to make.

There is one area too bound up with US imperialism and a huge US military presence in the region. Also they will not lightly give up the profits from uranium mining.

Yet the NDP insisted on playing the game of the ruling class. They relied on the media and parliament to bring the issues to the public.

By Robert Ballard

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THE HAWKE

In the 1700s Haiti, then the French possession of Saint Domingue, was the greatest colony in the world and anything it produced—sugar, coffee, indigo, sugar cane—all the English nations in the Caribbean put together.

It provided (more so as many imports for France as any other colony) an overall trade surplus as great as that of the fledgling USA. It was a source of wealth for both the decaying aristocracy and the rising bourgeoisie in France.

The basis of the wealth was an ever-expanding system of slavery: in the 1760s ten to fifteen thousand people a year were kidnapped in Africa and shipped to Saint Domingue. By 1787 the figure had risen to 40,000. In 1791 there were half a million slaves in the colony. Two thirds—single from Africa, as against only 40,000 whites.



SAINT DOMINGUE in the 1790s.

People who had been free in Africa could only be broken to the remorseless toil of the sugar plantation by the most barbaric of punishments. Whipping was routine. If that was not enough to break them, it would be reinforced by mutilation of ears, noses, lips, genital, or pointing of the nose as main arm of discipline.

By raising slave revolts slaves on fire or filling them with gunpowder and blowing them up.

As slaves grew to be an increasingly profitable business, they were backed up by an increasingly racist ideology which drew its legitimacy partly to free blacks and to mutilation—the descendants of white fathers and black mothers—even though some of these had accumulated considerable fortunes, owned slave plantations of their own and could mix freely with the ruling classes of mainland France.

But the bitter suffering of the slaves and the tender complaints of the mutilated seemed understood to everyone. The slaves came from different parts of Africa. They spoke mutually unintelligible languages, and so seemed incapable of ever organising a successful revolt.

Some slaves seemed to identify itself with their masters, killing over themselves and misting their eyes with gratitude during their flight. Others gave the appearance of complete

inspiration to the lot. Yet how superficial such apparitions were was proved the moment successful rebellion became an option.

As a ruling class to be it had internal contradictions. The very speed with which wealth, grown as an encourage them, was certainly true in the slave society.

The colony's government was a government, not of the big slave owners themselves, and they bitterly resented this.

In 1790 the bourgeoisie mainland France lashed out upon its bourgeoisie to seize power from the aristocracy and the monarchy.

Such massive disturbances at the heart of the French empire could not fail to shake its richest colony.

The unity of the white rulers was shattered. The big slaveowners raised the banner of revolt against the royalist government. The small slaveowners organised against the big slave owners. The wealthy mulattoes in turn rose to demand recognition as part of the ruling class, however much this might offend racial sensibilities.

The signs of their rifts ran as each other's throats, the inspiration that the mass of slaves needed to rise against them armed revolt against the plantation owner throughout the south-west colony.

As the best history of the time by CLR James says: "They were seeking their salvation in the metropolitan, the destruction of what they knew was the cause of their suffering. They knew that as long as the plantations stood there let would be no rest for them until they dropped. From their masters they had known rape, torture, degradation, and, at the slightest provocation, death. They returned in kind."

By kind destruction aimed to abolish the system. The white revolt to excite the first leader of the revolt, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and so a general insurrection.

However, any oppressed class always contains many conscious leaders, agreed to fight on the side of the oppressor and cowardly leadership to their fellows when the occasion rises. Individuals

THE FALL of 'Baby Doc' Duvalier has focused attention on Haiti, a country which under him and his father became a byword for tyranny, compulsion and poverty.

Yet once Haiti was famed for something else—as the one place in the world where black slaves had succeeded in rising up against their white masters and freeing themselves.

CHRIS HARMAN tells the story of this tragic island.

began to emerge that the other slaves would follow—Jean Francois, Bissoux, Desalines, Christophe, and above all Toussaint L'Ouverture. They created disciplined armed bands, the beginning of a revolutionary army, out of the spontaneous surge of mass revolt.

It took a long and bitter struggle for the slave army to conquer its foes.

At one point it seemed on the verge of defeat, in desperation its leaders agreed to fight on the side of the Spanish royalists who controlled the western part of the island.

Toussaint and his generals never raised the whole island. His rule was successful by the standards of his time. While others gladly served under him and former slave owners fawned on him.

But then it was given a further boost by the opening of the masses in France itself. In 1793 an insurrection in Paris gave power to the most revolutionary sections of the French bourgeoisie. And in a moment of revolutionary enthusiasm they declared an end to slavery.

The declaration combined a genuine feeling for freedom with a very clever calculation: the revolt of slaves throughout the Caribbean would make available the mass energy of revolutionary France, Britain.

The army of ex-slaves, with Toussaint in command, became an army of the French republic. In reality, however, this meant that Toussaint and his comrades ruled the colony.

Their rule did not go unchallenged. The slave owners fought a desperate guerrilla battle; the Mulattoes swerved between the two sides; and the British government saw an opportunity for establishing a new and a profitable slave-based colony of its own.

The revolt was minor Pitt quickly dropped his old hostility to the slave. He ordered 60,000 British troops to seize Saint Domingue. He thought the black army would fall apart with the first shot. It was one of the most disastrous miscalculations in British military history.

The French succeeded in joining Toussaint and separating him from France, where he died in 1804. But they did not succeed in removing slavery.

Desalines took command of the black forces and raised the plantation workers throughout the island to revolt. Lescarot

interests associated with the old slave trade were reasserting themselves.

Second, the wealth of Saint Domingue itself depended on the plantation system. Toussaint had built many of the old landowners to get the plantations going again, with the ex-slaves working under them as contract labourers.

Many of the blacks saw this as only marginally better than outright slavery, but when they rebelled, backed by one of the black generals, Toussaint himself suppressed the revolt.

Like so many Third World leaders since, he had got hold of political power without the economic resources to bring complete liberation, and so ended up attacking his own supporters.

Yet the old plantation owners were the most alive linking to the counter-revolution in France to bring counter-revolution to the colony too.

Finally, the young black state agreed in the 1820s to pay compensation for French who had decided to sack the power in the colony. This was the beginning of a vicious circle of debt which crippled a century later, providing the US with an excuse to occupy the country militarily from 1915 to 1939.

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Why haven't you got a job?

It's all my fault.

It's all my employer's fault.

It's all the system's fault.

It's the boss's system's fault.

If you ticked these 1, 2 or 3 you may need to talk to the Socialists at the Socialist Club.

If you ticked 4, 5 you are already revolutionaries.

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The Socialist

INTERNATIONAL

INCORPORATING THE BATTLE, No. 166 April 1986

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There are two souls of socialism

SOCIALISM FROM BELOW

THE pamphlet that draws the line between "socialism from above," that of the "leave it to 'em" reformers of the West, the anti-democratic reformers of the East, and "socialism from below," the living tradition of workers' struggle which has been hidden in the years of compromise and betrayal.

DAVID HEGALLY

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LABOR'S

Common Front

Against the Economy



LABOR'S Common Front Against the Economy

THE ECONOMY is "re-covering".

Profits are booming. The Hawke government is turning Australia back into a land of milk and honey.

So goes Paul Keating's rhetoric.

One of the kids surveyed described how, "when you've got visitors and they come in and you've got an empty flat, you really feel out of it and... comes Christmas and you've got no money."

Another described how "you can buy oranges if you're rich."

So, what do these kids think of politics and politicians? It is a decade made of their own life.

A more perceptive statement than anything that's come out of the ACTU in recent years.

After all, the Minister for Social Security Brian Howe recently declared that, "just throwing money at these people is not an effective nor an affordable method of addressing their problems. We have to help them learn to help themselves."

Such a statement would sound fine on the lips of Margaret Thatcher or Ronald Reagan. In fact it comes from a prominent member of the Socialist Left.

The reality is that Hawke and Keating's wanted recovery has nothing to do with helping the unemployed. We are being asked to sacrifice, not to help the poor, but to boost the profits of the rich.

The Labor Party is committed to running the system for the bosses — to reforming it from within. And so, instead of attacking the bosses, instead of working to smash the system, they end up attacking the poor instead.

Yet after three years of Labor government, pension, benefits and the dole have been cut. It is now inadequate that last year nearly half of emergency handouts from charity.

But cuts are to be made in the social welfare sector. Labor has the map of being the party that stands for the workers and cares for the poor. It is supposed to be a party of reform.

Yet after three years of Labor government, pension, benefits and the dole have been cut. It is now inadequate that last year nearly half of emergency handouts from charity.

Paul Keating — Kicking the poor in the teeth.

DOES LABOR CARE?

WORKING parents should have a right to childcare, but they won't get it from this pro-capitalist Labor government.

From April 1 children less than 30 per cent — up to 35% — will get child care. And the maximum fee will apply to the evening working couple's bus driver and a nurse (for example).

Families with more than one child in care are finding the increased fee beyond their budget, and a lot of cases the childcare are expected to face many months of waiting.

The carbacks will also erode the quality of childcare and the confidence of working women. They are already over-worked and under-paid.

A nationally organized fight-back committee from childcare services, and the unions have demanded the government change its mind.

The Lesters have included a day of protest with the closure of day care centres, letters to M.P.s, and picketing of hospitals, schools, and community service such as childcare.

As expected, this kind of action has come to nothing and the

WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALISM
Competition is a system of class competition. The wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few. They have no real control over their own lives.

Production is carried out for profit and not for use.

The aim of socialism is to use the workers' own power to build what the workers themselves need.

Only the working class has the power to create a society free of exploitation, repression and war.

Laborism can only be won through the struggle of the workers themselves, organized independently of their employers and willing to fight without compromise.

WORKERS' POWER

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REVOLUTION, NOT REFORMISM

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INTERNATIONALISM

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EQUALITY & LIBERATION

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REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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JOIN US!

"WE DON'T pay much attention to the Department of Industrial Relations inspectors but when a BLF organizer car pulls up, that's when we get really worried with our safety."

Over 100 building workers were killed on industrial building sites during 1983 alone. And it's only the Ministry of the Builders' Labourers Federation that has kept the death toll down in the homebrewed food. Inevitably, these deaths are caused by negligence and safety breaches of legal safety standards. By 1982, 13 year old apprentice who died because he had to work in a confined space in which there were no exits.

An Cole was killed when he fell through an asbestos roof. Cases accumulated provided no scaffolding or safety harness in

clear breach of the regulations. The Labor government of Hawke, Cain and White also intervened in deregulating these markets. They're too busy with their own corporate interests to care.

The BLF, Labor Party Conference 22-31 March failed to vote to support the ban because the so-called "new guard" of the Socialist Left obstructed.

Such despicable behaviour by socialist leaders lays the basis for the total isolation and destruction of the BLF. But if the BLF is crushed, the houses won't be finished with that.

With the economy getting into trouble, they're bringing out just for the blood of the BLF, but for any groups of workers who dare to refuse to accept wages cuts and another round of sackings without a fight.

That's why every trade union and every socialist must defend the BLF now - before it's too late.

By Sandra Bloodworth



VICTOR Balf demanding decent coppo laws in 1980. For building workers militancy can literally be a matter of life and death.

Rumblings in the Mines

LAST MONTH, DAILY papers throughout Australia carried full page advertisements supporting the Prices and Incomes Accord. Was it pre-election propaganda for the ALP?

No, it was the mining bosses' organization, the Australian Coal Association, attacking mining unions for striking in support of their big claims. "The coal miners demands strike directly at the Accord principles," cried the mining bosses, the morning after 30,000 miners began a week long strike.

Overwhelmingly the Accord has been good for business and the coal owners know it. The wage fixing principles of the Accord would be better described as "wage cutting principles."

The basic award rate for miners rose by 15.5% between June 1982 and June 1983 - the cost of living (CPI) increased 21.8%. The figures speak for themselves.

Profits have increased a massive 97% to \$356 million. Australia is now the biggest coal exporter in the world, with fewer miners in the industry than there were in 1982.

Production in Queensland alone has increased by 10 million tonnes, the morning after 30,000 miners in return, the workers got just \$25 million more in wages.

The owners are keen to use the Accord as a stick to beat the miners with their "greedy work" arguments. The ACTU has joined them in condemning the Accord.

The miners insist that the Accord Mark II includes the provision for industry based claims, but this is clearly a mistake. The Accord was

never one to miss a change. The BLF members also tackled a range of other anti-union legislation on to the end of the Act. Most important were provisions about compulsory secret ballots for industrial action.

This includes controlling the "vote" of union members who didn't bother to vote in an agency action.

Ray Dempsey, head of the Trades and Labor Council, was forced into a difficult position to place the government by agreeing with their basic argument - that what is wanted is a change in the law.

He pointed out that the government and bosses could already get union secret ballots without they asked for them. Why not use themselves in the embarrassment of a possible High Court challenge to the new legislation?

Most strikers of the day had attempted to argue against the new law by saying it might not be the best way to do it.

That militancy just kept Ray Dempsey. They would rather give "unity" in the ranks of union officials. The helms of the left all getting together" rings a bell hollow when sections of a attack workers for wanting to fight the bosses and the government.

Fortunately there was a different response to the legislation from the workers themselves. The helms of the left on 10 March moved 200,000 for an indefinite strike of the Act even got parliament.

Four days later a meeting of Electrical Trades Union demonstrated in Rockhampton voted to immediately.

The coal industry bosses, started whingeing about \$20 million a day losses if there was a major strike, so the government backed off.

Led Astray

BUILDERS Laborers all over Australia have been on strike to win the 3.8% CPI rise denied to them by the Arbitration Commission.

In many cases, they're forced into a difficult position to place the government by agreeing with their basic argument - that what is wanted is a change in the law.

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The BLF dispute lasted, the men they were going to have to put time lost.

All this pressure was laid when the BLF went back. They weren't helped by the officials from the industrial unions, who argued that the tradesmen should follow the BLF and return to work with nothing.

Unfortunately, most of the members who went and a vote of 43-7 was carried to go back to work with nothing and a vote of 43-7 was carried to go back to work with nothing.

Experience has shown that these demands aren't "reasonable" that you hit the bosses hard enough and had enough.

By Mark Gilgistray

But at the Brisbane Airport, the certain victory was forced into a difficult position to place the government by agreeing with their basic argument - that what is wanted is a change in the law.

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'CLASH of the Vampires' sounds like the title of a third rate Hollywood thriller. In fact it's a perfect description of the brawl over the ownership of BHP.

The Holmes Court had come at a time when takeovers appeared to be in fashion. In the last few months, major bids have been launched for the ownership of North Broken Hill, Australian Gulllight and Simpson Holdings.

Each bid has brought forth a barrage of complaints from a mixture of owners of unfair practices, threats to job security and the ever versatile "not in the national interest." But every single whingeing obstacle simply comes up.

For capitalists, takeovers are perfectly normal behaviour. BHP and North Broken Hill are certainly no exceptions to the blood on the boardroom walls. This was clearly acknowledged in a recent editorial of the "Financial Review."

"BHP built itself into Australia's largest company through a string of takeovers and, particularly in the past few years, some of these takeovers can be partly blamed for its rise to the top."

"North Broken Hill's pious statements against the ethics of partial takeovers similarly do not fall in easily with the company's statements earlier this decade when it launched an offer for partial bid for what is now Dunlop Pacific, and strongly defended partial takeovers in general against the government of Dunlop."

"The North BHP conglomerate built itself up from being a simple mining company through



MINERS storm parliament to protest sackings by BHP in 1982. Now their union officials want to defend BHP.

BHP in particular, has always been one of Australia's most ruthless employers. The record books its steel division named last year came at the expense of over 12,000 jobs.

These sackings were provided over by both left and right wing union officials. They urged support for the Federal Government's steel plan which did little more than pump millions of dollars of workers' taxes into Australia's largest company.

Those on the left who want to defend BHP have had to resort

to painting Holmes a Court in a qualitatively worse sort of capitalist. Therefore, John Halfpenny, a leading figure of the left on the ACTU executive, has argued that:

"It is not good enough for a corporate politician to wait until a large public company was put on the fire through government assistance then allow us to come and pick the fruit."

BHP under Brian Loxton however is no more likely to present jobs than under Holmes's Court. If the prices of oil or steel continue to fall, dragging BHP

Aid For the West!

THE STARVING population of Africa are noble philanthropists. They are charitably providing economic aid for the West, according to a report from UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund.

Malnutrition amongst African children is worsening every year. This has happened primarily as a result of drought.

The cause is economic. And capitalism in the West are reaping in greater profits as a result of drought.

About 80% of Africa's export earnings come from commodities such as copper and cocoa. As in most of the third world, African countries usually depend on one or two of these commodities to keep their economies afloat.

But the world price for basic commodities - such as, for instance, sugar, has plummeted. In the north of Queensland, this means that workers in the sugar industry are thrown on the dole.

For sugar workers in the third world it means starvation.

Such a rule cannot be established by recommendations from a United Nations report. It will require a struggle with the agencies who make the world today.

Revolutionaries organize to fight the system - to overthrow its tyranny. Only in a world ruled not by "profits" and by the blind tyrannies of the "free market" - but by workers, can the wealth of the world be used properly - not to ease poverty but to end it.

So the wages of western workers continue to be cut - even where, as in Australia, company profits are soaring to all-time high levels.

Cheap sugar and cocoa, tin and copper should be good news. It means the capacity of the world to produce wealth has expanded to the point where we have an abundance of food and an abundance of minerals.

But for the children of the African State of Ghana there is no good news in cheap minerals. Fifty-three per cent of children under five suffered from malnutrition in 1982.

For them there is only the saddest news: that the system that can spin profits from an abundance and starvation out of wealth.

Organizations like UNICEF can soothe us with the abundance of documents. An socialist who would be argue against the system, it's a good thing the West who supports.

But, to get rid of capitalism, we must first demand its end and its end.



By Robert Bollard

They see the price of raw materials falling. They profit aren't allowed to press in the same way our wages are.

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ROBERT Holmes a Court



TO MISQUOTE George Orwell's "Animal Farm": "All human beings are equal, but some are more equal than others."

Such is the accepted wisdom of our society that ordinary people could never run the world themselves.

It's obvious, we are told, that some people are more intelligent than others. Some are better leaders, better teachers, better technicians, even better bowlers than others.

Who's more, no matter how equal the revolution, wins a bound to emerge to take control of a new dictator — just like Russia.

Yet, in every workers' revolution, there has been an explosion of popular democracy, fueled by decades of oppression and frustrated ambition. Time and again throughout history has been seen the possibility of a new kind of society — a society without rulers.

Karl Marx saw the revolution "as a levelling of the oppressor" and every revolutionary struggle that has occurred has been just that — a leveling of the potential for leadership from the very roots of society.

In the Paris Commune of 1871, in Russia 1905 and 1917, in China 1919 and in Poland 1980, to name just a few of the high marks of worker struggle, people whose names were forgotten, they were the history books, found themselves reorganizing society.

In the turmoil of revolution, human nature itself begins to change as ordinary people find themselves doing extraordinary things — organizing and leading, running their own lives.

As an observer of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 noted: "As an extraordinary revolution 'from below' there was no 'top-down' talking, arguing, bickering, coming and going, froth, excitement, agitation, ferment. That is one side of the revolution."

"The other is the emergence to leadership of ordinary men, women and youths. The revolution thrust them forward, against their own, previous, and the plans of organizers, and then left them to build a democracy out of the ruins of capitalism."

A revolution will therefore cast its leadership to the workers and youth. But not only will the leadership subject to the most rigorous democratic restrictions, it will be different from the sort of leadership to that

Questions about

... experience under capitalism. Leadership won't come from possessing a monopoly of wealth and armed power — will not be the collective possession of all. It will instead be a token of genuine respect continually tested in struggle and maintained, not by fear, but by persuasion and example.

SOCIALISM

Workers are organized collectively at the point of production — in the factories and the office. Therefore when they have run the factories throughout history they have done so democratically and collectively.

They haven't simply appointed one of their number to be a new manager, but have instead set up "workers' councils" and armed themselves to ensure that those, not others, would be trusted to represent them, but the power of representation, not the power of representation.

MAJORITY

This is qualitatively different from the kind of "democracy" of parliament. Decisions made by the workers' council are made in the interests of a privileged minority, but of the majority. Society run by the workers will not depend on the exploitation of one class or section of society by another. But how can we stop a new class of tyrannical bureaucrats rising to power, as they did in Russia under Stalin?

There is no reason to believe

Will We Always Need Them?

... But the ending of the Emergency will make little difference to most blacks. Emergency laws that allow the police and army to arrest, detain and torture will be replaced by normal laws that do them the same.

Nevertheless, the ending of Emergency is an admission of failure by the government. January had the highest monthly strike figure for seven years, including a massive strike at the Impala platinum mine, and major strikes at Coca-Cola, 3M and General Tyres.

Increasingly, those strikes are being waged and conducted by black workers, but over issues such as racial incidents.

And one of the other high points in the rising tide of struggle has undoubtedly been the recent uprising in Alexandra, near Johannesburg.

But after a successful workers' revolution, workers will merely hand over power to a new bunch of dictators, and thereby relinquish all they have gained through their own organization. This is not what happened in Russia.

It was a struggle that originated from the very roots of Polish society with a workers' trade union the single most powerful organization. It offered the possibility of a revolutionary change in society, going as far as beyond that which the remnants of the recent opening in the Philippines.

There, one group of boss managers, who have been out there with the working class, along behind the main fight of Asunio. In Poland the working class occupied the shops and the factories, and they had to run them themselves.

For as long as this system prevailed there was no part of society or sector that was not fighting the bosses that they provide salaries with will lessons as to how society will run.

When workers have this kind of confidence, they are capable of beating the ruling class and running society themselves. They will then have — "expatriated the words" — "expatriated the explanation."

Use if you prefer Orwell's analogy, the tyrannical party will finally have been set on a path — where they will be solved.

— Steve Wallfield

DISMISSING ALEXANDRA

... FACED with a rising tide of struggle, the racist regime in South Africa, has finally fled to the east.

Since last July, the Emergency laws have been used to detain over 7000 people and kill over 1000.

The uprising lasted four days, and was only put down by the cost of 80 dead and 100 injured. The death toll is higher than the 1976-77 Sharpeville riots or even the deaths of Uitenhage workers and students during the 1980 strike.

The police then went from door to door, detaining people at will, including Moses Maseko, secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union. Maseko was only released a fortnight later after suffering the rigors of torture.

Personal Worker, beat the black out by interviewing a resident of the township. The township began to be bulldozed on Saturday 15 February.

On Monday the police beat three young boys, only about the age of eleven or fourteen. They were hiding themselves behind a tree, and the police just took them out of the tree and shot them three bullets.

There was nothing on the TV about the Alexandra uprising because of the South African government's black-out policy. But the paper of the International Socialists, in Britain,

has a regular mobilisation that forced Marcos from power but gained control.

On the social mobilisation as if yet another cynical, right-wing operation, has ridden into power on the backs of the poor.

But beneath the surface, the situation is more complicated, and more hopeful than that. According to recent visitors to the city, the "barbed wire picket line" as it has already formed has in dishevelled the red-coated police and almost complete demoralisation and picket outside the Central Bank in Manila in protest at the appearance of the Labor Federation led by Amalio, and a dozen smaller banks as well.

As yet, the police are out on strike, and they have built barricades of logs, rocks and iron girders to keep out tanks. They have even fought American servicemen when they tried to cross the picket line.

The workers are demanding improvements in health services, education, sick leave, holiday leave, overtime bonuses, and the most consistent issue in pay, with American getting the same going as well as beyond that which the remnants of the recent opening in the Philippines.

For instance at the Davao Medical Center in Manila, the workers are picket up fighting the hospital administration on pay, conditions, and corruption in the administration.

A strike put out by the workers outlines their grievances and the concept.

On the other hand, as a part of the same ruling class as the cronies, the workers have been battered, and some are economic recovery within the limits of the capitalist system, and that means appealing the Philippine middle class, as well as the American banks and government.

As the long term has to be prepared to take on the workers, they have their own standards of Philippine capitalism — a standard that is being met effectively in the world market.

The overthrow of Marcos was a major victory for the mass of the working class in the Philippines. But Aquino has managed to sustain the struggle in the Philippines with very right limits.

As a result, there is no short-term prospect of a reversed

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS NATIONAL OFFICE
GPO Box 14731, Melbourne, Victoria 3001 683 3300

MELBOURNE
Fifth Floor, 252 Swanston Street, City 663 3000
GPO Box 14731, Melbourne, Victoria 3001

SYDNEY
First Floor, 42 Macgill St, Chippendale 669 4800
PO Box 88, Alexandria, N.S.W. 2125

BRISBANE
Rm. 100 First Flr, 303-311 Adelaide St. City 229 8823
PO Box 328, Woolloongabba, Queensland 4102

CANBERRA
GPO Box 1667 Canberra, ACT 2601 47 6838

BRANCH MEETINGS

Our branch meetings are the most important part of our political revolution; they usually begin with a major talk and discussion. The meetings start punctually, and last a couple of hours, but there are always plenty of people who stay afterwards for more discussion.

SYDNEY
Sydney Branch of the International Socialists meet every Monday night 7 pm, 1st Floor, 42 Macgill St, Chippendale (Entrance in Chippen St). Phone 669 4800 BR office.

What a Revolution Lives Like, 7 April. A revolution is never a bloodless revolution, or a "public meeting" as such.

MELBOURNE
Rm 117, 1st Floor, 252 Swanston Street, City. Phone 663 3300

BRISBANE
Brisbane Branch of the International Socialists meet every Monday night 7 pm, Rm. 100, 1st Floor, 303-311 Adelaide St, City. Phone 229 8823

CANBERRA
Canberra Branch of the International Socialists meet every Monday night 7 pm, Rm. 100, 1st Floor, 303-311 Adelaide St, City. Phone 229 8823

MELBOURNE
Melbourne Branch of the International Socialists meet every Tuesday night 7 pm, Room 4A, 5th Floor, 252 Swanston St, City. For further details ring 663 3300.

WHY YOU SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST
Why You Should Be a Socialist, Thursday 21 April. Green Park, 100 Victoria St, Melbourne. Free admission.

WHAT MAKES HISTORY?
What Makes History? 15 April. An outline of the Marxist view of a Revolution Possible in Australia? 22 April. Why We Support the B.L.F. 28 April. We would like to have you support the B.L.F. against the attacks of the Green and Marxist governments.

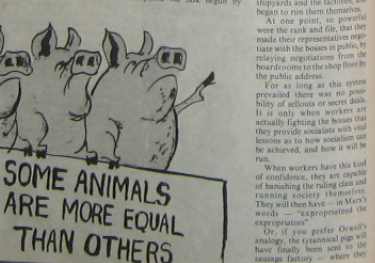
CANBERRA
For details of Canberra meetings, please ring Tim on 47 6838 after hours.

MARXISM FOR BEGINNERS

THESE ARE regular classes for sympathisers and those who are interested in the basic introduction to our theory and practice who are interested in Marx 1st class is a lecture to attend.

MELBOURNE
Saturday 3pm, Room 4A, 5th Floor, 252 Swanston St, City

SYDNEY
Ring 669 4800 after hours.



1966 diary

1938 was one of the great years of working class history. In 1938, workers across the world began to fight back against a capitalist system which offered them nothing but unemployment, fascism and war.

But if the struggles of 1938 started an era of self-defence, they soon began to give shape to the vision of a society run by working people themselves.

Every month this year, The Socialist will recall the struggles and remember the lessons of 1938 in this column.

EARLY APRIL. From the beginning of the month, Spanish peasants in the Spanish province of Extremadura, angry at the slow speed of agrarian reform, started trashing the large estates and dividing the land.

In Abasco 18 are killed by the Civil Guard. The Ministry of the Interior sends a telegram of congratulation to the peasants.

"Socialist and Communist together try to apologise. We know the government is not responsible." As the media began to apologise, the authorities decide to give further scope of repression.

APRIL. Azana, head of the Spanish government, gives an interview to journalist Louis Fischer. Fischer: Why don't you purge the army?

Azana: Why? Because some of you were there in the streets, and you were in the Ministry before the Interior? How in the morning, you must have feared a revolt.

Azana: Can you give Fischer? Fischer: I heard it in the Cortes. (The Spanish parliament.)

Azana (laughing): Ah, that is one big call. But the general had been plotting a coup ever since the election of the Popular Front, which (the bourgeoisie) doesn't survive more than a few months.

17 APRIL. Fascists shoot down workers in Madrid. The anarchist union the CNT calls a general strike the following day but the fascists and remnants of the UGT union federation refuse support until a month later.

17 APRIL. French Communist leader Maurice Thorez broadcasts a patriotic anti-fascist speech.

The speech is our hand to you National volunteers, movement belonging to Croix du Feu (a semi-fascist organisation) because you are a son of our people and after to us from disaster and destruction, because you, like us, will go to prevent the fascist monster from turning into war and catastrophe.

26 APRIL. First round in the 25 minute vote. The radicals pick the Socialist Party. After the second round the Socialist Party emerges with 152 seats, the PCP with 152 and the UGT with 152.

The popular Front has a majority. The Socialist Party is a hard core.

From the 1938 diary of the Socialist Party, London.

The family is always presented to us as something natural, something that has always existed and always will. It's a view held not only in the West but also in Russia and other supposedly socialist countries. In addition to their normal working day, women are still responsible for bringing up children, keeping home, cooking and all the rest. Yet the Russian Revolution of 1917 set out to break the hold of the family which kept women tied to the home. HARRIET SHERWOOD looks at how the Bolsheviks tried to put into practice the ideas of Kolontai's pamphlet *Communism and the Family*.

The FIRST few years following the revolution in 1917 saw massive advances towards full equality and liberation for Russian women.

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Let Communism and the Family be the first to explain the popular form of the changes in the role of women and the family that had already taken place.

Her aim was to encourage people to build new personal lives and relationships based on complete equality, independence, genuine love and comradeship.

By doing this, Kolontai first reminded her readers of the old family life before the overthrow of Tsarism.

"Capitalism has placed on the shoulders of the woman a burden which crushes her; it has made of her a wage-earner without having lowered her status as a housekeeper and mother," she wrote.

In the early years of this century the working class family in Russia was under intolerable strains. Thousands of women were forced to work in factories, workshops to supplement the family's meagre income.

At the same time they continued to bear responsibility for meeting the needs of other members of the family.

On top of eight or ten hours labour in appalling conditions, the women cooked, cleaned, washed and dandied in their own homes.

Without birth control, pregnancy and child-rearing was continuous. Many women were sorted to illegal black-market trade, frequently with false receipts.

The rate of infant mortality in Russia was shockingly high. But the influx of women into the industrial workforce had crucial consequences... it gave women the opportunity to meet collectively and take part in the struggle for socialism and liberation.

The 1905 and 1917 revolutions were precursors to further advances in women's work. It was a demonstration of women's initiative, their work and soldiers' work, that sparked off the February 1917 revolution which overthrew the Tsar.

Women who joined the Bolshevik Party in 1918 were the first to be drawn in to the "Great advance" which was intended that their liberation was necessary bound up with the fate of the workers' revolution.

The American response was "Operation Breadbasket" - a deliverable hydrogen bomb, detonated on Bikini Atoll near the Marshall Islands under US "Operation 7" in 1954.

Unlike previous bomb tests, occupants of nearby islands were not evacuated before the blast. Nor were they warned of the danger. Their children played in a "zone" of ionised coral, absorbing enormous doses of radiation.

When the new workers' government of 1918 formed, the October Revolution, Kolontai was appointed People's Commissar for Social Welfare.

The first decree the Communist government issued was designed to meet the most pressing needs of working women.

They were allowed 16 weeks' paid maternity leave and a friend was allowed time off work to help with the child. Nursing mothers were to work no more than four days a week.

In the factories there was to be a regular time off for breastfeeding and the provision of creches.

All this was in advance of every other European country at the time.

In the two years following the revolution, numerous laws were passed which suited it economic freedom for women, full political rights and freedom from the family bond.

The church's control over marriage was removed. Civil marriage was sanctioned and divorce - which until then had in practice been the prerogative of the bourgeoisie - was made easily available. All distinctions between the sexes were removed.

Kolontai began work on abolishing the old legal factors - work-house like orphanages - through a mother.

"In a communist society the working women will no longer have to spend their lives in the kitchen, doing the laundry, and taking care of the children."

The "working woman will no longer be obliged to sink in an ocean of filth or mend her eyes in dimming or blinding light; she will simply carry these things to the central laundries, each with her own weekly agreed wage and ironed."

"Great advances" were being made in order to facilitate for the family the task of class struggle in Portugal itself.

The US government blasted Lenin's weather patterns with an explanation dispensed by US weather technicians said around the world.

For example, Gen. Garbo thought she was being blown straight at us as our defence forces were shifted. They release the bomb and follow quickly and never miss. The US needed name pigs to see what it would do. US naval ships, which could not radiate from the island, being ordered to radiate.

And baby homes, equipped with medical facilities, showers and creches.

On the second anniversary of the revolution, Lenin could say that "more had been done to emancipate women than has been done during the past 130 years by all the enlightened 'democracies' of the world taken together".

Yet Kolontai's vision of a communist society, entirely free of oppression, was never to become a reality.

By the time the civil war to defend the revolution was over, industrial production had shrunk to about a fifth of the pre-war level.

Three million Russian people had died from famine and epidemics and thousands of the most advanced workers had been killed in battle.

The failure of the revolution led to the embryonic world war and the isolation of the Soviet Union. Stringent economic measures were taken to try to overcome the collapse of all production.

In contrast was concentrated bringing up and supporting the children.

"There are homes for very small babies, day nurseries, kindergartens, children's polyclinics and homes, infirmaries, and health resorts for sick children, restaurants, free lunches at school, free distribution of left books, of warm clothing, of shoes..."

"The communist society is not intending to take children away from the parents nor to tear the baby from the breast of the mother. It is only intending to remove the conditions which prevent the parents from doing so."

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LIFE FOR women in Czarski Russia was an unending cycle of oppression and labour.

in heavy industry at the expense of state support for nurseries, communal restaurants, laundries, and so on.

Thousands of unskilled workers - mostly women - were jaded from the factories, depriving them of their ideas on women and the family.

Some of a came from the bourgeois feminists who insisted that women had special interests and needs that could be fought for as well outside the class struggle.

They believed that the fight for women's liberation was a fight against men of all classes. But because also came from supporters of the revolution, particularly among the peasants.

The reason was that while they were at least keen and understood for something strange and uncertain, rather than outright chaos.

Had the revolution been the class of the more backward sections of the population would have changed as society was transformed.

As it was, without taking account of the material lives of millions of Russians, the idea of socialism, nothing to do with socialism, nothing to do with control of society by the working class.

In fact, they explicitly argued against the possibility of a socialist revolution.

Now the NPA has most organs. They have traditionally modelled themselves on Mao's Red Army, which in 1949 was a Chinese civil war in a province controlled against local landowners, capitalists and imperialists.

They have been a major problem for the Philippine New People's Army for a number of years now, last year fighting 1242 soldiers and 1195 civilians, mostly government functionaries.

By the time the civil war to defend the revolution was over, industrial production had shrunk to about a fifth of the pre-war level.



IF YOU were to believe the press, the main threat to the restoration of 'stability' in the Philippines under Aquino comes from the New People's Army, the NPA.

The NPA is a medium-sized army of some 15,000 guerrillas which is controlled by the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines.

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GUERRILLAS from the New Peoples Army.

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ALEXANDRA Kolontai

THESE are fishing people' ran the newsreel, 'savages by our standards. Savages, but happy, amiable savages. Their fathers ran about half naked.'

The American response was "Operation Breadbasket" - a deliverable hydrogen bomb, detonated on Bikini Atoll near the Marshall Islands under US "Operation 7" in 1954.

Unlike previous bomb tests, occupants of nearby islands were not evacuated before the blast. Nor were they warned of the danger. Their children played in a "zone" of ionised coral, absorbing enormous doses of radiation.

The US Atomic Energy Commission declared that the habitations of these people on the island will afford more valuable ecological radiation data on human beings.

They got the data over 30 years of monitoring, informed by a childless, thyroid treated, nurse and other officials, quite apart from the bombing itself, suffered immediately after the actual test.

When the atomic became known, the US government blasted Lenin's weather patterns with an explanation dispensed by US weather technicians said around the world.

For example, Gen. Garbo thought she was being blown straight at us as our defence forces were shifted. They release the bomb and follow quickly and never miss. The US needed name pigs to see what it would do.

US naval ships, which could not radiate from the island, being ordered to radiate.

The film shuttles back and forth between footage of US cold war propaganda, and the islanders' story and bewilderment alike, the contrast being highlighted by the break and the misleading logic of the army's propaganda.

But, as the film draws us through the lives of some of the islanders' story and bewilderment alike, the contrast being highlighted by the break and the misleading logic of the army's propaganda.

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ON THE morning of Easter Monday, April 24 1916, armed men and women occupied buildings in the centre of Dublin. Moving quickly and resolutely they set up barricades and military stations.

At midday Padraic Pearse stepped onto the porch of the GPO at O'Connell St. and delivered the proclamation of an Irish Republic.

A small crowd of people listened in the silence of British occupation and the rights of the Irish to national sovereignty.

He stated that, since again, force of arms was necessary to assert their right and called for all Irishmen and Irishwomen to fight for their national independence. The Easter rebellion had begun.

The insurgents planned to set up a defensive ring around the centre of Dublin, hold off the British forces and wait for a general rising to detain British operations.

For a short time the first part of the plan worked. British troops and police were unorganised and their attacks thrown off by heavy snailshells. However, by Wednesday the operations were carried enough to begin mobilising their forces.

The British commander was given plenary powers to crush the uprising by any means necessary. Gunboats and artillery began pounding the city with incendiary and high explosive shells.

Armoured cars were sent to do anything that moved. Machine guns raked the streets with murderous effect and snipers picked away at the insurgents.

Some fires were burning in Abbey and O'Connell street and the firebrands continued from building to building to engulf the flames. Fire brigades and headquarters of the GPO and the defenders decided to shut their

By
Colin Pritchard

was out of the death trap. Picking their way through the rubble, exchanging fire with the British troops, they attempted to reach safe positions. Only a few succeeded and they then found that the remaining defence positions were surrounded and under heavy attack.

The rebels' situation was hopeless. On the afternoon of Saturday April 29 the insurgents surrendered unconditionally to the British military command. The Easter rebellion had ended.

The general cause of the uprising was of course British imperialism which had dominated Ireland for centuries. But the immediate trigger dated from 1914.

Nationalist politics in Ireland were dominated by constitutional politicians.

At the outbreak of the First World War they urged the Irish to join the British Army and fight to 'defeat small nations' against the Germans. They hoped that the Liberals in the British parliament would reward their imperial patriotism with home rule for Ireland.

But there was another, smaller group within nationalist circles who believed that the outbreak of war presented Irish patriots with an opportunity to end British domination. These middle class radicals considered the Irish republican brotherhood.

Padraic Pearse was one of its leaders.

The IRB were militant Irish nationalists. They intended to fight for Irish independence, yet they had no intention of fighting



BRITISH troops stand guard at the junction of Henry St. and O'Connell St. Dublin, in the aftermath of the rising.

The failed uprising that began a war of liberation

prosperity in Ireland. Employment was plentiful, wages were higher, primary products were easy to sell and profits were good.

Contra to expectations, the war actually hindered the prospects for revolution rather than helping them. Moreover the rebels appeared as a group of Irish romantic, self-appointed revolutionary socialists, isolated throughout the world in their opposition to the imperialist war, the uprising was a spark of hope in the gloom. In Germany in particular it gave impetus to the anti-war movement.

For the small groups of revolutionary socialists, isolated throughout the world in their opposition to the imperialist war, the uprising was a spark of hope in the gloom. In Germany in particular it gave impetus to the anti-war movement.

The Easter rebellion was the first of a series of major revolts against the bloody plans of the imperialist war. It was followed by uprisings in the French and British armies, the defeat of conservatism in Austria, and finally, the Russian revolution.

The onset of revolution in Germany brought the First World War to a speedy end.

The crushing of the Easter rising turned out to be a Pyrrhic victory for the British. The brutality with which they

If you've seen enough of Reagan already...
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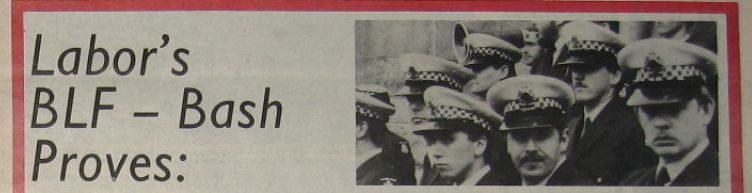
There are two souls of socialism
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DAVID McHALLY

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Incorporating The Battler. No 187, May 1986

40 cents



THE BASH

Labor's BLF - Bash Proves:

WE'RE TOLD THAT the Builders' Labourers have to be smashed because they're dangerous, uncontrollable thugs.

It is in the BLF's under attack simply because it's the best union in the country.

We're told that BLF members have used intimidation on the building sites.

What hypocrisy! Over the past month, building workers have suffered the greatest display of intimidation ever seen on the building sites.

Tens of thousands of building workers have been threatened with the task of they don't resign from the BLF. And thousands of police have been mobilised onto the building sites to back up these threats with brute force.

In Sydney, cops have used batons to clear away BLF pickets.

When labourers at Melbourne's Toongunga Village building site arrived for work on a recent Saturday morning, they were herded into a shed by police and officials from the rival Builders Workers Industrial Union, the BWIU.

They were told it was now law that they be sacked if they didn't resign from the BLF and the police refused to let them out of the shed unless they had signed the papers.

Every site the BLF loses becomes a green light for the bosses to go on the offensive.

At the Southland site, labourers are being forced to work in the rain, a barbaric practice the BLF had stamped out.

At Salford Alley in the City, with the BLF gone, site allowances are no longer being paid with dust money and height allowances are under attack, with labourers forced to work underneath a crane as it lifted its loads.

Labor says the BLF is a "special case".

It's a lie. The BLF is only special in the sense that, unlike the scabs running the rival BWIU, it has refused to sell out its members to keep Bob Hawke in office.

The government has used the most extreme methods to smash the BLF in Victoria. Can you imagine what would happen if the same tactics were used against the entire Labor Party standing up and saying that action is too dangerous...?

We'll do it and this legislation will be a precedent on which we will rely because the Labor Party, the so-called workers' government, deregulated a union for the first time in Australia or any comparable country by statute, by legislation...

The smashing of the BLF is just the latest, and most serious attack on our unions, coming on top of the successful attack on the SEIBEE electricity workers in Queensland, and the important defeats at Dollar Sweets and Madmagh.

In the future when my side of the Parliament is in government, if we find the conduct of a trade union justifies deregulation by statute, we will do it.

We will not wait to hear any people in the Labor Party standing up and saying that action is too dangerous...?

With the bosses still on the offensive, you can bet there is even worse to come. And you can bet that they'll receive every assistance from Hawke, Cain and Wran.

The message is clear as it is threatening. From now on, no union is safe.

WHY HE BOMBED LIBYA - P5

JAMES Connolly

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

Not a video game

PAGE 12 — THE SOCIALIST APRIL 1986



**INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS
NATIONAL OFFICE**
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MELBOURNE
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GPO Box 14736, Melbourne 3001

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First Floor, 42 Meagher St, Chippendale 899 4800
PO Box 861, Alexandria NSW 2155

BRISBANE
Rm 108, 1st Fl, 300-311 Adelaide St, City 229 8832
PO Box 329, Woolloomooloo, Queensland 4102

CANBERRA
GPO Box 1167, Canberra ACT 2601 47 6839

BRANCH MEETINGS

Our branch meetings are the most important part of our political activity. They usually begin with a major talk and discussion on some aspect of socialist politics. It's best to come a little early as we always start on time. The meetings last a couple of hours, but there are always plenty of people who stay afterwards for more discussion.

Tuesday Branch of the International Socialists meets every Monday night at 7pm in Room 42, Meagher St, Chippendale (overstore in between St. James and St. Andrew's churches). Phone 899 4800 for details.

Melbourne Branch of the International Socialists meets every Monday night at 7pm in Room 108, 1st Floor, Deane Street, Chippendale, 257-11 Adelaide St, Brisbane. Ring 229 8832 for further details.

French Revolution of 1848, 12 May. This will be the first forum presented in historical form. Come to the first of our series of **State Capitalism, 18 May.** Why Russia has an capitalist economy. **British General Strike, 26 May.** The largest general strike in British history that shook Britain to its core.

MELBOURNE
Melbourne Branch of the International Socialists meets every Monday night at 7pm in Room 42, 1st Floor, 253 Swanston St, City. Further details ring 663 3080.

Women and Struggle for Socialism, 4 May. Can socialism be achieved? Do women have a role to play in the struggle for socialism? General Peace, 10 May. The role that struck the British Empire in World War II. **Russia in World War II, 17 May.** Why did the Russian Revolution happen? 20 May. What are the factors that lead workers to mass resistance? **Port Communist, 27 May.** The history of the first workers' government and the conclusion Marx drew from it.

SOCIALIST RALLIES

These are large-scale street sales of our newspaper. They involve a lot of people, a special ad and lots of material for handing out. Paper and talking to interested people are included. We have somewhere for extra refreshments and political discussion.

MELBOURNE
Friday night, 6.30 to 8.00 outside Continental in the Bourke St Mall and afterwards in the upstairs dining room of the Moor House Hotel, 101 Collins and Victoria Street.

SAVING MARCHES, 11.00 to 12.30 outside Continental in the Bourke St Mall, and afterwards in Carri's Restaurant, 24 Swanston Street.

MARXISM FOR BEGINNERS

These are regular classes for syndicalism and are aimed as an introduction to basic politics. Each session is self-contained, so you can start anytime.

MELBOURNE
Wednesdays, 7.00pm to 8.00pm, Room 56, 34th Floor, 252 Swanston St, City. Phone 663 3080 for details.

SYDNEY
See page 4 for details.

Questions About Socialism

The aftermath of Israel bombing in a Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon. No wonder some turn to terrorism!

That was the British capitalist newspaper *The Guardian* reporting a raid by the US backed Contras on a Nicaraguan village in 1984. These are the people Ronald Reagan had on terms of millions of dollars of military aid.

These are the people Reagan calls "our brothers, the moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers and the brave men and women of the French Resistance."

Reagan is not an opponent of terrorism but the world's biggest promoter of it.

One Contra leader said that if they win, there "will be a massacre in Nicaragua. We have a lot of scores to settle. There will be blood on the way from the border to Managua."

The US government claims 23 Americans have been killed in Contra terrorism in the last 12 months. Reagan's original raid on the Libran coast killed more people in a few hours.

In the last few years the US backed Contra has killed, kidnapped or wounded 12,000 Nicaraguans, orphaning 7,582 children in the process. One hundred and ninety nine children under 12 years of age have been killed.

So have 170 teachers and 18 doctors because the Contras use favoured targets are the Nicaraguans' literacy and health programs.

Ronald Reagan is the true face of international terrorism. It is true home is Washington.

Gadafi is not Reagan's attempt to ensure that upon an Arab home will allow him to keep the killing going in Central America and around the globe.

Gadafi came to power at the head of a military coup, which overthrew the reactionary regime of King Idris, in 1969. He has presided over rapid industrialisation of the country (financed by oil revenues).

Gadafi's rule has been disastrous but, unlike that of Idris, it has modernised the country and defended its independence. He kicked out foreign military bases.

Socialists and Terrorism

The young men of the camps who were killed in the fighting, or interned without trial by the Israeli invaders, swore to fight back. And the method some chose was terrorism.

The young republicans fighting the police and army in Northern Ireland are also driven by the intense oppression and discrimination they face every day.

They live in a state which systematically discriminates against Catholics in jobs, housing, health care, and political representation. And they face a state machine which backs up that discrimination with extreme violence.

In the past, they have faced internment without trial, and now are sent to jail, for life, on the word of a single judge in a non-jury court.

In such circumstances, why should we deny the oppressed the right to fight back against the oppressor?

It is no violence but politics which is the key.

WHAT THEN IS YOUR CRITICISM OF THE TERRORISTS' METHODS?

If the world would be changed, if the horrors of the capitalist system could be overcome by planting a few bombs or shooting a few cops, then that would be precisely what should be done.

Unfortunately, things are not that simple. Capitalism is a system, not just a set of individuals.

Socialists have always argued that only mass collective action gives workers the opportunity to challenge the ideas of the ruling class — the lies and preparation they find in an order to maintain their control.

It creates the conditions where the divisions between men and women, black and white, skilled and unskilled workers are broken down.

The problem with terrorist

WORLD NEWS
REAGAN

ROSA HAD her breasts cut off. Then they cut into her chest and took out her heart. The men had their testicles cut off and their eyes poked out.

That was the British capitalist newspaper *The Guardian* reporting a raid by the US backed Contras on a Nicaraguan village in 1984. These are the people Ronald Reagan had on terms of millions of dollars of military aid.

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"Yankee Go Home"

THE REAGAN administration recently backed Cony Aquino's rise to power in the Philippines — not through the balance of maintaining a US presence in the country.

The problem is of course that the workers and peasants of the Philippines are likely to take all the "people power" stuff too.

The Americans have already had to withdraw from the Philippines — but that depends on winning people away from the idea of domestic fighting on our behalf — as both terrorist groups and the Labor Party believe.

we're horrified by the violence we are well aware that violence will be necessary to smash the capitalist state.

Our opposition to terrorism is that it is idiotic. Even if, by some miracle, tiny bands of terrorists could succeed in annihilating the capitalist state, would they replace it with?

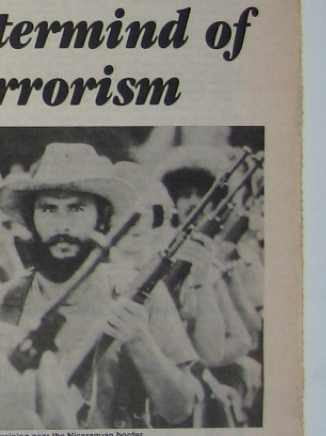
Socialism is a system based on human liberation. It can only be built, in the words of Marx as a result of the "self-emancipation of the working class." Any movement for socialism must therefore

be based on the mass activity of the working class.

Nevertheless, whatever our criticisms of terrorist tactics, we must condemn the hypocritical moralising of our ruling class.

When it comes to a choice between the desperate revenge of the oppressed and the cold, calculating revenge of the oppressors, we choose the oppressed every time.

We take sides in struggles between empires and small nations. Whether it is the "evil empire" of Russia invading



CIA backed Contra terrorists training near the Nicaragua border.

shamoon.

So we saw Sabina saying "Storm Troop" during the footage moves like Alamo.

Any victory that could mean a New York that would self-confidence has to be welcome.

The attitude of socialists to imperialism, to the poisoning of the Reagan and the Gorbachev of the world, is clear.

When the garbage goes up the river to "back the class tension," we're on the side of the "good" every time.

The mastermind of world terrorism

What socialist must recognise is that for the Palestinians Gadafi supports, the root to terrorism has been the powerless despair of the oppressed.

They have been deprived of their land. They are embold to impatient for revenge after four decades of unbearable suffering in the lands of the occupied.

By contrast the fact that few ever Tripoli were piloted by a different sort of terrorism.

It's the cold, hard, calculating revenge of the agents of an imperial power.

Not unlike a much the same as that of the officers of British imperialism who presided over an inhuman voyage of discovery to "reach the world."

Do course socialists don't have to fear the world.

It's the risk involved in endorsing through "people power" who've voted our way in an April.

Throughout his 1980-81 tour of the United States, Boston demonstrators who then showed up in Philadelphia to support a campaign of cars to a small party as a head of the airport.

South Korea Exposed

THE SPIRIT of discontent in South Korea has been taken by the workers and peasants of the country.

That that depends on winning people away from the idea of domestic fighting on our behalf — as both terrorist groups and the Labor Party believe.

WORLD NEWS

Poor Pay For Pope

POPE John Paul's recent tour of India was financed from a strange source — India's poor!

In the lead-up to the tour, church officials collected up to 10 rupees per day (about \$1.70) from fishing families, equal to a fisherman's daily earnings and

had no place to spend it and nothing to spend it on, everything he needed, his food, his clothing, his dishes and his servants, all were paid for by the state — there would be no need for any special savings and fresh food flows from the south by plane.

There also is the rest of the population, who have to queue for hours just to buy the basic necessities of life. Some of them have to wait in long lines to receive complaining about this.

There is the million or so of poor businessmen who don't have to queue for anything. Some of them have to wait in long lines to buy their wife's life insurance — "No need to queue."

WORLD CAMPUS COMPETITION

MOST STUDENTS are taught to receive the Higher School Certificate. For the middle classes, the HSC is your entry ticket to uni, and part of a "natural progression" into the professions.

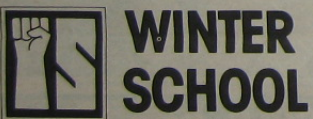
If you're working class, it's something to which you can aspire as a stepping stone to success and social mobility. For all students, university means to offer the prospect of an end to the routine of secondary school, the petty restrictions and hours of headmasters. University, we are told, is when you can start thinking for yourself, where, as adults, you can make your own decisions. At least that's how history goes. ...

But what if that's not true? ... If you're through first term it is probably enough to threaten most people's illusions. They find that university does not, as a rule, operate to broaden their intellectual horizons. ...

And any idea that students might have had about intellectual enquiry about "things they were taking" soon ran up against the brick wall of coursework. ...

Finally, students find themselves, sometimes against their will, students to regard the good marks and the honours that are necessary to guarantee you get the next year when you graduate. ...

COME TO THE



**Queen's Birthday Weekend
7-9 June Near Sydney**

TALKS WILL INCLUDE:

- How Marx Became a Marxist — Germany 1923
- Women and Socialism — Trade Unions and the Workers State
- Luxemburg vs Lenin on Organisation — Capitalism Today
- What is Imperialism? — Origins of the International Socialist

The cost is moderate and depends on your income. For further details, contact your local I.S. Branch, (see P4).

TONY BELCHER examines the record of the Wran Labor government in NSW, on its tenth anniversary.



Students willingly line up to do the most punishing courses because, that degree from that uni is known to be the hardest, and hence gives its graduates an edge.

The syndrome of "perform or else" therefore has material roots as the pressures to compete increase. Continuous assessment and class participation (marking the mill) have emerged as key forms of assessment.

The number of students using counselling services has jumped dramatically. ...

But neither of our Austin and Iain really fit the mould of the true conservative. ...

He has been far more active to help young people who are stuck on welfare, housing, health and education, and even basking with a violence that is more real than any of his.

Today, only a tiny minority of students are drawn towards socialist politics. ...

It is tremendously important that they resist this pressure; that they do join the revolutionary movement, that they are willing to accept lower marks in the merit, they are in a better position to dictate terms. ...

THERE IS nothing I admire about him. He is the classic example of the pragmatic socialist politician. There is nothing about him that I like.

These are the words of Neville Wran. He was referring to his former Liberal professor, Robert Askin. ...

When they come from the left or the right will be asked. ...

These lifestyle promises were, however, quickly ditched after the election. ...

He had rights legislation, which finally made its appearance in 1983, met with a storm of opposition from Aboriginal groups. ...

IN ANYWAY this is not my. We are all now used to the spectacle of Labor governments attacking the work class. ...

Wages and working conditions in the hospitals are now so poor that there are over 1000 nurses for nurses which no nurses are willing to fill. ...

Teachers and rail workers have been forced again and again to defend themselves against attacks on conditions and jobs. ...

TEN YEARS AGO HE SEEMED TO OFFER A WAY FORWARD FOR LABOR. WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE?

of Wran's advance party. ...

And the continuing economic recession of the last 12 years has pushed the bosses into making more and more demands for the government to take steps to restore their profits. ...

As for Labor governments, far from being in a position to make radical improvements for workers, simply become the overlayers of an offensive against the workers. ...

BUT WRAN has not had things all his own way over the past 10 years. ...

In the early years of the government, workers' action tended to take the form of bus strikes, and other small stoppages. ...

As the long rail strike was to prevent the State Rail Authority from carrying out its new XPRams with only the last 10 years. ...

The union leaders cooked up a deal that involved having an arbitration commission decide whether the train should have one or two drivers. ...

Some of these illusions are now disappearing. ...

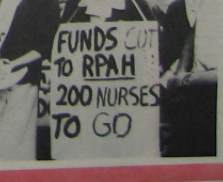
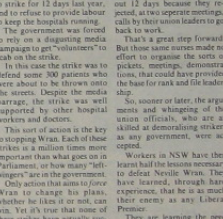
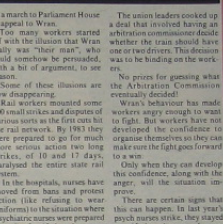
There are certain signs that this can happen. In last year's public sector strike, they stayed out 12 days whereas they were prepared to go for much more serious action two long strikes, of 10 and 17 days, paralysed the entire state rail system. ...

Workers in NSW have then learnt that the lesson necessary to defeat Neville Wran. ...

Only action that aims to force Wran to change his plans, whether he likes it or not, can win. ...

Each strike has been ended by the leadership of the unions. ...

Only one of the long rail strikes was to prevent the State Rail Authority from carrying out its new XPRams with only the last 10 years. ...



SOME SIDES

Open Slather

THE REVENUE has called on... Open Slather... The public should be aware...

IT TELLS YOU something about the political climate in America today when you find out that the No. 1 best-selling book is the autobiography of the man who "saved" Chrysler.

Lee Iacocca persuaded the US government to bail out the company when it was threatened with bankruptcy in 1979. Now he is an instant celebrity and is even considered something of a sex symbol.

Books like this are worth reading for some of the same reasons socialist can get value from reading the Financial Review.

On the one hand, I know your enemy. On the other, we know much the ruling class believe their own lies, and what they really think.

In this sense, however is quite instructive. Once you get used to the self congratulatory tone, you can learn quite a lot.

The story began when Chrysler looked like going to the wall in 1979. The crisis at Chrysler was a reflection of the crisis that has afflicted the whole capitalist system since the early 1970s.

To start with, it was a crisis of overproduction. In the middle of 1979, when Chrysler started producing the 300,000 "creeps" vehicles.

According to Iacocca, "Most of the sales cars were kept in huge lots in Detroit area. Chrysler was a reflection of the crisis that has afflicted the whole capitalist system since the early 1970s.

When the talk about excess cars (or too fast cars), you have a real world to go to.

According to the Vietnam Veterans' Peace Action Network, "We fought the war in Vietnam. Army and said don't remember them being this close to this gear of shoes. Our group sometimes is that you, Hamburg, would have been dead a real war."

"We would be dead in a day... no background music... drum rolls, smiling face... gins cars."

A Melbourne Institute... Melbourne Institute... Melbourne Institute...

ROBOTS assembling cars in Japan. Under capitalism, advances in production technology only causes crisis of overproduction!

by Diane Fields

to ask "access to what?" Certainly not access to the need for these goods. But access to the requirements of profit making.

During the Depression of the 1930s a great many firms simply went to the wall and were bought up before their value by their most successful competitors.

But this is not an option for the boss; today. The lumps of capital have become so much bigger. Leaving Chrysler to go to the wall would have really more far-reaching effects than the collapse of companies in the thirties.

And this is one of the most fascinating of the insights into the structure of capitalism in Iacocca's book. The system today is made up of vast units of capital, operating in a global market.

The model capitalist concern no longer belongs to the family firm. It is much more typified by corporations like Chrysler, the tenth largest industrial company in the US when it began to go bankrupt.

The bankruptcy of such a company would have disastrous economic consequences on a national scale of social and economic dislocation, with dire consequences for the unemployed.

For socialists this is an indication, not just of the structural weakness of Chrysler but of the weakness of the capitalist system as a whole.

When the talk about excess cars (or too fast cars), you have a real world to go to.

When Iacocca was asked as president of Ford, he tried to make out what a terrific mistake Henry Ford II was making.

And it is this workers, not the boss, who really solve the problems of the capitalist system, by getting rid of it.

SINCE last November the British government in Northern Ireland has come under attack from an unexpected source — the loyalist protestant

Intraditionally ally who backed against the Anglo-Irish Accord, which gives the government of Southern Ireland a voice say in the administration of the North.

The British government has been accused of favouring the Catholic majority in the North with a view to ending the Protestant presence in Northern Ireland.

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By John Minns

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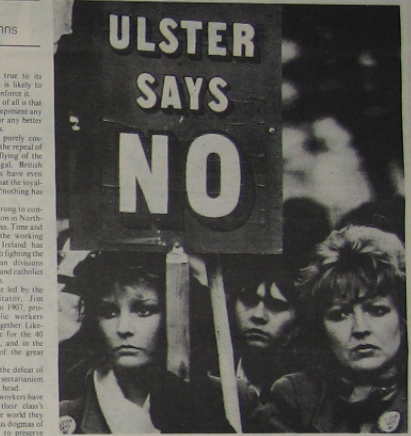
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Protestantism's main aim is to keep the British out of control



THE BRITISH created the monster of sectarian bigotry to maintain their rule in Northern Ireland. Now it won't go away just because they no longer need it

out of control

class protestants have even temporarily deserted Loyalism because they believe that they can get real influence in the working class by holding their position and winning their support built on sand.

When they struggle to better themselves as protestants, they must break with their bosses, they must break with their bosses and associate themselves with other workers.

It is in fact a period of workers' struggle to reverse the loss of the centre of the class which has been shifted at the moment.

Only a movement based on the working class, that both promotes work class struggle and holds out a clear vision of socialism can break the Protestant workers of Northern Ireland from the loyalty that has held them back so long.

Some of the most important needs to be done inside the ALP are: first, to raise the political consciousness of the rank and file; secondly, to raise the political consciousness of the rank and file; and thirdly, to raise the political consciousness of the rank and file.

Finally, we should point out that underlining the strength of the workers' movement, is to underline the strength of the workers' movement, is to underline the strength of the workers' movement.

Letters

THE coverage of the Broad Left Conference in Issue 186 was very poor in my opinion.

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N AND UTION

"None so fit to break the chains as those who wear them."

IN MOST of written history, women are invisible. But in revolutions, when the working masses move onto the stage of history, it is very difficult to ignore the role women.

Even reactionaries (or especially reactionaries) have seen the role played by women. One right wing account of the Paris Commune of 1871, when for the first time in history the working class took power, declares:

"The workers are behaving scandalously during those deplorable days... all of these belated charges held out longer than the men did behind the barricades."

Another gave almost grudging respect: "The women were the men, the men, the men, implacable, frenzied... And what dangers, what perils of mind, against the wall, before the firing squad."

These accounts, in spite of the authors' intentions, reveal women's potential for courageous, determined struggle. It is in such struggles that we get a glimpse of the possibility for women to shatter all their oppressions, and the potential for women's liberation.

When women are involved in struggle they can quickly break out of their so-called "feminine wiles". Throughout history, especially since the rise of capitalism, women have often played leading roles in social uprisings. In the French revolution, in October 1793 women marched on the King's palace at Versailles and led bread riots for two days. George Burd, a historian of the revolution writes: "women were the leading spirits."

"Their first object was bread, the second probably arms and ammunition for their men... The French Hall guards were disarmed and their arms handed to the men who followed behind the women and urged them on..."

BECAUSE they suffer an added oppression, women have less to lose and more to win. So, when they break out of their feminine bondage, they can quickly leap to the forefront of struggle.

The phenomenon is highlighted in revolutions when workers are ripping down the repressive institutions of the old society. But we can also see it in specific small actions such as strikes.

In the coal mining villages in Australia, the women's organizations had secured the reputation of doing strikes by the male workers in the mines. They were famous for fasting and feathering scabs and for beating them up.

In 1881 in Melbourne, several hundred women in the Koroit factory struck for the first time in their lives. In the past, they had used their status as women to beat back wilding cops, wearing guns, and their hatred by the company.

Again and again, male workers are attacked by the military on pickets and demonstrations of women workers they thought were better suited to making clothes and changing nappies.

And this experience very quickly challenges the stereotypical ideas both men and women have about the role that women can and should play.

A wave of mass strikes riled across Russia in 1912. Because women were often in the forefront of these strikes, many speculators the women were taken up, not just by the women themselves, but by the whole workforce.

By Sandra Bloodworth

children to free the women picketers for the fight on the pickets.

So it's clear that the femininity we are taught to respect, from women, is not something inevitable and innate in women's nature. Neither is men's inability to do "women's work".

Women's passivity or otherwise depends on their social circumstances. It is not something timeless and unchangeable.

IN THE struggles of the working masses, both great and small, women have stood on the sidelines. They have played a role, often as leaders in the struggle.

By their own conscious activity, they can begin to know off their chains of oppression, and in the process change men's attitudes and ideas.

In the great working class revolutions, the first growing seed of a new society of human liberation have appeared, including women's liberation.

In the 1871 Paris Commune, marriage and the concept of legitimacy were abolished. Women were allowed free and voluntary unions with the men of their choice.



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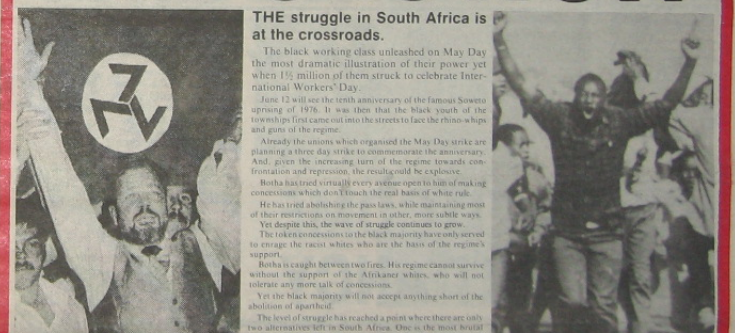
PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS
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South Africa THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION



US CAMPUS ERUPTS IN PROTEST

CAMPUS riots in the U.S. Hundreds of students fighting it out with the police. But that was a familiar view of America to the sixties. But today, we're told, that sort of thing doesn't happen any more. Full of Reagan's America is now full of Reagan-worshipping, right wing reactionaries. This has always been a one-sided and pessimistic view of America. A spirit of dissent has remained in the U.S. and occasionally it flares up in protest. Mass protests at the University of California at Berkeley last February. A crowd of 500 students got a pitched battle with nearly 300 police on 2 April. They were defending a shanty-town they had set up in protest at the University's \$2.4 billion investment in South Africa.

As police, armed with riot helmets and night sticks, tried to tear it away through a makeshift student barricade, the students defended themselves with rocks and bottles. Despite the banning of over 100 activists from the campus, the students' protest with a blockade of the administration building which closed it down for 4 days.

A rally at the end of the blockade attracted over 1000 people. And it was the end of the protest, as the anti-apartheid organisation on campus resolved to rebuild the shanty town.

A similar shanty town has been set up since at Harvard University in Massachusetts. At Boston University one student has begun a hunger strike, and at Brandeis University near Boston, 30 students were arrested at a militant protest against that state's university's interest in South Africa.

There has been a previous wave of campus protests in South Africa. Recently it had looked as if the black majority was about to revolutionise South Africa.

But it seems now they have resumed instead, and with greater military force.

So the US may be still a very right-wing place and Reagan Reagan may still feel driven to bomb Africa and ram home through Central America.

But it's always good to see that "in the heart of the beast" there is a lightbulb.

It was at Berkeley that the student movement began in the U.S. in 1965. Let's hope this protest is equally important, a sign of things to come, when the campus, the streets, and most importantly of all, the factories of America erupt into struggle, once again.

THE struggle in South Africa is at the crossroads.

The black working class unleashed on May Day the most dramatic illustration of their power yet when 1.5 million of them struck to celebrate International Workers' Day.

June 12 will be the tenth anniversary of the famous Soweto uprising of 1976. It was then that the black youth of the townships first came out into the streets to face the police whips and guns of the regime.

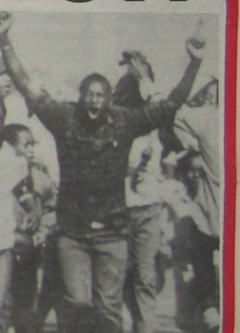
Already the unions which organised the May Day strike are planning a three day strike to commemorate the anniversary. And, given the increasing turn of the regime towards confrontation and repression, the result could be explosive.

Both factions virtually every avenue open to him of making concessions that would reach the real basis of white rule. He has tried abolishing the pass laws, while maintaining most of their restrictions on movement in other, more subtle ways.

Yet the black majority will not accept anything short of the abolition of apartheid.

The level of struggle has reached a point where there are only two alternatives left in South Africa. One is the most brutal repression of the black population by a slaughter that would make the Nuremberg massacre look like a Sunday School picnic.

The other is the only alternative worth supporting, a revolution in which the black workers seize power by force and smash apartheid once and for ever.



NOW more than ever, the only worthwhile alternative for the black majority in South Africa is revolution.



WHAT WE STAND FOR

ISOLATIONISM
Capitalism is a system of free enterprise and competition. When workers control all the means of production, they have no need for isolationism. Isolationism is a system of control that profits and human needs can only be both when the workers and democratic governments control the means, instruments and means of production and distribution.

WORKERS' POWER
Only the working class has the power to create a society free from exploitation, oppression and domination. The working class and oppressed nations, organized internationally, can overthrow the capitalist system and fighting for their liberation and for the liberation of all oppressed nations, can be won on a democratic basis.

LIBERATION
The workers and oppressed nations, organized internationally, can overthrow the capitalist system and fighting for their liberation and for the liberation of all oppressed nations, can be won on a democratic basis.

REFORMATION, NOT REFORMISM
The workers and oppressed nations, organized internationally, can overthrow the capitalist system and fighting for their liberation and for the liberation of all oppressed nations, can be won on a democratic basis.

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Around the world

MAY DAY this year saw celebrations in many countries, but by far the most spectacular and significant were in South Africa and the Philippines.

In both these countries, mass action against hated tyrants. In both countries the international day of workers' struggle was the power of the working class and fighting for their liberation and for the liberation of all oppressed nations, can be won on a democratic basis.

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SOUTH African miners. The black miners' union the NUM was at the forefront of the organization for the May Day strike.

The NUM, comprised of 100,000 miners, is the largest union in South Africa. It has a long history of fighting for the rights of black workers.

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THE BOSSES are out for blood, our blood, and the Hawke government and the ACTU leaders seem set to deliver.

The reality behind all the latest hoop-la about the balance of payments deficit, the disappearing income and the latest national economic summit.

A declining balance of payments means there is less to export than we import, and that means someone has to pay the price.

The bosses are demanding a savage assault on government spending, and are campaigning to stop the superannuation rise and the 2.3% national wage case.

KEATING AND HAWKE agree that living standards have to fall and have already indicated their intention to make massive cuts in this year's Budget, hitting pensions, education and health spending.

The Medicare rebate is to be cut from 85% to 75%, ministers have talked about tightening up the work test for the dole, and Brian Howe, the Social Security minister, is introducing a scheme to "maintainance" to deprive single

parents of part of their miserable pension. Keating and Keating are just as determined as the bosses are to force us to pay for this latest economic crisis. However, when it comes to wages, their battle plan is still attached to the method of the Accord. They know there is less to export than we import, and that means someone has to pay the price.

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ly, voted for another 2% to come off our wages. We can't predict what the ACTU will finally agree to, but they have already let the national wage case drag on for months, saving the bosses an estimated half a billion dollars.

And Simon Crean has already indicated his willingness to allow the government to put off the promised tax cuts for three months and the superannuation rise for a whole year and has even talked about renegotiating the Accord.

At recent meetings, the supposedly left-wing officials running unions like the Metal Workers and the BWIU have come out in opposition to welfare cuts and any delay in passing tax cuts. What this is to be welcomed, there is no evidence that they will actually organize to resist them. Even more ominously, they have come out in support of a Manufacturing Assistance Plan—a plan to guarantee flexible work practices, the breaking down of working conditions, dispute set-

ting procedures, everything a boss could want in return for guaranteed investment. Their plan also includes massive government handouts to the bosses such as low interest loans to stimulate export-oriented expansion.

This desperate quackery will not be enough for the bosses. Despite the fact that profits are at record levels, the papers are shamelessly telling us that "we are living beyond our means" that "we are not working hard enough, that "we go on strike too often."

And yet, strike are at a lower level than for 20 years. Labor costs have been falling, rapidly and real wages have declined whilst getting steadily lower.

We have read Labor's class collaboration and it has brought us a never-ending cycle of wage cuts and more wage cuts. What we need instead is a fightback, using the industrial muscle of the unions to begin defending our hard-won wages and conditions.

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TOP GUN, Sir Harry Gibbs

CRISIS? WHAT CRISIS?

IT MAY BE TIME for the top and I to fight on both, but that's not quite as necessary for the two people as you think.

The government's Remuneration Tribunal is about to consider the salaries and perks paid out to the top jobs, public servants and politicians.

And first-year workers are setting up a line in front by hanging up "Gravelly They're Not Worth It" signs.

End of the trough is therefore Whitehead, who heads up the cash-starved ABC. He's complaining about his \$30,234 (plus expenses) which is simply "not consistent" with what his mates at the commercial stations are getting.

Likewise at the Commonwealth Bank, who reduce the salaries of the bank's seven of \$99,177 (plus allowances) to \$70,000. The bank's "top" package being paid to Westpac, the ANZ and the others.

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ON THE Wellcome picket line

BACK HOME (in Uruguay) we'd be inside the factory and it would be the bosses who would be locked out.

ALMOST A quarter of Broken Hill's mine workers could soon lose their jobs. Mining companies have threatened to sack up to 75,000 of Broken Hill's 3,500 miners.

This follows mass meetings of mine workers who have vowed to reject the companies' proposals to sack up to 75,000 of Broken Hill's 3,500 miners.

PRICE RISE
The Socialist will raise the price to \$66 from the next issue on.

AS IS, the newspaper operates on a shoestring budget. It is heavily subsidised by donations from members and supporters of the I.S. Any donations would therefore be extremely welcome.

THE BALANCE of payments crisis means that there are not enough exports to pay for our imports.

Let's take exports first. Export income has dropped because prices have dropped. Actually, Australia is exporting larger volumes. We are now the largest coal exporter in the world.

STAR WARS
Susan Ryan has celebrated International Year of Peace by giving the go ahead for Star Wars.

Bureaucratic Ring Around
The Queensland government has been given the go ahead for a ring road in Brisbane.

Yellow Unionism
Yellow unions that are not for the workers but for the bosses have long been a feature of Australian gov-

ern expansion, and then led to an even worse balance of payments.

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IN BRIEF

STARS IN THE COURT
The Queensland government has been given the go ahead for a ring road in Brisbane.



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PO Box 329, West Brisbane Queensland 4102

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GPO Box 1867, Canberra, ACT 2601 47 6633

BRANCH MEETINGS

Our branch meetings are the most important part of our political routine. They usually begin with a major talk and discussion on some aspect of socialist politics. It's best to come a little early as we always start on time. The meetings last a couple of hours, but there are always plenty of people who stay afterwards for more discussion.

SYDNEY
Sydney Branch of the International Socialist meets every Monday night at 7pm, in Room 108, Tel. 303-311 Adelaide St, Chippendale (entrance on Chippendale St), Phone 889 4838 for details.

MELBOURNE
Melbourne Branch meets every Tuesday night at 8pm, in Room 111, 252 Swanston Street, City. For further details see 663 3030.

BRISBANE
Brisbane Branch of the International Socialist meets every Monday night at 8pm, in Room 108, Tel. 303-311 Adelaide St, Chippendale (entrance on Chippendale St), Phone 279 8822 for further details.

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Early American Trotskyists
7 June: Explores the origins of the opposition to the workers' movement to the declining bourgeoisie during the Russian revolution.

NO meeting
8 June
Kenan Day
15 June: A booklet of the poet was circulating, which got some good publicity after their respective deaths. Kenan, 1927-73 June. The Chinese revolution was selected by the first service given by the Russian bureaucracy.

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The control room at Chernobyl.

THE DISASTER at Chernobyl has blasted the myth of safe nuclear power sky-high.

To the wreaks after the accident, hundreds of thousands of Europeans were treated with radioactive fallout. Many countries were throwing away milk and vegetables that should have absorbed radioactive iodine.

And they were back! Russian scientists have admitted that Chernobyl was an 'in-line' accident, from a complete dud.

They say that would have cost ten times as much radioactive material spewing from the plant.

The immediate response in Western Europe was a wave of large anti-nuclear demonstrations and a renewed hostility to nuclear power.

And in Australia, we had the extraordinary sight of the extreme right-wing Mining Industry Council denouncing the Russians, pointing down the accusations of the accident, deprecating it to argue that it didn't mean nuclear power was unsafe.

Their's nothing quite as public as a mining boss who sees his uranium markets dwindling.

To contain the political fallout, a rash of nuclear 'experts' were appointed to investigate the accident on the Russian, to convince us that such an accident could never happen in this country.

We were told the problem was backward Russian technology, lack of safety precautions, and dreadful Russian workers.

What rubbish! Accidents like Chernobyl have happened repeatedly in both the west and the eastern bloc, and the first reactors were built primarily to provide the various governments with weapons-grade plutonium.

The United States can't get enough plutonium from its own nuclear industry to run all the heads that Reagan wants to build, so it has imported the difference from Russia.

So, just like the capitalists in the west, it has imported the difference from Russia. So, just like the capitalists in the west, it has imported the difference from Russia.

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To the wreaks after the accident, hundreds of thousands of Europeans were treated with radioactive fallout. Many countries were throwing away milk and vegetables that should have absorbed radioactive iodine.

And they were back! Russian scientists have admitted that Chernobyl was an 'in-line' accident, from a complete dud.

They say that would have cost ten times as much radioactive material spewing from the plant.

The immediate response in Western Europe was a wave of large anti-nuclear demonstrations and a renewed hostility to nuclear power.

And in Australia, we had the extraordinary sight of the extreme right-wing Mining Industry Council denouncing the Russians, pointing down the accusations of the accident, deprecating it to argue that it didn't mean nuclear power was unsafe.

Their's nothing quite as public as a mining boss who sees his uranium markets dwindling.

To contain the political fallout, a rash of nuclear 'experts' were appointed to investigate the accident on the Russian, to convince us that such an accident could never happen in this country.

We were told the problem was backward Russian technology, lack of safety precautions, and dreadful Russian workers.

What rubbish! Accidents like Chernobyl have happened repeatedly in both the west and the eastern bloc, and the first reactors were built primarily to provide the various governments with weapons-grade plutonium.

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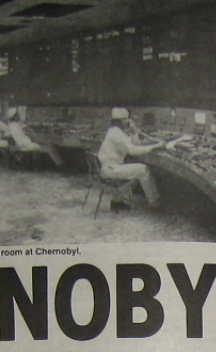
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The reactor building at Chernobyl.

Thirty years of lies exposed

It has been 31 years since the world's first nuclear safety incident in its 44 years. Most of them were secret.

And it has just been revealed that in both Britain and the US, there are at least four nuclear power plants with the same safety deficiencies that turned Chernobyl into such a disaster.

Perhaps the most outrageous cover-up concerned a previous Russian accident in 1958, when a nuclear waste site near Chelyabinsk in the Ural mountains.

The death toll is still unknown, but crops, animals and houses were destroyed and the population evacuated 200 kilometres and more from the explosion. The details were finally published in an article in the magazine *New Scientist* ten years ago.

The reaction of the British nuclear establishment was swift. Sir John Hill, then head of the Atomic Energy Authority, denounced the revelations as "pure science fiction" and "a figment of the imagination".

He even denied such accidents would be possible in the country.

Why? Because the British nuclear industry was about to receive a major public inquiry into nuclear waste reprocessing and storage at Windscale.

In fact the disaster at Chelyabinsk was the first major symptom of a capitalist system out of control.

Nuclear powered electricity was only ever developed as a nuclear front reaction for Russia's bomb and in Britain and France, nuclear reactors provide plutonium for the nuclear war industry.

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WORLD NEWS

Land Hunger
EARLY in 1985 the military junta in Chile had ruled Brazil since the mid '80s stopped down from power in response to a rising level of struggle against their regime.

There place has since been taken by the pseudo-radical civilian government of President Collor. Collor was elected partly on the basis of a promise to reform that would break the power of the great landowners in favour of Brazil's over 60 million landless peasants.

Unfortunally for Sarney, opponents of land reform include most congressmen, cabinet members and state police forces who are not only rich landowners, but also have a vested interest in the reform package in response to their wishes.

But despite this setback, over the killing last year of the military by thugs hired by the landowners, Brazilian people are determined to take the reforms into their own hands and are seeing the light of day.

Reagan's Drug Pusher
REAGAN'S War against the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, getting underway. Contra forces are being trained in Costa Rica on suspicion of drug trafficking.

Some congressmen are opposed to the Contra effort.

Reagan has been pushing the Contra effort for \$100 million a day. They are trained by the CIA and have killed 12,000 people in the last five years. Young Paddy Quinn starts off as a drug pusher, but although his latest aid package has been cut, he managed to fund the United States Council for World Government.

This anti-communist outfit has received military and federal tax exemption status from the US State Department. With it they sent a helicopter to the Contras.

Land of Hope
Land of Hope sells the story of an Irish Catholic family, from the 1890s to 1974. And running like a thread through the series is the struggle against exploitation and injustice.

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Silicon Sweatshops
SILICON Valley in California is presented in the country as a wonder world of bright young geniuses and high technology where profits are made but no sweat is profited.

In fact a recent report has revealed it to be a string of sweatshops where workers from Latin America work for 50 cents an hour and live on \$20 for the average industrial worker's monthly wage. And they are clearly doing so on the orders of the ruling class.

And they are clearly doing so on the orders of the ruling class.

Are there Commies on Mars?
SOME people never learn! In the 1950s the US overhauled its anti-communist laws. The amendment just happened to be a law that was passed by the Russians that they were sent to Mars.

This fact was omitted from the CIA report on the CIA's activities in the 1950s.

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ANY T.V. SHOW that takes the side of the working class against the bosses can't be all bad.

And that's certainly the case with the new mini-series, *Land of Hope*.

Land of Hope sells the story of an Irish Catholic family, from the 1890s to 1974. And running like a thread through the series is the struggle against exploitation and injustice.

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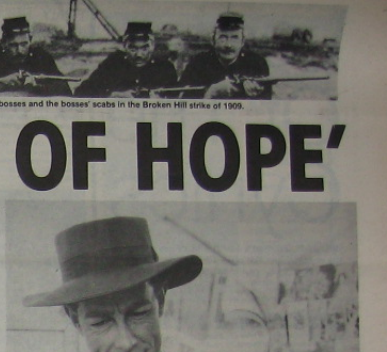
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PADDY Quinn reading news of the "NO" vote in the conscription referendum of 1916.

THE SUN NO CONSCRIPTION

involve the boss's daughter who was with him at the time he turned his three years had labour.

Paddy's behaviour seems to be a new view of the world. You can't have a world without poverty, without exploitation and without misery. But what the dream comes true, you have to be treated accordingly.

In labor terms, this is a demonstration of the power of the government and police. Her brother, a proud boss, stops her by getting a teaching job by telling the school about her politics. She is condemned to a slow, degrading existence, living off the state.

It's against oppression, not the class who can get rid of all this. It's against oppression, not the class who can get rid of all this. It's against oppression, not the class who can get rid of all this.

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ELEANOR Marx is probably best known for being one of Karl Marx's three daughters.

As a clear collaborator of Friedrich Engels, she worked with him and others to translate the first volume of Karl Marx's *Capital* into English. But she must also be remembered for her leading role in the great strike which shook Britain in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

The growth and prosperity of the British Empire in the 19th century had swept socialist ideas to the margins of the working class movement in Britain. Yet in the 1840s the British economy was hit by a severe depression.

The year 1847 saw a mass demonstration of the unemployed fighting the police in Trafalgar Square. The demonstration had been partly organized by the Social Democratic Federation, Britain's first Marxist organization.

Eleanor was a member of the SDF and it was here fighting the 1847 strike which she met the man who would be her sister's husband. "You know it is no use to you," he looked down by a bit of a policeman.

The demonstrators had their hands bound by the police; and only after it had been my self-humane calling on the men to stand and show fight, did a few Irishman close ranks.

"These attracted others; as you see we are being pestered by us Westminster Bridge made a great deal of noise."

The economy began to pick up again in 1848 and the response of British workers, particularly the low-paid and unorganized unskilled workers, was to take revenge on their employers.

As profits began once more to soar, they began to fight back to demand their share, initiating a wave of strikes.

The strikes began in the slums of the East End of London. In 1855 the women of Bristol and May factory struck against starvation wages and long hours.

They won. In 1859, gasworkers' strike, demanding that you read books, study discuss and so on, which she was a great help.

Recruitment to the CLA, already virtually stopped, attempted to find an alternative to the unemployed workers. When members attended to the CLA, they were excluded as "emancipated" people.

The recruitment that did take place was often from the place was often from the place where there were healthy. If anything, their isolation became worse after 1929.

The world communist movement appeared to be pursuing a more left-wing revolutionary course than before. Many who had begun to question the CP were recruited to it.

won higher wages and shorter hours. It formed the basis of the Workers and General Laborers' Union, which sought to broaden membership beyond just looking for the boss.

After leading a strike of gasworkers in Silvertown, East London, Eleanor Marx became the union's first president. Four years later the London Dockers, the most downtrodden section of the class came out on strike for higher wages.

Suddenly all the gloom and despair which they had experienced followed suit. Skilled stevedores came to soldiers' clubs, and some black-haired dock workers on the Tyneside and Great Dock streets took to the streets.

The East End was in turmoil. Suddenly all the gloom and despair which they had experienced followed suit. Skilled stevedores came to soldiers' clubs, and some black-haired dock workers on the Tyneside and Great Dock streets took to the streets.

She often found herself almost alone in her conviction that only the working class could bring about socialism. Yet her continued involvement in the struggles of the working class testified to the strength of her convictions.

At the height of the Dock strike Engels wrote to her, "I envy you your work in the Dock. It is the greatest promise we have for the future of the working class and glad to have lived to see it."

He predicted that the mighty Dock Communists, truly the first workers' party of the working class.

He liked the idea of socialism, but he respected Marx's conviction of socialism being the rule of the working class.

In fact, he was actually opposing to workers fighting the capitalists and unions, and looked down in contempt at the "emancipated" people.

In 1900 he wrote "I am thoroughly in general with you, my party and in your party in particular. Neither do we have to get out of our ability from the educated class to reverse them."

"It is a waste of life. They are not worth the paper they are written on. It is a waste of life."

Both the Communist Party and the Liberal Party are deep crisis. Their support for the Accord has weakened their ability to present a viable alternative to Hawke.

The confusion and dilemma which spring from the dilemma of the Liberal Party is a new book published by Pluto Press entitled "Maring Left."

The book contains some contributions on the prospects for socialism in Australia, edited and introduced by a prominent member of the Communist Party, David McKnight.

Most of the contributors are members of either the Communist Party or the ALP and are union officials.

Despite significant differences, such as the degree of their enthusiasm for the Accord, they have many things in common. The first is their rejection of "classical" Marxism, the ideas of Rosa Luxemburg.

There is a strong feeling of rejection of the centrality of the party in the Marxist program and a rejection of the need to organize the mass politically advanced workers into a revolutionary party.

They are not attracted to the idea of socialism simply through the working class, and dependent on the state and society at large, is changing the level of struggle (in fact, it is not).

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THE BLF were the only union to support this demonstration against the Cain Government's attempts to dump nuclear waste in Gippsland. Was this "macho" politics?

THE CLASS struggle never stands still. If it's not advancing it has to be retreating.

By Robert Ballard

He therefore dismisses the difference between Stalinism and Trotskyism as no more than a squabble between children.

Why Stalin boomed to have Trotsky murdered must presumably be a mystery.

Some attempt is made however to justify their premium about the working class as the agent for achieving socialism.

McKnight in his introduction, mourns the passing of a golden age of hard-boned class consciousness.

"Earlier this century it was clear that a more homogeneous working class was emerging, values and culture that was distinct and more likely to resist the ruling class.

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STARTING GAIN FROM SCRATCH

WHEN you think about the United States, you don't usually think about militant strikes. You certainly don't think about militant strikes led by revolutionary socialists.

For this is precisely what happened in Minneapolis as 1934. A particular description is as "five weeks of bitter struggle during which there had been an hour free from lockouts and danger."

"Two workers were killed in that strike, some injured, but within the next few days the battle to keep the trucks from running without union drivers.

"A great deal of hardship, a great deal of pressure of every kind was endured, but the workers finally came out victorious, firmly established but on some 500 as a result of those fights."

And leading that strike both from within the ranks of the team, and from without, were revolutionary socialists, members of the Communist League of America (C.L.A.).

How was it that the C.L.A. had been able to reach this point from its foundation a few years before by just three former members of the Communist Party?

Canon, Shachtman and Abers walked to Cannon's house after their expulsion, where the three of them planned to put out their own newspaper, *The Militant*.

James P. Cannon, Martin Abers and Max Shachtman had been cynically expelled in 1928 for supporting Trotsky in the struggle against Stalin and the rising bureaucracy in Russia.

They had more than a year to think about the possibility of the American Communist Party against whom they had to contend with their ranks.

For Cannon especially this was a transformation. Just before his expulsion he had been on a four month national speaking tour for the CP, addressing audiences of hundreds or even thousands on issues facing the labor movement.

Now the C.L.A. spent their time writing letters, speaking to clubs and visiting individual CP members and supporters. And in that way they recruited new members, "not by tens, not by hundreds, but only by one."

Understanding that their lack of propaganda, not agitation, could not magically generate

propaganda in terms of presenting a complex range of ideas, went a realistic assessment of the small audience to whom they could be addressed.

"We didn't try to convert the whole world. We took our message first to those whom we considered the vanguard, those most likely to be interested in our ideas (immediately inside the CP).

"We knew that we had to recruit at least the first detachment of our movement from their ranks."

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Understanding that their lack of propaganda, not agitation, could not magically generate

some connections with working class struggle could have given it, the pressure to look inward, to the ranks of the party itself, was already virtually stopped.

Nonetheless in this period, there was a small group of workers, a small "coterie" of workers and supporters of the C.L.A. who found out some of the militants, recruited some people one by one, and gained a few good seeds for the future.

By 1931 opportunities had begun to open up. On the orders of the German Communist Party there had been a group of German Communist Party workers who had joined the great Minneapolis team's strike.

But the importance of the earlier annual period had given the propaganda work of Cannon the last word.

It was precisely that work of propaganda, hard work, study and assimilation, theoretical ideas that prepared our young movement for the new time of bloom when the movement was opening up in a dramatic way.

The C.L.A. was able to hold a

ing class struggle. And so, leading Communist Party intellectual Eric Katz points to the failure of the economic crisis since 1974 to bring about a radicalisation in Australia.

Yet the economic crisis itself only provides workers with something to struggle against. It doesn't provide them with the confidence that they can struggle and they can win.

Historically, it has only been when these two factors have been combined that workers have fought back against the system. When they don't fight, they are more likely to be demoralised than encouraged by the workers to pull their heads in rather than confront it.

"For such organisations, the class struggle seems to often degenerate into a virtual contest."

It seems the working class can't wait. If they don't fight they will suffer a force for change. If they do, they're administered for their "macho" behaviour.

In the final analysis none of these people are any more interested in actually fighting the system than in supporting the system's officials such as the Labor Party.

"The only contributors who do talk about the working class are union officials such as Patricia Caswell and John Mainwaring, who are also active supporters of the Accord."

For all that rhetoric about the "labor movement" it is not the working class itself they see that will bring about socialism. Instead they look to a grubby deal between the union officials, the bosses, and the Hawke government, which specifically designed to keep the working class quiet.

If that's the way they see it, "socialists" who have abandoned the working class as the agent for social change in the "twentieth century" are giving no reason.

There are no such gaps, they claim to exist. Deal with the most obvious of "movements" in a gross exaggeration.

There are no such gaps, they claim to exist. Deal with the most obvious of "movements" in a gross exaggeration.

The title of this book is as accurate as any book I have read in a manifesto for those who are not interested in the movement.

THE SOCIALIST JUNE 1988 PAGE 11

END OF THE ROAD

Good Riddance!

IT'S GRATING to watch the British ruling class in the death-throes of its imperial glory. The End of Empire series on the ABC has brought it all to our screens.

The series covers the years from 1945 from Britain's defeat by Japan at Singapore to the birth of Zimbabwe, South Africa's liberation, Malaya, Pakistan, Egypt, Cyprus, West and Central Africa, and Korea. This was the period when the British finally set out the British road to the end of the Empire. Often the anti-colonial movements were led by people whom the British considered useful, like the Communists in Malaya. Distinguishing between free colonies in such conditions involved a cold-blooded mixture of political manoeuvres and cynical brutality.

To look, for example, thousands of British troops and the arrest of 10,000 blacks without trial to suppress the Mau Mau liberation struggle in Kenya in 1952.

The armed blacks were kept in concentration camps, where the British intruded a young black officer, Idi Amin, in the act of torturing.

Once the Mau Mau peasant movement had been crushed, their supposed "leader", Kenyatta, was recalled by the British in power to make Kenyatta was a moderate who had stood aside from the movement.

But often the British left their dirty work to the white settler states like Rhodesia, which forcibly annexed Nyasaland to Southern Rhodesia.

When Nyasaland turned two rebelled against white rule, the settler regime declared state of emergency killing 10 blacks and wounding 100.

The TV series documents the British, unfortunately for us, do not cover America's indifferent support for Britain. Australian blacks were always more eager themselves for a strong imperial presence in

By Tony Sullivan

IN EACH of the colonies the British faced movements, demonstrations, riots, strikes and even full scale wars against their rule.

They were willing to go, but they wanted to make sure that the regions they left in power were respectable and compliant members of the western alliance.

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BRITISH troops arrest a suspected Mau Mau in Kenya. Thousands were detained without trial and brutally treated.

the Pacific, a pattern repeated today with the USA.

As early as 1841, the Queensland Government attempted to land the eastern half of New Guinea on Britain's behalf, hoping to force the imperial hand.

In World War One, when Australia, under a Labor government, had led the British war effort, our rulers were rewarded with New Guinea, which was seized from Germany.

And, in the 1930s, Australia sent troops to help Britain suppress the guerrilla insurrection in Malaya.

Australia also supported Holland's bid to reconquer Indonesia after World War Two, preferring any form of white rule to the victory of independence battles. The Chief-Labor government was

willing to provide hard facilities to the Dutch. Fortunately union bans thwarted them.

Nevertheless, although the serfs don't provide fuel for anger at the devaluation ruling class, it does reveal much of the sordid nature of imperialism.

By exposing the monster in its dark throes it reveals the cynicism, the deals and the brutality of rulers when they feel their grip is slipping.

These bones were seen to do deal whereby they would lead India in supporting Britain's war effort, but they were thwarted by Churchill's intransigence, so they turned around and demanded Britain "quit India".

In August 1942, Congress leaders were imprisoned without trial. The arrests brought hundreds of thousands onto the streets. Workers struck in India's biggest steel plant.

Gandhi appeared for calm while the British fired on crowds and used baton charges and public hangings to quell unrest.

Churchill turned to minority Muslim League. Its leader, Jinnah, argued for partition and the creation of a Muslim state, Pakistan. He commanded vast audiences, though he could speak only English and most of his supporters could not understand him.

The Congress Party contained both Hindus and Muslims. Its president, Azad, was a Muslim. But the price of Jinnah's compliance was that he should be the sole Muslim voice.

It suited Britain to bring on Jinnah as a counterweight to Gandhi, developing and exploit-

ing a sectarianism which was to lead to massive bloodletting. When young Indian civil servants, including in Bombay in 1946, they planned to lead their ships over to the Congress leaders. Gandhi shouted them, but Hindus and Muslims gathered together to face the guns of the British.

However, the opportunity to break the division played by the British was lost. Gandhi, Jinnah and Mountbatten led their respective factions in backing over the spoils of independence.

And the violence they conjured in 1947 brought a million deaths and made 10 million homeless.

The series strives to reduce politics to personalities. The Bombay rioting, for instance, rates only a mention. Yet despite this serious weakness, it is refreshingly honest.

Wicki after all, the grabby managers of the British to install the most compliant and right wing local rulers as they departed each colony are clearly portrayed.

The series is led in little doubt that the British were cynical engineers, and that their respectable opponents, like Gandhi, were not much better. It's shame the masses on the fields and the factories, who led the real fight for independence, remain little more than a minor afterthought.

They were the real alternative to the Gandhi the Jinnahs and the Mountbattens. Fortunately, unlike those shyers, they still exist.

And in each of Britain's former colonies, as in every country of the world, they are the only alternative, and the only future.

The Socialist
INTERNATIONAL

Now Available... a new pamphlet on South Africa by Alex Callinicos, which looks at the apartheid system and at how it fits into the world economic order, and asks: Can apartheid be removed peacefully? If revolution is necessary, what forces will make it?

\$2.00 from I.S. branch bookstalls or by post from IS Books, GPO Box 1472N, Melbourne 3001. (Add 50 cents to cover postage).

2 JUL 1978
SOUTH AFRICA: THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

TEACHER NOTIA

THERE IS now no room for compromise in South Africa.

By Robert Bollard

Botha has flung off the mask of moderation and revealed himself to be what he always was, a tyrant and a murderer.

No longer content with throwing detainees out of windows, the police have begun to follow the example of their Chilean and Argentinian counterparts.

The arrest of over 3,000 key activists, the surrounding of the riotous townships with troops, and the ban on news reporting, show how far the regime is prepared to go under cover of the State of Emergency powers, activists have begun to "disappear".

Botha is out for blood. The arming of the black vigilantes by the police is a sign of this.

These former gangsters have the rabid "commandos" for having driven them out of the black townships. They are therefore willing puppets of the police.

The gambit has been thrown down by the regime to the black opposition, to the young "commandos" in the townships, the new black unions and the ANC.

If the movement is to be fought, the vigilantes will have to be fought every bit as much as the white arm and police.

If they are not defeated they will be used by Botha and his henchmen as allies in the monstrous slaughter that would be necessary to crush the liberation movement.

Yet Reagan, who has no hesitation in arming the brutal "commandos" who are terrorising Nicaragua, or in bombing Libya, won't even consider economic sanctions against South Africa.

Thatcher, who gave her full support to the bombing of Libya, is all for tact and moderation—when it comes to dealing with South Africa. Maybe the \$24 million worth of British investment in South Africa has something to do with her reticence.

Both Thatcher and Reagan argue that sanctions will only hurt the black workers by depriving them of jobs, despite the fact that those black workers are cutting for sanctions.

Since when has Thatcher ever cared about black losing their jobs? Or as Bobbie Tait said, "they are not going to fundrally every day because they have lost their jobs".

And our own Bob Hawke, while talking of the need for sanctions, refuses to act until the rest of the world moves. In other words, Australia will cut off ties with South Africa when Britain and the US do, which means never.

Ten years ago the Soweto rebellion was crushed with the murder of 1600 black school children. The township revolt today has survived the murder of nearly 2000 more.

For the sake of the mass of black South Africans who are fighting today against apartheid, and for the hopes of those of us in the rest of the world who look to their struggle for inspiration, Botha must not be allowed to win.

He must be crushed, and the evil apartheid system buried with him.



THE DECLARATION of the state of emergency signals the beginning of an attempt by the regime at a final crackdown.

THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR IS WILL THIS MAN LAUNCH US ALL INTO WORLD WAR 3? IF HE DOES YOU'LL REALLY NEED A SUBSCRIPTION TO 'THE BATTLER' !!

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SPORT & THE BIG LEAGUES

THE ODDIOUS Dr. Geoffrey Edelen recently remarked that he expected to make several million dollars out of his investment in the Sydney Swans football team.

This should not come as any great surprise from the man whose front page headline would give any football fan a good idea of the position of one of his sports cars around a fair-kept punt. But it does give some indication of how the Victorian Football League in particular, and sports in general, have changed over the last 20 years or so.

By **Mike Grewcock**

boundary fences have given way to the advertising hoardings. Club jerseys now bear the sponsor's name and the prominent sports overalls with Footies, etc.

Football is more than a cheap form of mass entertainment. It is a business.

The role of VFL club presidents reads like a Who's Who from the business world. John Elliott, Bob Ansett, Lindsay Fox, and the like are under whose names they operate are basically the same.

This year, the VFL introduced a \$12 million players' salary cap. Like all businesses, those who actually produce the game's value were considered to be getting too much.

The move was said from an attempt to stop the weather (and largely unconvincing) from monopolising the market.

In reality, the move was forced upon the VFL clubs by the logic of capitalism itself. The higher the players' salaries, and the more one-sided the security of the clubs made the competition, the less were the potential returns to the sponsors.

Salary caps are not new. A couple of years ago, the United States' professional sportsmen spent investment in ultimately more important than success on the field or club loyalties and traditions.

Under capitalism, sport cannot avoid becoming a salable commodity. The supposed altruism of the Olympics has been reduced to a farce with Robert de Castella, sexually harassing female competitors to Robert Holmes à Court two months to start up in Sydney.

In other words, the VFL means like any other business, means to make money. It is a means to make money. It is a means to make money. It is a means to make money.

With millions being spent at their expense, who could blame them? Who can really be surprised that VFL footballers have formed their own players' association and that most sport through agents who bid up their price.

After all, their workload has increased enormously with full-time night competitions, state-of-the-art contracts, professional promotional tours and extended press conferences. The limit is not the players' endurance, but the amount of sponsorship.

Many of our readers might well shrug their shoulders and say "so what?" After all, sport is about competition and success. People wouldn't bother with it under socialism.

This goes one fundamental point. Football has historically been a cheap form of entertainment, an outlet for the drooping of a neck at work.

REVOLUTION



The Liberal party headquarters on November 11, and (below) Government House, Melbourne, in the aftermath of the Kerr Coup.



MENTION THE idea of revolution in Australia and you are likely to provoke a look of response.

To some, usually those who do not live, they were the only people who were in a democracy. Everybody else was equal and equal in rights.

They might admit to the fact that the rich have more money than the poor, but that's because they deserve what they get.

Just look at Alan Ridd. His father was a coal miner who goes to the shop that anyone can make to do it.

Now most ordinary people don't believe that sort of thing any more. They don't like to be a gentleman to figure out that not everyone can be a Sir John or a Sir John.

Somebody has actually tried to do the work, to make the machine the coal, the oil, the steel, and the steel.

Most workers don't believe they are living in some kind of heaven on earth. But as they are supposed to work, it seems it is an extremely remote possibility, something that is irrelevant to their daily life.

Revolutions appear to be things that happen in distant countries like South Africa, where people are really badly off and nothing to lose.

I don't want to happen here. I don't want to happen here. I don't want to happen here. I don't want to happen here.

And if a people really did want to change things, they would do it peacefully through parliament. In a country like Australia there is no need to resort to extreme, desperate measures, like riots and street fighting.

IN THE FACE of such cynicism, socialists can point out that actually, Australian workers have quite a proud tradition of class struggle.

While there may not have been a revolution in Australia as yet, there have been periods of quite massive social approval. During the First World War there was a strike of 100,000 workers over 100 days, culminating in a general strike in NSW.

For eight weeks over 100,000 workers went out despite all the efforts of the bosses and their press to appeal to the "national interest" and the needs of the imperialist war effort.

The war years also saw the development of a tremendously powerful anti-war movement, which defeated two attempts to introduce conscription.

And they saw the rapid growth of a mass revolutionary organisation, the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World.

The IWW had thousands of members. In fact their membership was at least proportionate to the size of the Australian working class, as the membership of Lenin's Bolshevik party in Russia in February 1917.

Could it happen in Australia?

By **Mick Armstrong**

"There could be no place as long as want and hunger were upon millions of working people, and the few who controlled the employing class had all the good things of life."

"Between those two classes the struggle must continue until capitalism was abolished. Capitalism could only be abolished by the workers voting to take and hold the means of production to revolutionary industrial and political action."

You could just see Simon Crean, choking it. The ACU adopted that motion today."

The ruling class again feared that things could get out of hand. They again resorted to desperate measures. In NSW the State Governor sacked Labor Premier Jack Lang. Lang's response: 250,000 workers demonstrated in Sydney.

AH, THE CMNS will say, that's all in the past. It's a long time since that today most workers accept the system. But that's been the case for most of history, not just in Australia but also in the rest of the world.

However at certain times, and in certain circumstances, workers have rebelled. In Russia in 1917, Germany in 1933, Portugal in 1974, and in countless other countries, workers have been prepared to break with the prevailing conservative ideas and challenge for power.

In the process they have formed their own workers' democratic, workers' councils, to take over the running of society. They have laid the basis for socialism.

To answer the question of whether revolution is possible in Australia we have to examine the circumstances that have produced revolutionary situations elsewhere.

Then we can see if those circumstances are likely to occur in the foreseeable future in Australia.

Revolutions don't occur when things are going well for capitalism. The boom years of the 50s and 60s were ones of class conservatism.

Initially mass strikes and other crises can force workers onto the defensive. That's what has happened in most workers' countries over the last ten years.

However the working of the system can also reverse workers' confidence in it. For although capitalism is in a downward trend, it is not up and down, deep recessions followed by mild recoveries. And these periods of recovery can be dangerous for the bosses.

As more workers are hired, they can see that the bosses need them. They can start to exercise their power and recover the losses they have suffered.

All the bitterness of the past, all the humiliations and petty tyrannies inflicted on them, can set up and explode.

Revolutions don't occur because one day they do all the workers around the country decide that capitalism has had its day, and vote to start the revolution at a tick sharp the next morning.

Things don't work that way. The mass of workers don't decide that capitalism has had its day, and vote to start the revolution at a tick sharp the next morning.

Instead revolution starts when the masses are driven to fight desperately to defend their interests. It is not a revolutionary situation in Australia. It is not a revolutionary situation in Australia.

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KERR'S SACKING of the Whitlam government is a product of the world economic crisis in Australia.

More than the fact that the party has fought to defend its interests, it is the fact that the party has fought to defend its interests, it is the fact that the party has fought to defend its interests.

When the next apparition of the bourgeoisie comes, the bosses will have a lot more to contend with. For the masses will be more organised, more determined, more united.

A revolution of interest is building up in Australia. Labor governments are being undermined.

But if the struggles of the future are to be led to victory, then we need to build a revolutionary party.

Two traditions have led to the revolutionary road to socialism.

In the West, the revolutionary road to socialism is based on the idea of a mass strike.

There is a third tradition, the revolutionary road to socialism, based on the idea of a mass strike.

Mass strikes are demanding a general strike.

But then the defensible tradition leaders and the ALP politicians, moved to contain them.

Bob Heil called on workers to cool it and Whitlam urged workers to express their rage through the ballot box, not on the streets. The bosses were let off the hook.

Nevertheless the Kerr Coup proved that Australian workers have the capacity to stop society in its tracks.

An editorial in Rupert Murdoch's Australian reflected their rage.

It stated that the demonstrators were "outraged" and "railed" the very real danger that people might seek to express their opinions violently rather than democratically through the ballot box.

And wouldn't that be terrible? Murdoch's fears were confirmed the following day when demonstrators were ordered by headquarters to present his paper coming out. The two stock loads of papers that did get out were seized and burnt.

It was not a revolutionary situation in Australia. It was not a revolutionary situation in Australia. It was not a revolutionary situation in Australia.

Yet a victory would have given them a dramatic illustration of their power. They could have laid the basis for many workers breaking with the policies of the ALP, the party they had fought to defend.

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Open Slather

WAS THIS the quote of the year? Robert Holmes a Court said the recent loss was a disaster? "I've never known but perhaps mankind will feel that it was a disaster."

1000 of the people comment from the American Association of University Professors have been sent to the members of the American Association of University Professors and the members of the American Association of University Professors.

THE FLASH from a nuclear explosion will blind you. You won't be able to see the glare of the flash which will burn the pupils of your eyes.

THE BAL have come up with a new idea. They have decided to open a new branch in the city of Melbourne.

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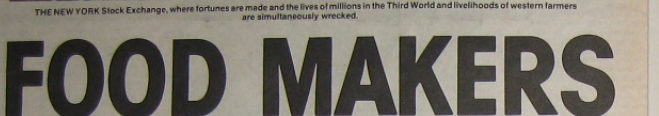
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THE NEW YORK Stock Exchange, where fortunes are made and the lives of millions in the Third World and livelihoods of western farmers are simultaneously wrecked.

WHEN YOU think of capitalists and capitalism you normally think of media barons like Robert Holmes a Court, giant mining operations like MIM, or manufacturing monopolies like BHP.

By Tony Stowers

...the only product that can be sold for a profit is overhead. And what, before anything else, do people most need to survive? Food.

Most of Sarah Spargen's book *The Foodcrisis* is devoted to the operations of the top twenty companies which control the production and distribution of food in the world today. She then goes on to show how they affect the world's eating habits, with poor diets in the West, and malnutrition in the East.

For example, "Cargill, Trade, Bunge, Continental and Dreyfus... this cartel of family owned grain companies own only fifty-four per cent of the 52 billion a year wheat trade, but it does not have and need the jurisdiction of government."

Similarly, according to the United Nations, the world's top exports of cocoa, bananas, tobacco, tea, coffee, sugar, rice and wheat, with a total of \$2,247 million in 1975, are largely controlled by 15 transnational companies.

Such a revelation should not come as a surprise. Indeed, Marx predicted such a process of centralisation of wealth more than 100 years ago as being inherent in capitalism.

The big companies have resources that normal farmers do not. Their interests are spread widely across sectors and

A tale of waste, profit & starvation

...of food and I'm out of work!" One of the by-products of all preceding society, such as slavery or feudalism, was that they were plagued by crises of starvation and related diseases.

Capitalism has solved that, but instead plunged us into a series of overproduction. There is actually too much food produced, and yet millions go without.

No wonder is this contradiction more obvious than in agriculture. The profound comment of our time is that for the first time we have the technical capacity to free man from the scourge of hunger.

A decade later, television saw a shocked audience graphic portrayals of a devastating famine in Ethiopia.

Thus there is a sad book for demonstrating just how big capital dominates our daily lives, and how this domination affects the world supply of the things we need to live.

And it isn't summed up by an American farmer addressing a Mexican, saying that there's something wrong here... you're

can see the ghastly contradiction of bankrupt farmers and starving people.

But she seeks to work within the capitalist system to change this. She accepts the right of big companies to make profit. "In a sense the company cannot be criticised for doing what they were set up to do, make profits."

She seems determined to ignore the inevitable connection between the drive for profit and the other juxtaposition of "overproduction" and starvation.

It is the drive for profit that will continue to centralise the industry by the houses and the same running the BWU.

Why was such a strong, well-organised union, with a militant rank and file tradition so quickly reeled in?

For a start, they faced the combined weight of ALP state and federal governments, the courts, the police, the ACTU leadership and the officials of other key building unions all lined up against them.

But it did not make defeat of the BLF inevitable. Quite clearly, however, in the face of such a powerful alliance, the union could not win on its own. It needed the active support of other workers.

Industrial Analysis



While the BLF has suffered a major defeat.

By Mick Armstrong

The BLF has not been destroyed. They have lost official coverage of tens of thousands of builders' labourers in Victoria and New South Wales and have seen most of their members signed up into the rival BWU.

And they have seemed helpless to stop this, their organisers running around from site to site, picking line to picket line, desperately trying to stop the collapse of their on-site organisation.

Now they are reduced to a few sites, and their struggle to just a few pickets in Melbourne, despite the fact that they were set up to do, make profits.

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reigned from their union in protest at their official being police onto building sites.

On a number of sites, industrial action was taken by BWU members along with electricians and plumbers in support of the BLF.

There have been large collections in support of the BLF on numerous jobsites, especially in Melbourne. Meat workers, wharfie, food processors, public servants and many others have all raised money for the embattled union.

However, to win, to defeat the government's onslaught, the BLF needed to turn this largely passive sympathy into direct action by means of demonstrations, meetings and mass pickets.

The BLF failed to do this. They were not to get some kind of broader support, in practice they tended to rely on themselves alone to fight off the Labor government attack.

Even when it came to their own membership, the BLF officials did little to mobilise them on a union-wide basis in the lead-up to the degeneration. In Melbourne, there were no mass meetings, no industry-wide strikes, no preparations for mass solidarity.

The failure to organise the membership as a whole was matched by a tendency to underestimate the extent of the offensive against the union.

The BLF officials and many militants didn't seem to appreciate how determined the Labor Party was to smash them. The lack of funds to maintain the union for the long term was a major problem.

THE KEY to victory was mobilising the rank and file of the BLF for an all-out struggle.

...for taking on and defeating Hawke and Cain. Secondly, the failure of the BLF officials flowed from the fact that they themselves are part of the trade union bureaucracy. The most militant part of the bureaucracy is in fact, but not part of the union.

Even when trade union officials grudgingly went to fight, they tend to do it bureaucratically. They do things from the top down, rather than relying on mass action from below.

That is the way they are accustomed to act. Nevertheless, even given the lack of preparation in the lead-up to degeneration, it was not too late. The situation could have been turned around.

But such methods were totally inappropriate in the new situation, totally unable to cope with the wide-scale police actions, totally unable to deal with ALP governments which were even prepared to discipline the building industry bosses to stop any deals with the BLF.

In Victoria, the Cain government had made it clear to the wily ally developer who called it a "rental crisis". Yarras is the biggest project in town and the BLF there were more militant and well supported.

They came out on strike against being forced into the BWU, but were left to fight alone and eventually forced back to work.

What was needed was to mobilise every loyal member of the BLF in Melbourne to picket the BLF site, to let nothing in the BLF be prepared, whether willingly or unwillingly, to participate in the carve-up of the BLF.



Women and Revolution

FOR A DECADE after 1914 the storms of war and revolution swept violently across Europe.

Great upheavals raked Germany, Russia and Italy as the working masses sought to bring down the rulers who had sold them into the slaughter and suffering.

Their foreword, *Workers' Women's Day*, became famous. Lenin, Trotsky and the great German Party leader Rosa Luxemburg, but with these giants stood a host of lesser female figures.

This was one of the most important women's days since the SPD. This was for a decade the largest socialist party in the world, and international socialist forces in the working masses sought to bring down the rulers who had sold them into the slaughter and suffering.

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This was one of the most important women's days since the SPD. This was for a decade the largest socialist party in the world, and international socialist forces in the working masses sought to bring down the rulers who had sold them into the slaughter and suffering.

For them the idea of revolution had long since become more than a slogan. Lenin centered this background of ideas as a defender of the revolutionary traditions. This took her into battle on a range of fronts.

It was in this, as well as in her other work, that she became a leading member of the proletarian Communist party, the CPD. This was for a decade the largest socialist party in the world, and international socialist forces in the working masses sought to bring down the rulers who had sold them into the slaughter and suffering.

CLARA Zetkin was one of a tiny band of socialists to oppose the carnage of the First World War by the beginning.

PROFESSOR MURDOCH

A MAJOR battle is going on in Britain between Australian premier boss Rupert Murdoch and the British printers' unions.

And throughout the unions in the dispute has understood how disastrous the attitudes of the "deficit" will be these days.

Murdoch has set out to break the power of the unions by moving his printing plant from the traditional home of British newspapers, Fleet Street, to a new site in the London suburb of Wapping.

Along the way he sacked the old staff and recruited new employees who lack skills and experience.

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advised women comrades to fight at the local level to lead the mass of working women forward. It provided them with arguments and information to counter conservative ideas.

Grubauer highlighted strikes by working women in Germany and abroad. One of these strikes, in New York in 1908, led Zetkin to write the first issue of the International Women's Day commemorative journal, *Women's Day*.

Her proposal was endorsed by the Socialist International in 1910, and the International Women's Day has been celebrated ever since.

Party moderates attacked Grubauer's "unintentional" to most working women, and demanded "political" material on housework, childbearing and fashion.

Zetkin bowed to pressure and introduced this material. But she supplemented the material on housework also contained educational material on socialism and basic class politics.

But perhaps more important was her struggle against war and militarism. In 1911 Germany, hungry for war, set an empire, staged a provocative military action in Morocco.

The SPD leaders passed a vague resolution against attacking their own government without specifically mentioning the war effort in the parliament.

Zetkin was one of the first to denounce this betrayal. In November she joined the Communist Party, the KPD, at its founding conference, taking the leadership of the SPD when the war grew unpopular. It opposed the war, but was wrecked by the struggle of reform and revolution.

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ISKRA was the name of the newspaper produced by Russian revolutionaries from 1900-1903.

In its establishment represented a critical turning point in the building of the revolutionary party, which led the Russian workers to power in 1917.

By the late 1890s, a small number of revolutionaries in Russia had come to understand what one struggle led to the industrial working class could destroy the old Tsarist regime and establish democracy.

To build on these gains, Lenin argued, revolutionaries needed to break out of their narrow and limited circles.

To do this they needed a common political line and a disciplined organization.

It was with this in mind that group around Lenin began publishing their monthly journal, *Iskra* or the Spark.

Later after issue, the paper explained the basics of Marxism that only the working class could lead the struggle against the old regime.

And it argued that the necessary political struggle could be built, and the workers could economic struggle against their employers from different circles.

Lenin argued that they would be called on to "support in a revolutionary manner" every struggle of the workers, and to carefully analyze all political developments.

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The editorial board of Iskra.

the organization and be capable of carrying out the concrete responsibilities that entails.

For Lenin, the actual work of writing for the paper and then distributing it would train a cadre in the requisite, hard-core activities necessary to weld individuals together into a disciplined organization.

Of course, the concrete details of this activity are quite different from the activities looked to revolutionaries armed with pistols.

By writing articles about peasants in their own area and economic struggle against their employers from different circles, the party would be trained to analyze all political developments.

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How Lenin began to build a party.



The editorial board of Iskra.

Our Socialist Rally, speaks which carry the general lesson from the political arena around us, speaks which help attract people to our paper and our booklets.

And in learning to carry out this activity around our newspaper, we train ourselves to be able to do the same around our own booklets.

Of course, the concrete details of this activity are quite different from the activities looked to revolutionaries armed with pistols.

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EVERY YEAR, our sister organisation in Britain, the Socialist Workers' Party, puts its full effort into a major political event called Marxists Held in the UK every July.

At Marxism 86, over 3000 people will debate and discuss the theory and practice of Marxism.

Because Marxism is not a static, irrelevant philosophy, but a living force for changing the world, we will have to continually raise the ideas of what is happening around us.

It is this, the Marxist month long struggle which ended in the most important victory of the working class in Britain has been the basis of our success.

The great and bitter struggle brought the question of workers' power back to the fore.

—By Tony Belcher

The point of 'less is more'.

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Into the 1990s

VICTORIAN secondary teachers overwhelmingly rejected the Labor government's proposals for taking schools into the 1990s at a Special General Meeting held in July.

The Labor government's plan to breathtakingly restructure the Victorian education system, even attempted anything as blatantly anti-working class as

Much of the plan centres around giving the schools greater powers over staffing and conditions.

Each school would receive a lump sum and be expected to pay all their own costs from it—buildings, equipment, teachers' salaries, the lot.

The proposals would effectively create two classes of state school and increase the disparity that already exists between rich and poor schools.

A Troask school could raise substantial extra funds from the working class schools in the area would find almost impossible.

In addition, teachers' conditions and job security would be undermined. As Principal of a School Council, decided to increase teaching hours, or extend the taking of leave, decided in second term, they could do it.

If the teachers attempted to fight it, it would be easier for them to be targeted out, and kicked. If the schools get the right to hire and fire, victimisation and discrimination are bound to increase.

So far, all the teacher unions, even the seab union, the VAT, have rejected the proposals, and have the parent bodies. But the government is determined to cut costs, so we could be in for a big fight.

None of this was controversial at the VSTA meeting. But the proposals for stronger action against the budget cuts that he stood in opposition to what was proposed by the union leadership.

Victorian nurses have sent a letter of the "Forward Nightingale" issue. An editorial in *The Herald* which argued: "Can you still trust a nurse?"

But the nurses have won big improvement, and that's worth more than a ton of newspaper ink in paragoning praise.

—by Tom LaR

At the Hobart Conference

THE Labor Party Conference in Hobart was held in the shadow of the falling dollar.

The speculation and financial market movements would Labor really attack in base? Or would it involve workers?

They were looking for guarantees that it will be the working class who will pay for the decline in the Australian economy.

However, the left within the current attacks and conditions and the motion to endorse his line was moved and seconded by Simon Carr and John Mark.

In the late states and territories, the VSTA had not a reputation as a militant of whose members were prepared to take strike action to demand and improve teachers' wages, education policy.

This action led to major improvements in both areas. That reputation largely all other unions, the VSTA has been affected by the plan to the last few years.

Like many other workers, teachers have lost confidence in their ability to fight back and make gains through their own strength.

The trend these days is a negotiation between the union officials and the government, culminating in wage arbitration or wage conditions and wages.

It is to be hoped that teacher anger at the 1990 proposal and the recently announced "Market Effect" pay cut of 2%.

When workers do begin to break through years of stagnation, they can be the basis for a useful fightback.

—by Tom LaR

HOW'S THAT?

THE EXTENT to which Labor Left politicians are willing to go to find something "progressive" about the Hawke government is truly amazing.

In a recent interview, the Minister for Social Security and government minister, the Socialist Left, Brian Howie, pointed out that the government remains with the provision of 20,000 additional places in child care.

He didn't mention of course the 30% hike in child care fees his department introduced in April. And when asked how all this squarred with the certainty of budget cuts, all he could do was offer a vague hope that the government would cut the budget without cutting welfare.

The reality is that Hawke and Keating have made it quite clear that they are willing to get on with the decision made at the ALP conference.

But their commitments to the bosses in the form of Budget cuts? They'll make sure they honour them. The welfare budget is almost certain to be cut. And Brian Howie will keep the crocodile tears.

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WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALISM

WORKERS' POWER

REVOLUTION

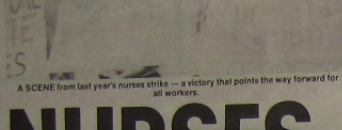
INTERNATIONALISM

TWO HUNDRED WORKERS at the Bonair-Prix air-conditioning factory in Moorabin, Melbourne, have learnt what it means to "Pull Together for Australia!"

A LIBERATION

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

JOIN US!



A SCENE from last year's nurses strike — a victory that points the way forward for all workers.

IN OCTOBER last year 20,000 Victorian nurses struck for a week against low wages.

Every major hospital in Melbourne was picketed. Strikers refused to work, and the government was forced to negotiate with the nurses.

The strike was extremely popular, as most people agreed that the nurses had been given a raw deal. Yet this didn't stop the Melbourne Argus from attacking them.

An eye-witness account of the strike was written by a former Victorian health worker and published in other papers.

The end result could be a dangerous inflammatory war.

The Melbourne press in general expressed sympathy for the nurses' fight but was not willing to publicise anything about it.

The Cain government admitted there was a problem, but steadfastly refused to grant a wage rise. There simply wasn't enough money in the state.

Two hundred workers at the Bonair-Prix air-conditioning factory in Moorabin, Melbourne, have learnt what it means to "Pull Together for Australia!"

On 24 June, the boss gave the workers 10 minutes off their leave for the day, for good or bad.

This came as a total shock to the workers because the company had promised that there was plenty of work and that a new product was to be made in October.

The officer gave each worker a letter saying they were being sacked. The letter said that the company was being taken over.

From that day 140 members of the metal union have been picketing the factory.

They've fought the best picket line in the world. They're having for the next few weeks, high redundancy money.

It is in a typical strike of the current period, a defensive strike to stop the boss's attack.

substantial gains. Grade 2 nurses, who comprise 60 per cent of the staff, have received a 5.5% wage rise.

Mass resignations by Communist nurses at the Repatriation Hospital in Heidelberg have forced a flow of them, gains into the Communist ranks.

So the successful fightback by Victorian nurses could lead to repercussions throughout the entire hospital system.

For all workers, regardless of whether they work in hospitals or not, the nurses' victory is a sign of what we all could achieve if we broke through the bounds of Hawke's wage-cutting Act.

Victorian nurses have sent a letter of the "Forward Nightingale" issue. An editorial in *The Herald* which argued: "Can you still trust a nurse?"

But the nurses have won big improvement, and that's worth more than a ton of newspaper ink in paragoning praise.

—by Tom LaR

THERE ARE MANY Labor Party supporters and members who are angry and disillusioned with the Hawke government.

But the Hobart Conference showed that they can expect little, if any, of an alternative from the Left.

The Left's performance in Hobart was pitiful. At no stage did they mount a serious political challenge to Hawke and Keating.

This was especially true in the key area of economic policy. Their alternative policy was proclaimed to be an alternative at an alternative at an alternative.

They didn't even bother fighting for it. The Left's Industry Policy was full of "suggestions" and "recommendations" to the government — the right way, into working class government of Hawke.

And when Hawke and Burton got up and read out the proposal, they were pathetic.

As a result, the most miserable display of government support for full wage indexation — one of the

capitalists at the expense of workers.

But the reality of their economic strategy was Industry Policy. They were the government's wage manufacturing machine.

When workers do begin fighting back against the boss, class and one day they will be attacking them. The party that talks about ending the bosses' rule is the party that ends up attacking them.

The party that rests on the trade union unions get up the way, like the B.P.

And the deeper the crisis, the more determined the workers are to end the boss's rule.

The bosses are never completely satisfied with the Liberal, progress but they know well what they want.

Labor has given up its right to maintain the status quo. Labor has given up its right to maintain the status quo.

Hawke and Keating know that they have no choice but to give up their right to maintain the status quo.

—by Tom LaR

India and intolerance

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS NATIONAL OFFICE

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MELBOURNE

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Brisbane

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PO Box 329, Woolloongabba, Queensland 4102

CANBERRA

GPO Box 1667, Canberra, ACT 2601 • Tel. 47 6838

BRANCH MEETINGS

Our branch meetings are the most important part of our political routine. They usually begin with a major talk and discussion on issues of local and national politics. It's best to come a little early as we always start on time. The meetings last a couple of hours, but there are always a plenty of people who stay afterwards for more discussion.

SYDNEY

Sydney Branch of the International Socialists meets every Monday night at 7pm, on the 7th Floor, 42 Margaret St., City, Woolloongabba, Queensland 4102. Phone 699 4608 for further details.

Adelaide's "Let's sing" Network, 29 July. Why every Australian nationalist should be on the list that the world's workers should unite. What is imperialism? A special "How to get power" has been decided. The world beyond here, and what this means for Australia. On the "Let's Take Over the Line" 11 August. What is the way forward to socialism in the trade unions? 18 August. What is the way forward to socialism in the trade unions? 18 August. What is the way forward to socialism in the trade unions? 18 August.

Brisbane

Brisbane Branch of the International Socialists meets every Monday night at 7pm, on the 305-311 Adelaide St., Brisbane, Rm 106, for further details.

MELBOURNE

Melbourne Branch of the International Socialists meets every Tuesday night at 7pm, on the 7th Floor, 42 Margaret St., City, for further details. Tel. 663 3000.
Melb. and Int'l Internat'l, 27 July. A day's work building the first international workers' organisation.
Hobart Branch, 5 August. Why every Australian nationalist should be on the list that the world's workers should unite. What is imperialism? 11 August. What is the way forward to socialism in the trade unions? 18 August. What is the way forward to socialism in the trade unions? 18 August. What is the way forward to socialism in the trade unions? 18 August.

CANBERRA

For details of Canberra meetings, ring Tel. 47 6838 (after hours).

SOCIALIST RALLIES

These are large-scale rallies of our newspapers, The Socialist, its weekly, the Socialist Worker, and the Socialist Worker. Afterwards, we go somewhere for a little refreshment and political discussion.

MELBOURNE

Fridays evenings, 5.00 to 8.00 outside Centropark in the Bourke St. Mall, and afterwards in the upstairs dining room of the Macvor Hotel, corner Lindon and Swanston Streets.
Saturday evenings, 7.00 to 10.00 outside Centropark in the Bourke St. Mall and afterwards at Carri Restaurant, 245 Swanston Street.

SYDNEY

Fridays evenings, 5.00 to 8.00 at the First Station on George and Park Streets (outside Macleay Hotel).

MARXISM FOR BEGINNERS

These are regular classes for communists and all around as an introduction to our basic politics. Each week a discussion is self-contained, so you can start anytime.

MELBOURNE

Saturdays, 2.00 to 4.00 in room 106, 1st floor, 305-311 Adelaide St., Brisbane. Phone 803 2902.
SYDNEY
Phone 889 4848 for details.

APRIL 1919. The shock waves of the Russian revolution reach India, with strikes, mass marches and riots.

The first organized revolt against the British Raj? The first few years are a massive labour strike, open rebellion in the south, and the militant Akali movement in the Punjab.

Peasants, refuse to make to try to work in a campaign that threatens to extend into a revolt against British rule.

The British Viceroy writes to London: "The government of India are prepared for disaster of a more formidable nature than has as the past occurred, and do not seek to minimize in any way the fact that great unrest is caused by the situation."

From similar beginnings of the British Army.

"I discovered," he declared, "that the British Empire has created a class which has fallen in love."

Here, as at every stage, Gandhi's pacifism came second to deeper goals. A more radical example occurred in the second great revolt of popular action in the Punjab in 1920.

Troops opened fire on protesters, killing and injuring hundreds.

But two platoons of Hindu troops refused to fire on a Muslim crowd.

Instead they fraternized, scolding and snatching their guns. The police and military at once withdrew from Peshawar, until a British force struck with air support.

Gandhi denounced the troops for not firing on the crowd.

The order to fire breaks an oath which has taken and renders himself guilty of criminal disobedience.

Gandhi issued six affidavits and orders to disobey, when I am in power... I should be afraid to admit that they might do it.

Such was Gandhi's hypocrisy.

But if he were in power, he would not use violence to threaten his rule.

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THE CATHOLIC reaction in Southern Ireland only adds fuel to the protestant reaction in the North.

FORCE REFORMS DEAFEN

WRITING about the proposed partition of Ireland eight years before it finally happened (in 1921), James Connolly predicted that it would create a "Carnival of Reaction, North and South".

He meant the division of the nation on religious grounds, with a protestant majority in the North and a Catholic one in the South, would Irish civil war in its own right.

The real divisions of class and religion were obscured by religious divisions between Protestants and Catholics.

The labour movement would be frustrated, and the dark forces of religion, landlordism would be allowed a free hand.

In the North, it is too easy to see what the violent Protestant supremacy with its legacy, its enthusiasm and violent spirit swarms any attempt to build a social Labour Party or secular trade unions in the Orange State.

In the South, the Carnival of Reaction has already taken place.

In July, however, it is a festival there too. Amidst motifs to remove a ban on divorce from the constitution was overwhelmingly rejected by 63% to 37%.

Such a vote would be unthinkable even in predominantly Catholic countries in Europe such as France and Italy.

In Old Mother Ireland the Catholic Church was able to mount a reactionary campaign almost beyond belief.

People were warned not just that they risked eternal damnation in hell if they voted for legalised divorce, but that what few possessions and securities they could claim would be impounded too.

The sanctity of marriage was the sanctity of property. If it could be right over with the lack of a P.R. man's goods.

They may have poor wages, small prospects of a decent job, perhaps even ten times less than the children. But at least they are not overworked.

And they know that Mary, Mother of God, is peering in from the secret balcony to see the care of an Anglo-Irish agreement.

It was useful to prove to the protestants in the North that non-Catholics could survive in a union with Ireland.

Fianna Fail, led by Charles Haughey, is waiting for the best chance to vote them down.

WE LIVE, most of us are led to believe, in a world divided into two sorts of nations.

There are the barbarous, undemocratic ones: South America, Canada, the Philippines, totalitarian "communist" countries, and the great African dictatorships.

There are the civilized, democratic countries like Australia, the US, France and Great Britain.

In the civilized countries, the people are safe from coups d'état, unfair imprisonment, arbitrary arrest and other such inhumanities.

And in line with this "civilized" countries conduct their foreign affairs with, as one would expect, a maximum of civility.

It's all cocktail parties and diplomatic notes with nothing more vicious than a bit of hard bargaining over import quotas.

Such is the life. The "New Zealand" of international diplomacy is a world of peace and harmony.

But you might remember that a short while ago (and a couple of French critics in their country) they were protesting, and determined to resist their power. They set out to be NZ trade, to humiliate the NZ government.

There have been reports of French critics in their country, they were protesting, and determined to resist their power. They set out to be NZ trade, to humiliate the NZ government.

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They are to spend the rest of their prison sentence on the French-occupied island of Corsica.

Unfortunately the island is not marked as a future military base. A new colony is being planned, and it is to be called "Britannia".

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Will sanctions work?

A GREAT deal of concern has been expressed by a lot of important sounding people connected with the Commonwealth about the fate of the Commonwealth States.

They are trying to soften the pressure on Thatcher from the black African nations.

The real sanctions that can work will only come from workers making a stand with South Africa in stopped trade.

But as a matter of fact, the world is already in a state of economic recession.

Anything else would be padding the bill of their oppression.

At the same time, anything that adds to the pressure on Pretoria is to be supported.

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substantive for the struggle of the black workers.

From the likes of Malcolm Fraser there is a massive campaign of sanctions will put pressure on South Africa to give up its nuclear weapons.

Sanctions will simply not do the job against South Africa. It is too important to the world economy for the capitalist class, who are too keen to allow it to be really isolated.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S blacks are understandably more worried about police bullets than the rest of the unemployed.

Victims of the offensive

By Diane Fields

AS BARLOW and Chambers languished in a Malaspina prison awaiting execution for drug smuggling, it was sickening to see the manufactured concern of the media gushing out on TV each night.

But then, in the midst of all this, came the shock of an opinion poll which showed a disconcerting large number of Australian, including Barlow and Chambers, should hang.

The hysteria (the communist about drugs has reached a point where many are willing to support judicial murder by use of the most authoritarian regimes in South-East Asia).

It was just as sickening to see some leading lights of the media spotlight to bewail the barbarity of the sentence.

Barlow offered in house the text of a Petition from the 100,000 of the Malaya authorities would be things. Bill Hayden clutched and out of sympathy with his sentence and conviction trying to look important.

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WHEN General Franco launched his military uprising against the Spanish republican government on July 1936, he expected a quick victory.

Francisco's Fascist revolt met the full force of the fury, the courage and the creative genius of the Spanish people.

The resulting civil war was presented to the world as a new democratic and fascist. But it was the working class who fought the fascist attack. And as it went on, they created the beginnings of workers' power.

In the towns and cities, workers committees took over the factories and control food distribution, medical care, and most of the other necessities of everyday life.

In the countryside, the peasants began taking the land from the big landowners and tilling it collectively.

Popular militias, drawn from the trade unions and workers' political parties, fought their own lives, decided their battle plans, and democratically ran the war effort.

Thousands of socialists throughout the world sent aid or went to Spain to join in the workers' militias. The great military rally across Spain, Political prisoners were freed from the gaols. It was followed from months, every city of any importance had at least one general strike.

A graphic example of this was the construction of the heroic addition of US servicemen during the war. On all sides the peace movement of the day was so impressive.

Unfortunately, the allied governments of the Axis have no ground to which to oppose the workers. After all they helped create.

Remember back to the beginning of this year. He on the backs of *Pravda* we came. Heavens! government's latest promotional gimmick, the Drug Offensive.

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which undermined the morale of the right. They also tried to distribute arms to a few thousand workers for the coming showdown.

In the three months before 18 July, in a desperate attempt to quell the rising tide of working class struggle, hundreds of strikers had been arrested.

General strikes were declared illegal and the headquarters of the workers' organizations closed down.

The day before the fascist uprising, the workers' press appeared with gaping holes where the government had censored warnings of the coming coup d'état.

Once Franco was on the move, the government tried to come to terms with him. They suppressed news of the fascist advance.

The Popular Front government, formed in the emergency, refused the demands of the trade unions and left parties for arms.

In the face of this treachery, the Spanish masses began their own mobilisations. Arms were seized, barricades erected and factories occupied.

On the land, the peasants began enthusiastically taking over the large estates.

A tragic worker called Barcelona was "made to get guns". A police major of working class military rally across Spain. Political prisoners were freed from the gaols. It was followed from months, every city of any importance had at least one general strike.

It was only when the bomb broke open that he realised that they were, and that he had no death if they returned.

In Valencia, unarmed workers built barricades of cobble stones around the soldiers' garrison and armed themselves with stones.

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being and not as cops in the capitalist machine."

THE RESULTING civil war was between the liberal capitalist backed up by the workers and the rural labourers on one side and the fascists on the other.

It continued until early 1939, when Franco became dictator, ruling Spain until his death in 1975.

But the fate of the civil war was sealed in May 1937, when a showdown between the Popular Front government and the workers ended in a catastrophic defeat for the working class.

With their revolution smashed, the mass of workers lost the heart to pursue the anti-fascist war which until then had been indistinguishable from the struggle for their own emancipation.

The hopes and aspirations of the masses, ended by the dashed about the guns of the very government which inspired them to revolt in 1936.

To understand how this could happen it is necessary to understand the profoundly mistaken strategy of the Popular Front.

The Popular Front program was never for workers' power. It was only for the alleviation of the misery of the Spanish workers and peasants.

It was the first time that he ever been in a city where the working class was in the saddle.

Practically every badge of any kind had been rejected the idea of a dose of liberalism.

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However the defeat of the revolution cannot be explained only by their counter-revolutionary crime.

BY FAR the largest and most important organization in the working class was the anarcho-trade union, the CNT. It was the largest union in Catalonia, the industrial heartland of Spain.

And the mass of its membership believed in and fought for the idea of workers' revolution through the establishment of a "libertarian communism".

Tragically, the theory and political practice of the anarchists were incapable of providing a precise understanding of the tasks involved in the revolution.

Consequently, the revolutionary workers embraced by the CNT could not lead the majority of the working class to power.

After July 1936, the question of power was posed. Either the workers strengthened their democratic committees by coordinating them and concentrating their power, or the capitalist class would regroup and rearm forces and crush them.

But the CNT was not an oversight, not a betrayal of anarchist principles. It was the logical outcome of the anarchists' anti-political, anti-party politics.

All politics, and all power, are essentially and eternally corrupt and defunct.

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ANARCHIST militia men and women leave Barcelona for the front.

A Revolution Hereafter

The most left wing section of the anarchists, the Friends of Durruti, had begun to break with the anarchist leaders and their old ideas. They had not only refused an attack on the labour press.

They called for the formation of a revolutionary junta based on the centralized power of the working class in order to take power and defend the revolution.

But both groups were far too small to offer an alternative leadership to the CNT. Up to this they would have needed tens of thousands of workers united in one organization and time to break the mass of workers from the CNT leaders.

The CNT parties, buried the news of the attack on the anarchists and called for workers everywhere to join the struggle.

They entered into negotiation with the government who would have offered anything of the CNT could manage to disarm the workers.

Some of the militants were so angry when they heard the news that they had been reversed by an anarchist minister. This was the old strategy of a worker with one hand in the anarchist movement. The alternative was to wait to be beaten.

BEFORE I NEED not have been so. The revolutionary enthusiasm and courage of the Spanish workers was immense.

What was lacking was a party large enough and with the right politics to challenge for power.

A revolutionary party would have taken as its starting point the neighbourhood committees, the factory, shop and peasant collectives and the democratic militia.

There were the living expressions of the revolutionary fervour and imagination which had followed the final blow to the possibility of a society run collectively by those who create the wealth, based on profit but on human need.

It has done not begin in the day of the reconstructions, to refuse to take power in a denial of the possibility of such a society. Anarchism was the first of anarchism when put to the test.

REPUBLICAN assault guards entering Barcelona in May 1937 to crush the revolution.

Open Slather

THE LAST known victim of the world's deadliest disease died 3,100 years ago...

"NOT going to go in" we had about 1,000 to 10,000 that day...

A MARCH OF 500,000 to the world's deadliest disease died 3,100 years ago...

AS MUCH AS \$25 million of the world's deadliest disease died 3,100 years ago...

OVER 100 Australian police were involved in the 1932 strike...

WORDS of radical Don Chapp in his book 'The Politics of the 1930s'...



THE WONTAGGI strikers in 1932. The men in the foreground are holding up their arms in a gesture of protest.

WONTAGGI is a town at war—on active stage against the boss."

By Lucy Chessler

This was the way the Midland Coal negotiator of the industrial coal miners of Wontaggi described the situation in that town in 1932.

In March of that year, 1,300 workers in the coal mines of Wontaggi struck against their boss.

The Wontaggi miners were not troubled by the Victorian Railways which provided a steady market for their coal.

Early in the strike, a committee of 100 miners was elected. They organized into three sub-committees around "programps," relief and "fringe" aid and entertainment.

Right from the beginning these committees caused many problems in the strike. The involvement of almost all the strikers and their families helped maintain morale.

Workers often felt shame in accepting the dole or charity when they were employed. At Wontaggi, because it had bread, the fight for distribution, they felt pride in taking it.

The relief committee even gave a prize to the strikers who first came in at the relief distribution three times a row. This helped encourage a positive attitude.

The men had to be extremely well organized. The strike looked like a long one. The railways had large stocks of coal and there were shipments arriving regularly from NSW.

Men knew it was an attempt to break the union as a prelude to drastically cutting their wages. They had to fight.

Some of the beginning of the Depression here had been a manifestation of the Communist Party's "Miners' Movement" had been set up.

WONTAGGI 1932: How workers began to beat the depression

Some were convinced by the Miners' Movement's call for unity in the township. Others knew that in the past, miners' wives had stood shops that had refused entry.

The entertainment committee organized local functions such as sports and dances. The Union Theatre ran picture shows, dropping admission prices and giving free profits to the miners.

Nearly 20 speakers were hired to give Melbourne. Builders in fear of the police, refused to carry them. Railway officials held them up so long they missed their trains.

Eventually they hired cars and made the trip to Melbourne where they addressed at least a dozen factory gate meetings and gave speeches to 100 workers at Trades Hall and another 150 at the Yarrs Hall.

As it wasn't only the men, the women of Wontaggi formed a committee which also sent letters to Melbourne to raise money and support.

Many of the strikers had other jobs and had to be a slaughterhouse and butcher's shop. Men who had been book-makers organized a repair shop.

A barber's shop and hairdresser's was set up which cut 2,000 people's hair during the strike.

Men's wives organized local meetings' clubs to be active in the township.

Secretary of the union was a building support interstate. Because of their organization and enthusiasm for an all-out strike was growing.

The local Labor state parliamentarian, McKean, was horrified. He complained "The object of this section of deprives was openly stated to be the defeat of the State Government."

While it is gratifying to know that the labor has been settled on a strong belief will be returned that the strikers will return to work without a fight.

The miners weren't chastised in spirit—exactly the opposite. The Miners' Movement swept the polls in the union elections, bringing in power a local Communist Party member, Miris Williams.

TO MOST people outside South Africa, following the course of the struggle has been extremely difficult since the imposition of the State of Emergency.

The regime is claiming a majority against the black movement, but through the lies and distortions of the press censorship it is hard to tell whether this claim is true.

Nevertheless, though the movement is not yet defeated, it as clearly suffered a setback. The latest "Day of Action" on 27 July was far less successful than the strike action on Soweto Day 10.

To understand why this is the case, it is necessary to have a clear analysis of the position of the movement in South Africa. The main trends have existed since the resistance. The first, and by far the largest, is associated with the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF)—often called "populists".

It is again that apartheid can only be broken by a movement that brings together all sections of the black population including the middle-income, respectable community and the handful of black millionaires.

The movement can win it is argued, by pressuring the government to retreat. At certain points this has been achieved, but has previously limited the struggle, because of their organization and enthusiasm for an all-out strike was growing.

There is some recognition of the role of the working class in this struggle. But it is seen only as a subordinate and auxiliary role.

Strikes are seen as another means of pressuring the government to retreat. But they are not seen as a means by which the working class can take the lead in the struggle for the future.

EVERY SO OFTEN, something happens to embroil the ruling class. The Arbitration Commission comes on superannuation claims one such occasion.

Needs to say, the superannuation decision, like the National Wage Case, is one which did not give employers a one-way as to how to get the employers to agree to it.

There are those who say that the Commission's ruling effectively laid down the law for the future. It is not so simple as that.

That is why the racist state under apartheid has to be broken by a movement that brings together all sections of the black population including the middle-income, respectable community and the handful of black millionaires.

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ONLY the black working class has the power to smash apartheid.

the stress on exploiting the opposition that have opened up in recent years for the building of legal trade unions.

They have rightly seen that the white elite cannot ignore the industrial struggle which will locate the apartheid state in a successful state in the gold of diamond mines, once they would improve their position in the gold of diamond mines, once they would improve their position in the gold of diamond mines.

Strikes can deny the state the resources it needs to fight back. The money to pay its troops and police, the money to keep the tanks moving, the money to pay the army.

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Revolutionary Struggle



ON 18 AUGUST 1926, Lenin said in a Moscow secret session of the provincial congress of the Communist Party that the workers were charged with having one eye on the state and the other on the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

By August all strikes had been called off by their leaders. But they were all actually organized by the role of Lenin's secretary, Leonid Brezhnev.

He was Lenin's closest confidant and his role was to ensure that the revolution was carried out in the most effective manner possible.

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the self-emancipation of the working class, but in this respect it was not different from the other revolutions.

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the grip of the most reactionary ideas with unopposed, complete and unqualified success.

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It was not different from the other revolutions. It was not different from the other revolutions.

"NO OTHER soldier in the revolutionary cause has been so right to recognize that Mother Jones was one of the best organizers, strike leaders, and agitators working in America."

It was not different from the other revolutions. It was not different from the other revolutions.

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The AFL leader of the time, Samuel Gompers, thought that women should not work at all, except in the home.

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It was not different from the other revolutions. It was not different from the other revolutions.

It was not different from the other revolutions. It was not different from the other revolutions.

To change the world we have to understand it. Every branch of the International Socialist has a bookkeeping setting books and pamphlets on a wide range of topics.

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AGAINST THE STREAM

IN THE years after the Second World War, the revolutionary left suffered a profound crisis of ideas.

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That is, at the centre of their policies was the fundamental Marxist conception that the working class was not organized for itself.

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they used the strikes that did occur as opportunities to explain their politics.

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It was not different from the other revolutions. It was not different from the other revolutions.

For the most part this was because communists saw in Russia the only defence against German fascism, and the only socialist "homeland" that they could identify with.

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HIROSHIMA

FORTY years ago, the first atomic bombs were used against Japanese civilians.

Today the nuclear armistice of NATO and the Warsaw Pact contain the equivalent of one million bombs of the type that was dropped on Nagasaki. With the fear of nuclear war growing, we have to ask ourselves—why were the first atomic bombs used? And more importantly, will they be used again?

US President Truman explained to the world that the atomic bombs were used "to shorten the agony of the war, in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of young Americans."

But this was merely the public excuse for an act of monumental barbarism. So if the atomic bombs were not dropped to stop the war, why were they used?

By May 1945, three months before Hiroshima, Japan was in a state of siege.

Three-quarters of its merchant marine had been lost in an attempt to keep open the shipping lanes. This meant that shipping to and from the mainland almost ceased.

Essential goods became scarce, as did food. Prices rose, and black markets flourished. Workers were forced to increase their productivity. Wages were driven down. Restrictions on child and female labor and regulations limiting working hours were abolished.

The US bombing of Japanese cities was so effective that production (including munitions) dropped sharply. Rail transport deteriorated.

In fact the US war machine was so thorough that in just one capsule raid on Tokyo 125,000 were killed.

This moved Henry Stimson, US Secretary of War, to declare to President Truman:

"I was a little fearful that before we could get priority with the atomic bomb the Air Force might have Japan so thoroughly bombed out that the fire weapon would not have a fair background to show its strength."

By July 1945, one month before Hiroshima was bombed, the Japanese were making overtures to end the war.

Since the Russians and the Japanese had a neutrality pact, Russia was asked by the Japanese to mediate between the US and Japan with a view to a peace settlement.

The White House was well aware of this, as the US was retaining the cable traffic. But what concerned the Russian rulers was, once Japan surrendered, who would rule the Japanese mainland? Both the Russians and the US wanted Japan in their respective spheres of influence.

Truman had once warned that the Russians would soon be put in their places, and that the United States would take the lead in running the world in the way that the world ought to run. "I

In July 1945, the US successfully tested the atomic bomb at Alamogordo in New Mexico.

At last, Washington had a weapon that would keep the Russians at their length while it established hegemony over the rest of the globe—including Japan.

The Japanese desire for peace were checked by both the Russians and the US. Truman ordered the order for atomic bombs to be dropped on Hiroshima.

The imperial designs of the two post-war superpowers were the real reason 70,000 people in Hiroshima died on 6 August. By the end of 1945, a further 70,000 had died from burns and radioactivity.

In the following decades, thousands more died from cancers, leukemia and other diseases.

The day after the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, Russia declared war on Japan and moved troops into Manchuria.

Henry Dimson argued that "the thing to do was to get this surrender through as quickly as we can before Russia, should get down to reach of the Japanese homeland."

"It was of great importance to get the homeland into our [US] hands before the Russians could put in any substantial claim to occupy and help rule it."

And so the second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Repeatedly, the Japanese refused to end the war.

The bombs were a demonstration of the West's military superiority. Truman declared: "Our dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan... forced Russia to reconsider her position in the Far East."

This was much closer to the truth than Truman's "humanitarian" concern for the loss of life that might have occurred in an invasion of the Japanese mainland.

When a presidential committee met in May 1945, the possibility was raised of dropping the bomb on an island off the Japanese coast, as a demonstration.

This was reported and the minutes of the meeting record "... that this would tend to make a profound psychological impression on all groups of the inhabitants as possible."

"It was agreed that the most desirable target would be a vital plant employing a large number of workers and closely surrounded by workers' houses."

But the "profound psychological impression" was meant to be achieved by the atomic raid on the cotton spinning plant at Hiroshima or Nagasaki.

Since the first atomic bombs were dropped forty years ago, the ruling classes have not become any more humanitarian, any more responsible, or any less influenced by the same logic of competition between imperialists.

If that competition forces them to use atomic weapons, they will do so unashamedly as they did in 1945.

We need to disarm them before they do!

The Socialist

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS
No 191, SEPTEMBER 1985

SAVING THE WORLD

Not for these bladders!



ROBERT HOLMES A COURT
Born in South Africa, went to school with the gold and diamond magnate Oppenheimer, great grandson of Baron Heytesbury.

His financial manoeuvres, and his raid on BHP have netted him a fortune worth some \$600 million, making him during 1982 in a desperate attempt to improve profits.

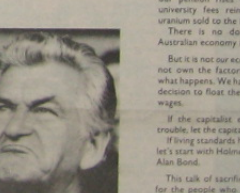
When Labor was elected in 1983, it did nothing about these jobs. Instead, it organized the Steel Industry Agreement, which provided BHP with protection against imports, guaranteed they would have total wage restraint and allowed them to mount a savage attack on working conditions.



BRIAN LOTON
The managing director of BHP. This year, BHP's profit reached \$1 billion, up from \$250 million just three years ago.

The main profit improvement has come from BHP's steel mills. In 1983, BHP's steel industry was virtually finished, having sacked 12,000 workers during 1982 in a desperate attempt to improve profits.

When Labor was elected in 1983, it did nothing about these jobs. Instead, it organized the Steel Industry Agreement, which provided BHP with protection against imports, guaranteed they would have total wage restraint and allowed them to mount a savage attack on working conditions.



BOB HAWKE
Not yet in the Holmes & Court league, the Prime Minister has still managed to do all right for himself.

Last month he sold his home in the pleasant Melbourne suburb of Sandringham for a cool \$450,000. He dodged the swimming pool and tennis court by helping push the price up.

He pays himself \$119,000 a year. That's nearly \$2000 a week. Labor's tax cut for the rich, announced in the Budget, will mean a pay rise for our Bob of some \$2000 by July next year. No doubt there are a few pensioners who would be glad to see him from the Budget. But then, they don't represent the Labor Party, do they?

THE CRISIS
and the socialist alternative to Labor

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The International Socialist pamphlet on the economic crisis that is reshaping our lives. A pamphlet that outlines the alternative to Labor's strategy of running the system for the bosses.

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WHY DID THEY DROP THE BOMB?

By Boris Penrose

If you've seen enough of Reagan already... You ain't seen nothin' yet...!

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Letterman South Africa...

TWO MONTHS into the emergency 'Socialist Worker,' the newspaper of our British comrades, carried this exclusive report from South Africa...

WHEN the state emergency was announced it threw the whole of the movement off balance. But now people are beginning to understand its implications and are starting to organize again.

At the same time the emergency has shown the strength of the various organisations, both in the popular movement based on the townships, and in the unions.

It has pushed people into thinking much more seriously about their mistakes and the need for stronger forms of organisation... Part of what the state has done is to regain control of the townships. In this it has been largely successful.

The state is hailed... does not mean that political solutions, both internal and external, are really functioning. They have been reduced to small groups who are attempting to gather the pieces back together again.

It is clear the regime is still interested in talking to black leaders who believe can be strong... While the movement has been suffering under the emergency, Bishop Tutu is making regular journeys to see Botha. He and Botha even appeared on TV together.

I think Tutu's destroying himself as far as he can... His following is being considerably eroded. There are still those who are saying that "great guy who is doing things for us" but that's only among the very few.

ON 22 AUGUST catholic and protestant workers in Northern Ireland unite in a courageous display of solidarity... The actions followed through by protestant farmers and by the Catholic Farmers' and "Lime" unions like the IRA.

They took action to show their contempt for the paramilitary and persistent bigotry who had threatened catholic civil servants... The way to stop these attacks has to be a united front of all workers and the capitalist system.



At present most of the township based organisations are not really functioning. They have been reduced to small groups who are attempting to gather the pieces back together again.

Most of the UDF-type unions in the Johannesburg area are general unions such as the South African Congress of Trade Unions or the General and Allied Workers Union... There has been a lot of talk about the need for a new union.

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BRANCH MEETINGS

Our branch meetings are the most important part of our political training. They usually begin with a major talk and discussion on some aspect of socialist politics.

SYDNEY
Every branch of the International Socialist works every Monday night at 7pm on the 1st floor of 252 Swanston Street, Melbourne. Phone 653 3060.
Canberra: There is a Revolution in Australia! 1 September: Australian unions have challenged their bosses in the past. Will they do so again?
"Left Wing Communism" 8 September: Should revolutionary parties work with non-revolutionaries or work through the bosses' government?
Western Australia: Why Revolutionaries Always Fail? 15 September: What's necessary for workers' revolution to succeed in the future?
Why the Australian Economy is in Crisis, 22 September: Australia is becoming a banana republic, and what can be done about it?

BRISBANE
Brisbane Branch of the International Socialist works every Monday night at 7pm in Room 108 Tel 1 Box 323 Woolloongabba, 303-311 Adelaide St, Brisbane. Ring 229 8832 for further details.
The Moore Trust, 1 September: One of the greatest tragedies in history showed the British in 1914.
The Uprising Last Year, 8 September: The struggles of the last 12 months have led to the present situation.
Why Was Trotsky's 1937 September: The story of one of the greatest revolutionaries of the twentieth century.
Spain '36, 22 September: How a workers' revolution nearly saved Spain from fascism.
France '68, 29 September: Why 1968 France was greeted by the biggest general strike in history.

MELBOURNE
Melbourne Branch of the International Socialist works every Tuesday night at 7pm in Room 161 Box 323 Woolloongabba, 303-311 Adelaide St, Brisbane. Ring 229 8832 for further details.
Alameda, 23 September: Under capitalism we live in constant fear. How can we change this?
Spain '36, 30 September: How a workers' revolution nearly saved Spain from fascism.
France '68, 7 October: Why 1968 France was greeted by the biggest general strike in history.

MARXISM FOR BEGINNERS

These are regular classes for beginners and those who are new to socialist politics. Each week an introduction to self-education is given.

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AND WHO CAN BLAME HIM!

THERE can be no doubt about the increasing hostility of thousands of ordinary workers towards the present Labor government.

By Phil Griffiths
Abortion cuts wages by 10%. Society was deeply outraged by the losses were on the attack, demanding more cuts, more attacks on the army of unemployed, and the shacking of the unions.

With most workers feeling demoralised and weak, "left-wing" like Jack Lang drew mass support behind them. But some of them were interested in organising a fight back. Lang in particular was a demagogue. He was looking after the rich and powerful rather than the people it is supposed to look after.

Every Labor government has never been in a position to take the government is taking. Every Labor government has never been in a position to take the government is taking.

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unrequited by any right-wing government, was only the top of the iceberg. Chifley did everything possible to break the historic metal strike of 1946-7 when the strike metal trades in Vietnam went out for seven months to win a major pay raise and the 40-hour week.

Chifley was so bad that even extreme right-wing union officials, like Albert Knox, someone whose whole career had been tied up with stopping industrial action, were forced to criticise him.

It was Chifley and Labor that introduced the notorious Crimes Act and the ASIO. It was the Queensland Labor government of the time that introduced most of the legislation used by Billie Peters. In most people's eyes, Labor's reputation was finally rescued by Prime Whitlam, who was in office from 1973-5.

But once again, this is a myth. The Whitlam days are surrounded by a fog of nostalgic radicalism for many people. In the end all he achieved was to contain the hostility to Labor within the deadening limits of parliamentary politics.

However, a minority drew revolutionary conclusions, seeing that the problem was capitalism, not the Labor government. They set out to prop up the capitalist system.

Today we don't even have a depression, yet we see top ministers in the Labor government competing with each other to see who can outdo the other in their verbal sparring.

WE HAVE GONE FORWARD BACK

That exists in a union like MAWU. The momentum for organisation in the NUM has clearly come from the workers' choice.

Most rank and file miners are not interested in the details of what happens to the organisation. They are interested in the results. They are interested in the results.

Most of the decisive elements will be the direction that management chooses. At the moment it seems the mine owners are not interested in negotiations and some kind of compromise.

Immediately after the emergency was announced there were a number of strikes, particularly in the retail sector. Later, strikes on the mines also seemed to be taking off.

Workers unite to fight bigotry! The struggle for socialism, against British imperialism and the struggle which defines it.

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The Quality of Mercy

SYDNEY witnessed some amazing scenes during the recent floods.

With the breakdown of drainage and electrical systems across much of the city some thousands of kindness and even heroism.

The newspapers and TV were full of reports of people risking their lives to save others. At least one of the deaths resulted from such unselfish behavior.

People were related to take complete strangers into their homes simply on the basis that they had nowhere to go. Within the first few days charities had distributed 50,000 donated blankets.

Donations of money, food, clothing and furniture continued to arrive at the warehouses of the various welfare agencies as the extent of the damage became known.

Despite fears, there were no arrests for looting. On the contrary, the crime rate fell sharply in the week of the floods. All this is fairly familiar. Tales of heroism and self-sacrifice by ordinary people in times of disaster are much a cliché of the media as simple drug and page 1 jargon.

What is interesting though is that this should come from the same people who are always the first to denounce socialism as a utopian fantasy.

So socialism, according to the standard "common sense" line so beloved of the tabloid press, could never work because of human nature.

People are so selfish, too lazy and too greedy. Yet consistency in argument is impossible for these defenders of capitalism.

Because they can't deny that every time there is a natural disaster like a flood, or a war, or some other emergency, these ordinary people who are supposedly most opposed to socialism work themselves into doing self-sacrificing, energetic, and courageous things to help each other.

The reality is that greed and selfishness we can see produced as well in the product of a fixed human nature. It is the product of a shared and mutual interest.

This is a product of capitalism.

In the *Commonist Manifesto* Karl Marx pointed out that capitalism "left remaining no other consolation for the wretched man and maid than naked self-interest".

The kind of society we live in determines what traits will be "natural". A society based on ruthless competition, on getting ahead at the expense of others, is not one that encourages selfless behavior.

It is moreover a society that destroys honest and healthy relationships between people. A society based on competition is built by mutual and jealousy, not on the mutual frustrations caused by poverty and unemployment.

Yet there is another side to the "human nature" in our societies, including capitalism. We have to be prepared as well to cooperate.

We depend on each other for our survival as much as on our individual abilities. And this is a fundamental contradiction, which in times of crisis becomes more apparent.

When some external threat demands complete co-operation between people, all the norms of behavior in our sick society are thrown out the window.

Complete strangers related to each other with more intimacy and honesty than a common amongst family members. People who normally might think twice about surrendering their seat on a bus then themselves into a raging flood to rescue someone.

This was the staple of the disaster movies that were popular in the sixties. A group of unlikely mates with all sorts of different backgrounds find themselves temporarily cooperating.

Yet for all this confidence there is a dimension of truth in it, that anyone who has been involved in such a situation will testify.

The problem is that natural disasters don't get rid of capitalism. After the emergency is finished the old norms of behavior and the old world mappings with their faces and all the rubbish associated with it.

But what natural disasters like the Sydney floods do do give is a glimpse of what a revolution can do to "human nature". For like a natural disaster a revolution completely upsets the norms of human behaviour and human relationships.

Which is a way not surprising. Revolutions are, after all, usually a response to an extreme economic or political crisis which appears to most people to be a sign of natural disaster. Yet in the struggle against the bosses, workers are forced to unite, not just with their immediate neighbors, but with a mass that across international borders.

And the struggle leaves more than a few human interest stories for the tabloid press. It leaves the working class in control of the factories and the offices, transformed in the struggle, with a different "human nature".

The world is full of political parties, individuals, governments and countries which call themselves "socialist".

But what is this strange creed that can unite such diverse individuals as Paul Robeson, Murrain, Jose, Fonda and Mahatma Gandhi under the same banner?

Their aim all be socialist, though all claim to be. In fact, though, the term could have no meaning.

Yet, if there is a meaning, a meaning so powerful that not only has socialism been condemned from pulpits and in edicts for nearly 200 years, but many of its worst enemies have felt compelled to call themselves "socialist".

It was none other than King George V, who, in the wake of the Russian revolution, declared "we are all socialist nowadays". Yet his revolution didn't lead him to give up his throne.

To fight for socialism therefore it is necessary first to be precise about what it is—to rescue the original vision of socialism from the lies of its enemies.

THROUGHOUT the history of capitalism, people have dreamt of getting rid of this system of inequality.

They have dreamt of using the amazing wealth capitalism creates to free humanity from drudgery and want.

In the early days of capitalist development, most socialists were committed to ideas which were utopian.

They dreamt of a society in which everyone would be free and equal, they talked of the liberation of women—a very advanced idea for the time. But workers, their plate full

of socialism from below.

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the future weren't based on an analysis of what place they could dream of any fantastic scheme they pleased.

All that was needed was to convince more and more people of their ideas.

So they drew up detailed plans of how everyone should live. One of them thought all the houses would be done by their own hands, while the older children like getting dirty.

Another Freshman named Fourier, though the seas would turn to lemonade.

The opinion was the horrors of the system around them. The dream of something better, but as in Russia, it had to be based under the control of the working class.

Only such a society can make complete freedom and equality possible.

THIS basic idea did not enter Marx's head as a bolt from the blue, or because his was a genius. Marx developed them out of his experience of workers' struggles.

He witnessed the collective and democratic organizations the workers created in their efforts to resist their employers, and saw in them the potential for workers' power and socialism.

For the first time, socialism was just the product of the imagination of wild-eyed dreamers. It was a concrete reality which could be created out of the activity of living, breathing human beings.

It didn't have to wait until we were all perfect. As Marx argued, the struggle to free ourselves from the chains of capitalism would make us fit to rule.

And again, workers' revolutions have created truly democratic organs of power, capable of running society collectively.

In revolt after revolt, we have seen workers elect their own delegates to the workplaces and hold them directly accountable, unlike our politicians who as they please from one election to another.

For instance, after the Russian revolution some Bolshevik Red Guards simply fired on a peaceful demonstration of right-wingers in Petrograd, the capital.

The number of Bolshevik delegates on the Petrograd Soviet, the central workers' council, was reduced within

hours to reflect the workers' will.

When we see the kind of any Australian they get into the need to do this close to any time they have to be a response from Bob Heke.

The rest of the history was three years to merit only a break, every promise they break, they have meant to do.

When the billions of dollars at present would immediately be used to feed, house and clothe the masses of people living in starvation and poverty around the world.

The skills and energy of everyone would be put to use, including the millions who at present languish on the dole queues.

By employing the amazing computer and robot technology workers could be freed from the most mind-numbing and dangerous jobs, giving everyone more leisure and time to participate in political life and decision-making.

Marx saw the abundance and technological advance under capitalism as providing the material basis for socialism. Today, that is even more the case.

Every day more food is produced than is needed to feed everybody on the planet. Every day there's a scramble for profits. Things can't pay any more.

Open and accountable democracy, even on a world scale, is impossible in Africa.

All representative meetings would be transformed by satellite to every corner of the world. Detailed technical information would be made decisions about the allocation of resources.

However, contrary to what the Utopian fantasists would like to see, socialism cannot be imposed down the throats of the workers of the world.

The only way socialism depends on the active participation of the vast majority of society, we can only



WHEN THE workers struggle, it does so collectively. That is why it is the only class that can bring about socialism.

ALTHOUGH experiences have occurred in revolutions which were eventually defeated.

When we finally have a victorious revolution, and production is organized for human benefit, it will be enormous.

The billions of dollars at present would immediately be used to feed, house and clothe the masses of people living in starvation and poverty around the world.

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A PORTRAIT OF OPPRESSION

THE COLOUR PURPLE has a range of ingredients that should recommend it to any socialist.

The film exposes the oppression of blacks, especially blacks, in the American South in the early years of this century.

And it shows the fighting spirit that can exist even in the most degrading conditions.

Unfortunately, the film's potential is never realized. Instead we have to settle for a "human interest" story that provides little explanation for the hatred or the oppression or "eventual triumph" over it.

Celle, the main character, has a roster file. Her experiences in her early years include by her top father, and the loss of her two youngest children.

Then at the age of fourteen, she is married to Mister, a black farmer, and eventually separated from her only friend, her sister Nettie.

Most of the next ten years is taken up with humiliation, beatings and back-breaking work for the husband and his warring circle of children.

It all makes for a historically depressing first relationship—as Celle does with Shug.

There are great scenes that make you feel like cheering—Celle's declaration of independence, Sophia knocking the mayor down in the mud.

But except for Sophia's clash with racism, you could almost forget the characters are black.

Director Steven Spielberg's desire to say something universal about human beings ends in extreme individualism.

Yet there is nothing universal in Celle's predicament. She suffers because she is black and a woman. A white class which women would have nothing in common with her experiences.

Focusing on her individual solution to the oppression implies that the oppressed have to fight, not together and so their oppression, but separately as individuals to rise above it.

So oppression cannot be rolled back and beaten. It is an unfortunate backdrop of pain and suffering from which a few special individuals can rise to glory, or at least to partial independence.

Meanwhile the mass of less courageous, less interesting black men, must be left to suffer.

Of course we could hardly agree a highly intelligent Hollywood director to come up with a complete revolutionary analysis.

The problem with *The Colour Purple* is that it doesn't simply lack the solution to oppression, it actually obscures it.

All we are left with is a portrait of oppression without any explanation for its existence, and relationships with other individuals as the basis for overcoming it.

There are great scenes that make you feel like cheering—Celle's declaration of independence, Sophia knocking the mayor down in the mud.

FOURIER thought the seas would turn to lemonade.

IN 1922 BOLIVIAN workers shattered one of the most... The strike was a... The strike was a...

It was the highest point of... The strike was a... The strike was a...

Meanwhile other unions... The strike was a... The strike was a...

The revolution erupted in... The strike was a... The strike was a...

AGAINST THE STRAM... The strike was a... The strike was a...

IN 1932 LESS than a dozen... The strike was a... The strike was a...

However the catalyst for... The strike was a... The strike was a...

High opportunities to... The strike was a... The strike was a...

When the Labour Prime... The strike was a... The strike was a...

Estimation grew when... The strike was a... The strike was a...

middle class MNR party... The strike was a... The strike was a...

And on independence... The strike was a... The strike was a...

It takes a planned, armed... The strike was a... The strike was a...

They believed trade unions... The strike was a... The strike was a...

For the POR had had certain... The strike was a... The strike was a...

There is an Irish republican... The strike was a... The strike was a...

In 1846 for instance... The strike was a... The strike was a...

It was the background to... The strike was a... The strike was a...

Since then the British and... The strike was a... The strike was a...

The meeting was primarily... The strike was a... The strike was a...

IN 1846, with Lechin's toleration... The strike was a... The strike was a...

IN AN INTERNATIONAL meeting... The strike was a... The strike was a...

IN all, there were representa... The strike was a... The strike was a...

It was graphically illustrated... The strike was a... The strike was a...

As OSE is still a very small... The strike was a... The strike was a...

However, it was not until... The strike was a... The strike was a...

Overall, the experience of... The strike was a... The strike was a...

There is an Irish republican... The strike was a... The strike was a...

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However, it was not until... The strike was a... The strike was a...

Overall, the experience of... The strike was a... The strike was a...

BOOKS BOOKS

To change the world we have... The strike was a... The strike was a...

NEW RELEASE! The General Strike of 1926... The strike was a... The strike was a...

NEW RELEASE! Ireland's Permanent Revolution... The strike was a... The strike was a...

NEW RELEASE! The Revolutionary Ideas of Marx... The strike was a... The strike was a...

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NEW RELEASE! To Order Your Books by Mail... The strike was a... The strike was a...

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SEPTEMBER 11 1973. A government overthrown against Chile, as the army seized power in one of the bloodiest coups in history.

In the first week 12,000 were killed. The army took prisoners. Any worker found with a gun was shot on the spot. Anyone found pointing up slugs was shot against the same wall.

For days and nights the capital Santiago echoed with the boom of artillery and the discharge of firing squads.

Later 20,000 workers were held into football stadiums which became the first concentration camps of the new regime.

Socialist President Allende was shot and hand-drowned in the Presidential palace.

With mendacious courage the workers fought back. In the textile centre of El Lazo they held off the troops for four days, armed only with hand files.

They destroyed an army bus with two armoured cars. Before they held it, women poured boiling water on the invading soldiers.

But they were not made for the might of the state's armed forces.

It was a horrible irony. For years Allende's Popular Unity (UP) government had recruited socialists, communists and middle-class radicals, who had defended the army as a politically neutral body, loyal to the constitution.

Allende even appeared to his cabinet the generals who were about to kill him and hand his supporters. Shortly before the coup, he granted massive pay rises to the military in an attempt to cement their loyalty.

But the loyalty of the High Command was not to Allende nor the constitution. It was to the Chilean capitalist class.

DESPITE the election of Allende's "socialist" government in 1970, the bosses still had their friends in all controlling positions within the machinery of government.

They made Allende had to make an agreement with the conservative-dominated parliament to take action against the bosses' control of the courts, media, police, army or education system.

By
Tony Sullivan

The UP government actually had no plans to overthrow Chile's "bourgeois" or even to challenge their basic interests. Its most radical plan was nationalisation of industry to set capitalist development.

The most important example was the move to nationalise the American-owned copper mines, which was supported by the "bourgeois" parties.

At first the UP government granted large wage rises to workers. But as Chile's economy slipped downhill with the onset of recession in 1972, UP was forced to behave like any government operating a capitalist economy.

At first the UP government granted large wage rises to workers. But as Chile's economy slipped downhill with the onset of recession in 1972, UP was forced to behave like any government operating a capitalist economy.

The bosses were disturbed by some of the UP's measures. But their key concern was the actions that workers were taking independently of the regime.

Allende had ridden to power in 1970 on a rising wave of workers' struggle. Factory occupations had risen from eight in 1968 to 113 in 1970. Labor success rose from 15 to 384.

This movement gathered momentum after Allende's cabinet.

In October 1972, the right fell to Corvalan's government. Owners on the south began a campaign against limited moves to nationalise road transport.

It spread rapidly throughout the country and into other sectors of the middle class. Fascists launched a wave of attacks.

The workers responded at one. Instead of tamely working on, as their leaders advised, they took control of the factories, transport, and food distribution.

They did this work through new bodies called Cordones, which linked together rank and file workers in different factories in each local district.

The cordones had humble beginnings. As the economic and political crisis in Chile deepened, militants from different plants in Santiago began to meet informally.

Originally, one or two would meet to discuss common problems, such as the danger from the right and how to deal with it or the inactivity of the

(CUT) Chilean version of the ACTU).

By the time of the horn owner's strike in October 1972 there were a few dozen shop stewards working regularly, but what became known as the "Popular Movement" emerged.

Conditions now spread rapidly, becoming weapons to smash the "bourgeois" bourgeoisie. In places they re-opened shops and requisitioned terms which had been put out of action by their movements.

Within a month they had caused the stoppage. The right pulled back in alarm from the upsurge of workers' activity they had incited.

Allende's government, however strove to appease the bosses. To do so it was willing to move against the same workers who had saved it from the "bourgeois" bourgeoisie.

It proposed to return worker-occupied factories to their owners. These were bosses who had engaged in sabotage or attempted to lock out their workers.

The cordones and left-wing workers in the ranks of the Socialist Party successfully prevented this miserable backdown.

But they could not prevent the government from taking three military officers into the cabinet.

Communist Party leader Corvalan announced, "we continue to support the absolutely professional character of the armed institutions, their members are not among the ranks of the people but in the reactionary camp."

Worker morale suffered a deeper blow with the government attacks on the copper workers' strike at El Teniente in May 1973.

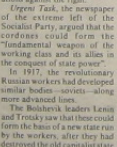
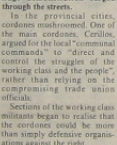
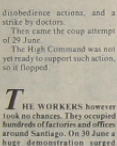
These workers, who had struck illegally against the previous right-wing government for three months, were among the strongest and most militant sections of Chile's workers.

They struck now for a wage rise already promised under the law.

Allende opposed their pay rise and the strike. At the parties the left denounced the government, and these attacks created a split in the cordones and the workers' movement.

By June 1973 the right was prepared for another offensive. That month alone there were 77 fascist bomb attacks, civil

The end of the parliamentary road to socialism



SALVADOR ALLENDE preparing to defend the presidential palace in the last days of the coup. By trusting in the neutrality of the armed forces he condemned himself and thousands of Chilean workers to death.

disobedience actions, and a strike by doctors.

Then came the coup attempt of 29 June.

The High Command was not yet ready to support such action, so it toppled.

THE WORKERS however lost their chance. They occupied hundreds of factories and offices around Santiago. On 29 June a huge demonstration surged through the streets.

In the provincial cities, cordones mushroomed. One of many cordones, Cerillos, argued for the local "communal command" to "direct and control the struggles of the working class and the people," rather than relying on the compromising trade union officials.

Sections of the working class began to realize that the cordones could be more than simply defensive organizations at the right.

Eugen Task, the newspaper of the extreme left of the Socialist Party, argued that the cordones could form the "fundamental weapons of the working class and its allies in the conquest of state power."

In 1971, the revolutionary Russian workers had developed similar bodies—soviets—along many advanced lines.

The Bolivian leaders Lenin and Trotsky saw that these could form the basis of a new state run by the workers, after they had destroyed the old capitalist state machine.

Eugen Task analysed Lenin's and Trotsky's writings and concluded: "the alternative popular power exists: the cordones and communal commands; the necessary conditions for their formation are: 1. Such workers' councils fighting for power in Chile could have pulled rank and file soldiers to themselves as a sign of weakness. He was correct.

Many workers' organizations which had supported it through thick and thin.

By this stage in October 1973, the revolutionary movement had passed.

The horrors of the Chilean coup were of the catastrophe that awaits any strategy which relies on the necessity of the bosses' army—any strategy which seeks to hand the workers' struggle in the hope

The International Socialist

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Bob Hawke



HOW much more do we have to take!

The attacks by Bob Hawke's government rise to new levels of blatant bastardry every month. All those things the Labor Party is supposed to stand for seem to be his favourite targets.

Hawke isn't content with delivering a budget that left the Liberals, bourgeoisie because it contained bigger cutbacks than they'd demanded.

The ink was hardly dry on the budget papers before he was at it again.

Within a month came the leak that the government is planning to allow uranium mining in Kakadu National Park. It seems yellowcake Bob just can't help himself.

The federal government has just announced that it will pay compensation to anyone suffering cancer from the Maralinga tests.

However they'll have to prove a definite connection between the tests and their cancer. This is of course virtually impossible.

There is a high incidence of cancer amongst aborigines and veterans exposed to radiation during the Maralinga tests.

But because no specific connection can be proved between individual cancers and the tests, the government won't have to pay any compensation.

To many traditional Labor supporters, Bob Hawke's behaviour is puzzling. He seems to take a perverse pleasure in selling out on the very policies which the party faithful are most zealously committed to.

Why is that?

The answer is not in Hawke's individual psychology. He is after all following in a grand Labor tradition.

ALP prime ministers from Billy Hughes to Jim Scullin, and even Ben Chifley have all attacked the working class in office, with as much gusto as Hawke.

Chifley sent the stoppage into breach a coal strike. Scullin presided over a 10% cut in wages, and Hughes split the party and destroyed a Labor government rather than upset the bosses during the First World War.

The answer lies in the very nature of the supposed "democratic" system we live under.

The capitalist system sometimes allows us to elect parliamentarians. But in every country of the world the factories, the mines and the offices are run by a tiny un-elected elite.

The bosses are beyond our control, and they have most of the wealth and all the means of producing wealth at their disposal.

Any attempt to change the system that is confined to parliament, which plays the game according to their rules is bound to fail.

That's why the ALP, which is tied to the face of parliament and elections has always in the end sold out the people who vote for it.

That's why, whenever the bosses have willingly delivered.

That's why Bob Hawke has always been and could only ever be what he is—the paid body of the ruling class. A boss' man from his blow-own to the tip of his designer shoes.

What's happening to the Australian economy? Pages 6 & 7

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WHAT WE STAND FOR

WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALISM
Capitalism is a system of class and class struggle. It is based on the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist. It is a system of class and class struggle. It is based on the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist.

WORKERS' POWER
Only the working class has the power to create a society free of class and class struggle. It is based on the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist.

NOT A REVOLUTION
The revolution is not a social system. It is a process of class and class struggle. It is based on the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist.

INTERNATIONALISM
Capitalism is a world system. It is based on the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist. It is a system of class and class struggle.

FULL SOCIAL EQUALITY AND LIBERATION
For women, blacks, migrants and all oppressed groups. Racism, sexism and discrimination against all oppressed groups.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
To smash the capitalist state, to establish a workers' state, to abolish class and class struggle.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
To smash the capitalist state, to establish a workers' state, to abolish class and class struggle.

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PAGE 2—THE SOCIALIST OCTOBER 1986

RIGHTS



THE PEOPLE of Soweto, South Africa's largest black township, have rekindled the struggle against the apartheid regime.

A recent strike has plunged the township of 2 million into turmoil. It is the largest township in the world, with a population of 2 million. It is the largest township in the world, with a population of 2 million.

SOWETO, 23 August This man is hiding behind a solid wall to escape police bullets. He considers himself lucky to be alive.



REPORTS out of Estonia suggest that up to 300 Russian army conscripts sent to clean up the area around Chernobyl have signed a massive rebellion.

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PAGE 2—THE SOCIALIST OCTOBER 1986

WHAT WE THINK

Right Tertiary Fees

ONE of the most disgusting attacks in the least Hawke/Keating budget was the re-introduction of tertiary fees.

Once again Hawke has succeeded where Malcolm Fraser failed, to put the boot into the working class.

BURDEN
It is one more burden on those of us who've had to suffer from education cutbacks.

DEFEND
To defend the principle of a free education for all students has to fight this latest assault.

MISSION
Hugh Morgan, the boss of Western Mining, believes his company's labour practices are abhorrent.

SOCIALISM
That glows in the dark?

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To smash the capitalist state, to establish a workers' state, to abolish class and class struggle.

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But for working class kids it forms yet another obstacle to a higher education.

And what about those students whose parents are a bit better off—but who support themselves?

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level of fees will be unavoidable. Since tuition fees in 1979 students were introduced in 1979 they have been steadily increased.

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BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS

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CHARLES Copeman and Hugh Morgan. Very odd right-wingers — they aren't the main danger facing workers.

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TODAY'S TV documentaries and school-usually dwell on Hitler ranting on the platform at Nuremberg, or Mussolini strutting the stage in Rome.

It was horrible, but it all happened over where the British like Australia, the US and Britain are supposed to have been much more humane, sane and democratic to fall prey to fascist ideas.

But in each of these countries during the 1930s, considerable movements were built. Their ideas became fashionable among large sections of the ruling class.

Significant funding from some business leaders in each of these great "democracies" funded a group committed to a far-right fascist.

Fascism was instrumental because businessmen were that prominent it affected every country.

In Britain, Sir Oswald Mosley and his British Union of Fascists (BUF) were able to stage a rally of 15,000 in 1934.

For as in Germany, where Hitler had won the support of a minority of capitalists before the took over. Mosley had important establishment figures as beneficiaries.

In particular, Lord Rothermere, the owner of the Daily Mail and a champion of every newspaper, was a key supporter.

High society set up the January club where Dukes and baronesses would politely applaud Mosley's views on the Jewish problem, and on the need to save Britain by turning into militarism and excluding alien immigrants.

The ruling class were more than a bit interested in Mosley because he offered them something the traditional party of the right, the Conservatives, could not.

The Conservative Party was certainly prepared to use the police and, if necessary, the army against workers' picket lines and attempted anti-fascist demonstrations.

But in the depths of the Great Depression, many capitalist leaders think that perhaps much more was needed to maintain their profits and protect their class.

Mosley offered them the prospect of a mass movement, a movement which could potentially mobilize millions to violence against the organizations of the working class.

That why a fairly significant section of the British ruling class were prepared to financially support a fascist but for power, at least to keep Mosley in the wings so he should become useful to them any day.

By the mid-1930s, business funding had already provided the BUF with a formidable apparatus. Their headquarters in London had a fully equipped "defence force" of 800 thugs equipped with every conceivable weapon.

Mosley chose the East End of London as his base.

By

John Minns

London as the proving ground to conceive a larger slice of capitalism that the BUF were up to the task of creating a workers' organization.

It was an area hard hit by the Depression. Squatted tenements were overcrowded with masses of unemployed nearly at starvation's door.

Those with jobs often worked in small, usually ununionized workshops. The area had large Jewish population, the fascists' favourite scapegoat.

To recruit, the BUF had a simple but effective argument: the problems you face if you're out of a job, the insecurity you face if you have one of a small business, are due to the Jews and the Communists—smash them!

The streets of the East End echoed to their marching chant: "The Yids to Russia, the Jews to the Yids, we've got to get rid of the Yids."

Their nightly street meetings in the East End usually ended up in fights with Communists or Jewish workers or in attacks on Jewish businesses.

Just as in Germany, the fascists began to make their headway, at first among the lower middle classes—shopkeepers and the like, terrified at the impact of the economic crisis on everything they'd worked to build.

Neither the police nor the courts, despite many appeals, would stop them marching. The Labour Party leaders argued for inaction just the same.

Nevertheless, led by socialists, a crowd of at least 100,000 (some estimates put it at 200,000) East End workers turned out to stop the fascists.

Anti-fascist tram-drivers abandoned their drivers on strategic corners to help form barricades behind which the workers would fight.

Six thousand police, including every mounted policeman in London, charged the crowd again and again to try and clear a way for the fascists.

But a fighting stoneware working class unity had been built and prevented the BUF's thugs. Both the police and the courts



How British workers stemmed the rise of fascism in 1936

showed how risibly anti-fascist they were on 4 October 1936. With several thousand black-shirted fascists, Mosley met with milk bottles, stones and marbles. Some of the housewives began to drop milk bottles from the rooftops.

A number of police surrendered before, in the ladies didn't know what to do, but they took away their batons and one took a helmet for his lad as a souvenir.

Never was there such unity of the working class as was seen on the barricades at Cable St. People whose lives were milk apart—hatted Orthodox Jews and rough and ready Irish Catholic dockers—there were the workers that the fascists were trying to stir up against each other.

After hours of fighting the police gave up. Victory! The fascists could not pass through the East End.

Mosley's political tutor, Hitler, had already described the reason for the kind of march the fascists had attempted: "mass demonstrations must have into the little man's soul the

OSWALD MOSLEY, leader of the British Union of Fascists as stopped by the mass mobilization of workers at Cable St (above).

conscious to all of them. That is why socialists, not humanitarian liberals or well-meaning middle class anti-fascists, played the crucial role in the struggle against fascism.

Only socialists could provide a radical alternative to the fascist's scapegoating—a road forward out of the misery of the London slums in the Depression.

And the battle of Cable Street, by showing the work of the East End their collective power, was central to making the socialist alternative appear real.

With their victory over the fascists, the workers' spirit soared.

"The people were changed. Their heads were held higher, and their shoulders were squared—and the stones they held! Each one was a 'home'—many of them were. The sense had lost its meaning."

"The people now knew that fascism could be defeated if they organised themselves to do so."

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REAGAN'S STAR WARS WARPS CAPITALISM



AFTER the farce in Iceland, the madness continues.

The superpowers stumble towards a nuclear nightmare, their kinetic arms build-up unaffected by the hot air and media hype of the Reagan summit.

Ronald Reagan was desperate to appear with Gorbachev as some sort of peace-maker in order to win votes in the congressional elections back home.

But Star Wars proved to be far more important to the old cold warrior than votes, and the summit collapsed in a web of armory, accusations and counter-accusations.

Reagan is not willing to abandon Star Wars for anything. He is prepared to spend \$500 billion (five times the total foreign debt of Africa) on this system of destruction for the simple reason that he doesn't believe the Russian economy is strong enough

to spend the same without intolerable strain.

Gorbachev, while wanting to slow down the arms race and devote more resources to Russia's ailing economy, has nevertheless attempted to match the USA, make for muscle, hair for laser.

DEFENSIVE

Reagan claims the system is defensive because it's designed to knock out missiles before they drop on America. He seems to think that this makes it somehow morally defensible.

This of course is crap. If Star Wars could be made to work it would make it impossible for Russia missiles to hit America but, as long as the US had a

monopoly on the technology, they would be able to hit the Russians.

This would give the US a first strike capability—it would raise the possibility of a "winnable" nuclear war in the minds of Pentagon generals and Presidential advisors.

In short, if it works, it brings the possibility of a nuclear war a mighty step closer. If it doesn't, it's \$500 billion squandered in the interests of super-power rivalry.

Ronald Reagan is an odious right-wing tyrant, but it would be a mistake to see the arms race as simply a product of his fevered imagination.

The arms race began long before he became President, and will continue after his retirement. It is a product of a world system of capitalism. It is a product of imperialism.

For over 30 years now the world has been forced to bear the cost of the competition between the US and the Russian rival.

We live in a world dominated by the capitalist system of competition, whether it's the private capitalism of the West or the state capitalism of the East.

This competition does not remain confined to the market place—it reaches its highest and gubbiest expression in the competition of superpowers for world domination, in the ultimate competition of war.

To get rid of nuclear weapons therefore we need to get rid of the rulers, east and west, who build them. We have to get rid of the system of competition which drives them to war to defend their empire.

We need to get rid of capitalism.

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

Not a video game →



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

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WHAT WE STAND FOR

TOD, book user plan fruit

... happens ...

SOCIALISM

Capitalism is a system of class and competition. It is a system which creates all the wealth in society. There are no real owners of what is produced and who works.

Production is carried out for profit and not for need. We stand for a system which we can own and control. We stand for a system which will give us the right to work and to share in the wealth of the world.

WORKERS' POWER

The working class has the power to create a society free of class and competition. We stand for a system which will give us the right to work and to share in the wealth of the world.

REVOLUTION, NOT REFORMISM

Under the Labor Party, we have been able to bring about a number of reforms. But we know that the only way to bring about a real change is through a revolution. We stand for a system which will give us the right to work and to share in the wealth of the world.

INTERNATIONALISM

Capitalism is a world system. It is a system which creates all the wealth in society. There are no real owners of what is produced and who works.

FULL EMPLOYMENT & LIBERATION

For women, blacks, migrants and all other oppressed groups, we stand for a system which will give us the right to work and to share in the wealth of the world.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The present capitalist state is a system which creates all the wealth in society. There are no real owners of what is produced and who works.

OCTOBER THE FIRST WAS AN IMPORTANT DAY IN THE STRUGGLE TO REBUILD THE BLF.

It was the day all building workers needed to have their new, ten-month union tickets. The Victorian government chose the day for a showdown with the BLF, hoping to use the occasion to force all labourers to pay their dues to the unions which have helped hammer the BLF.

The minister for slave labour, Steve Crabb ordered the building sites closed all day before, to put even more pressure on those who held the cock tickets. He then planned to have a national inspection of building sites on 1 October to make sure.

Crabb's new show thing turned out on many sites, where labourers who refused to take out the cock tickets, on a number of sites they were refused entry till there was a bit of a crowd, and then the labourers pushed their way into the sites to start work.

But the day's actions don't give the government a victory, either did they succeed in forcing the BLF. The union's objective had been to get building sites open as far as possible to take out the BLF tickets.

Mass meetings were held explaining the importance of the BLF to the union's survival. The works leading up to the showdown.

The results were fairly disappointing, with even the BLF members of the unions buying a BWU ticket.



VICTIMISED BLF members pick the Clark project in South Yarra (Vic).

The final result was a combination of the confused situation that existed before the showdown, with about half of labourers on the strong sites holding BLF tickets in addition to tickets in the BWU and the RFLA.

On many other sites, labourers, who turned up on October 1st with only BLF tickets had been forced to back down and take out the cock tickets.

There is no doubt that the BLF has fought the way back from disaster to open again because of something of a force on the building sites around Melbourne.

BLF organisers will ground the sites, checking up on working conditions regarding

B.W.U. & COPS VS FASCISM



BL's march in Sydney

with employers, (who aren't supposed to deal with them) and dealing with problems their members face.

But the union is in a difficult situation and will continue to be until it wins some kind of decisive struggle with the government.

That means a planning role, and using the leverage of thousands of centred members in other industries to support the BLF.

BEER STEEL

IF YOU were to believe some trade union officials, Sweden has solved all its industrial relations problems and is a model of harmony and co-operation.

Why is it then, that as we go to press, Sweden is in a grip of a massive strike wave?

Why are more than 17,000 public sector workers on a strike? Why are a further 170,000 postal, telegraph and railway workers planning to begin overtime ban?

Why? Because the Swedish government is a unionist's nightmare. It is a government that has no respect for the rights of workers.

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THE SUMMIT IN Iceland was billed as an event of earth-shattering importance.

Reagan and Gorbachev had agreed at last to sit down and talk seriously about arms reduction.

Gorbachev, we were told, chose Iceland because he disliked the media carnival of the last summit in Geneva, and he wanted this time to get down to some "no-nonsense" negotiations.

Yet within a few days the summit had collapsed. Reagan wasn't willing even to discuss Star Wars, and Gorbachev wasn't willing to accept it.

There are a number of reasons why they both must have known that the summit was doomed from the start.

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More than a sellout

THE ACTU has outdone itself. Not content with refusing to organise any response to the strike, it has even gone so far as to support the strike.

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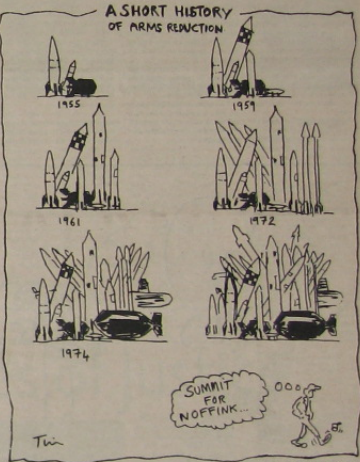
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Corbyn together that will occur peace. It is showing them together ruling, classless, they represent, that is the only solution. Only real socialism—a system based on co-operation and workers' power—can provide the basis for ending the arms race and throwing all the nuclear weapons on the scrap heap where they belong.

MELBOURNE 16 WEEKEND CAMP 25-27 November

A chance to discuss revolutionary politics in the pleasant surroundings of Angelsea. The cost is only \$20 unemployed and \$35 employed. Ring 663 380 for further details.

1918 marks the Pope from Australia. The public relations exercises, the cover-ups and press coverage, would all seem to have more in common with a tour by a pop star than the spiritual leader of the world's Catholics.

The church would seem to have come a long way from the days when heretics were burned at the stake by the inquisition and learned clerics tortured by the rack. How many angels could dance on the head of a pin?

But has it? John Malynes looks at the role of religion in capitalist society.

TODI could use practical steps to support the revolution. He has been seen and heard by the masses.

In the USA Martin Luther King and other black Christians played a leading role in the struggle for civil rights.

In fact there are many examples of where churches have participated in what might be described as movements for progressive change.

The question arises therefore whether a similar role can be played by the church in the struggle against the capitalist system.

Of course there is shortage of counter examples. The Catholic Church's support for Franco in Spain, the appalling Moral Majority in America, the highly aggressive role of the Archbishop of Manila in Iran.

There is the Church blocking movements of the oppressed in England and in South Africa, the role of the hierarchy of the Church in the USA.

Nevertheless, if Marx's famous phrase meant that religion should be seen as the opium of the people, it should mean to express and reflect popular grievances and discontent.

Indeed there are a number of historical circumstances where religion has been mistaken.

But actually this was not Marx's meaning, as is clear the moment we look at the role of the passage from the "opium of the people" phrase in "The Communist Manifesto".

Man's fundamental criticism of religion is that it is a human and a social product. "Man makes gods," says the Communist Manifesto.

Religion is the product of the human brain, the product of the human mind, the product of the human will.

Religion is the product of the human hand, the product of the human tool, the product of the human machine.

Religion is the product of the human eye, the product of the human ear, the product of the human nose.

Religion is the product of the human mouth, the product of the human tongue, the product of the human throat.

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Religion may foster theories that they are based on natural principles of divine right.

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It is especially likely to occur where the hold of religion on the mass of the people is particularly strong, as in Latin America.

Or it can occur where the ruling class is hostile to the popular religion, as in Poland or Ireland under British rule.

And it happens above all where there is no socialist organisation or tradition to lead the struggle, as in Poland or Iran.

However the fact that religion can express the aspirations of the oppressed does not mean that it can express them adequately or in a form that can lead to the victory of the oppressed over the oppressors.

On the contrary this is just what religion cannot do. Religion, consciousness is always false consciousness.

By its very nature religion is incapable of forming the working class with the scientific understanding of society which it needs for its emancipation.

Religious consciousness, even at its most radical, necessarily Marx class consciousness.

Inevitably it diverts the attention of the working class from the fact that it is the real maker of history and that it must win its freedom with its own hands.

Marxism and religion are therefore fundamentally opposed world outlooks.

For Marxism religion, in all its forms, remains an ideological enemy. We seek through argument and education to combat its influence on the working class and on society in general.

Unlike some sections of the left we do not promote it by rubbing its living bullock and yokes to advance workers' meetings and demonstrations.

At the same time this does not mean we take a sectarian attitude towards workers' movements or have objections of any kind to the approach that retain religious illusions.

The fact that peasants in Nicaragua, Republicans in Ireland, and trade unionists in Poland are all to a greater or lesser extent influenced by Catholicism in no way reduces Marxism or their oppressors.

It is even possible for the revolutionary party to recruit individual workers who are religious providing they respect the party's programme and discipline, and provided the party makes no ideological concessions to their prejudices.

In many countries to take any other attitude would simply preclude the building of a mass party.

Marxist combat is therefore not a struggle against religion, but only by winning the material and ideal conditions that give rise to it.

To quote Marx and Engels: "The state and the church produce religion which is the inverted conscience of the world because they are an inverted world."

The struggle against religion is therefore a struggle against the world whose spiritual stratum is religion.

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In the shoes of the fisherman?

POPE JOHN PAUL II is on his way to Australia.

The Pope has become well known for his travels. Since becoming Pope in 1978 he has made more than 25 trips to various countries.

And he's developed quite an audience. He has been seen and heard after getting out of his aircraft. He likes to address the crowds in his own language.

On his tour of Poland he has been seen and heard by singing popular folk songs. But behind the most impressive jargon a person determined to defend all the most reactionary traditions of the Catholic Church.

He speaks for those who are used to oppose abortion, divorce, and the use of contraceptives. He attacks "genderism" and homosexuality.

Indeed the Pope gets quite worried by sex. Apparently it's only a tragedy if you're married, but it can be sinful even if you're not.

According to the Pope: "A man who looks to his wife with love could be committing adultery of the heart" (whatever that means).

This was too much even for the Pope's liberal friends. The Pope later often has a message for the world: "We are a man who looks to his wife with love and she looks to him with love."

The Pope's message is therefore a message of love. A survey in the USA found that a majority of Catholics supported the Pope's message.

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By
Tony Belcher



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A new column by Iain Gillies

BUILDING THE PARTY

The new leadership of the Labour Party has a lot to say about building the party. It is a message of hope and a message of love.

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WHAT A year it's been so far. In South Africa, we've seen the epic struggle against apartheid reach new heights. In the powerful Fordland, Poland, the Pope has become a dictator for 20 years, driven from power by a massive revolt from below.

In Haiti, one of the most brutal regimes in the world was brought down by rioting in a general strike.

All this testament to the spirit of revolt and rebellion that capitalism breeds into those it exploits and oppresses.

But all this presents us with a problem: why do we have all these revolts if there really have been all these revolts, why have the workers not been able to put 'Why do we still have capitalism to put up with'?

Perhaps we can best illustrate the problem by looking at the experience of Solidarity in Poland. Solidarity was the mass movement of Polish workers, formed out of a massive strike in late 1980. At its height, it had 10 million members and was easily the most powerful organisation in the country.

It forced the regime to concede a wide range of reforms, such as higher wages, an end to Saturday working, and access to the media.

While the Mensheviks supported the war, the Bolsheviks were the major party to oppose it.

But that wasn't enough. The Bolsheviks also had to convince the mass of workers that they actually could make a revolution that it could succeed.

They did this through their day to day leadership in the factories, in the daily struggle against the boss.

As the crisis grew worse and worse, the Bolsheviks led the resistance—the wage struggles, the factory occupations, while the Menshevik politicians went on and on about the need to work harder.

But the turning point came with the Karslöv Government, when the head of the Russian army decided to push the government aside and impose martial law to suppress his workers.

If Karslöv were to go to the limit, it would mean the Menshevik politicians went on and on about the need to work harder.

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WHAT A year it's been so far. In South Africa, we've seen the epic struggle against apartheid reach new heights. In the powerful Fordland, Poland, the Pope has become a dictator for 20 years, driven from power by a massive revolt from below.

In Haiti, one of the most brutal regimes in the world was brought down by rioting in a general strike.

All this testament to the spirit of revolt and rebellion that capitalism breeds into those it exploits and oppresses.

But all this presents us with a problem: why do we have all these revolts if there really have been all these revolts, why have the workers not been able to put 'Why do we still have capitalism to put up with'?

Perhaps we can best illustrate the problem by looking at the experience of Solidarity in Poland. Solidarity was the mass movement of Polish workers, formed out of a massive strike in late 1980. At its height, it had 10 million members and was easily the most powerful organisation in the country.

It forced the regime to concede a wide range of reforms, such as higher wages, an end to Saturday working, and access to the media.

While the Mensheviks supported the war, the Bolsheviks were the major party to oppose it.

But that wasn't enough. The Bolsheviks also had to convince the mass of workers that they actually could make a revolution that it could succeed.

They did this through their day to day leadership in the factories, in the daily struggle against the boss.

As the crisis grew worse and worse, the Bolsheviks led the resistance—the wage struggles, the factory occupations, while the Menshevik politicians went on and on about the need to work harder.

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WORLD'S 'HORRIBLE' PILGRIMS



ABOVE, and below right: Cartoons from Workers' Weekly in 1938.

ON 18 NOVEMBER 1938, all but seven members of the Port Kembla branch of the Waterside Workers Federation refused to load 7,000 tons of pig-iron onto a Japanese-bound cargo vessel.

They were backed by the local branch of the seafarers' union and the Indian Federation aboard the ship. The bans were part of a national union campaign from July 1937 until February 1939 aimed at halting the export of potential war materials to Japan. On the left, they were held up as a supreme example of internationalism.

Workers' Weekly, the Communist Party paper, declared: "Workers demand a strike against 'Imperialism' Australian steel workers. All Japanese steel is used in our grand united struggle against fascism and the warmongers."

Australian Daily Worker welcomed such a display of international working class solidarity. "Many have worked on the idea, the idea of Marx, that black men and white, yellow or brown the workers of all lands could unite together in a common struggle against the oppressor."

Internationalism certainly fits at the core of Marx's idea, but the body is left without a head. The tragedy of this dispute, and of the war which in general, it took despite its use of internationalist rhetoric, was the period of the "Popular Front."

In the period when, under orders from Moscow, the Communist Party advised the world workers to ally with "progressive" bosses and the middle class.

It was the period when the Communist Party first sought recognisability and then all it appeared to be patriotic.

The Communist Party was unable to fairly compare into-Japanese racism which

the East Indies (Indonesia) and discovered victims became major suppliers of raw materials. Japan's dramatic entry into the field not only challenged the existing domination of Britain, France, Holland and the United States, but also presented an obstacle to Australian capitalism with eyes on potential markets.

By 1938, Japan was clearly being identified as an economic, and military threat. All sections of the Australian ruling class took up the theme. The Daily Press was particularly rabid. The Melbourne Herald wrote of the bombing of Nanjing in September 1937: "Thinking and its threatening fate have been, into the hands of people within the Pacific Area."

In 1936, the Federal Government introduced a trade diversion policy imposing quotas on Japanese exports. The 1938 Australia-Japan Agreement reinforced this trend across the board.

There were however two major exceptions to this trend. Australian wool growers were granted access to the growing sheep market in Japan and BHP vetoed their demands that they not put iron exports.

These two sections of Australian industry, Japanese domination and the drive to war were very popular. "Nevertheless, the entire Japanese ruling class regarded in an organ of anti-Japanese nationalism and loyalty to the British Empire."

BHP defended itself on the grounds that profits made could be used to halter Australian defence against the threat of the Axis.

Even those who denounced the Japanese threat did so in purely

European powers which (like himself) feared German expansion into their territories. The Communist Parties were instructed to build a "Popular Front" with other parties which nominally opposed fascism — including ruling class parties. The ideological vehicle the CP used was nationalism. But, as a body of ideas, nationalism inevitably ends up protecting the interests of the bosses. Bob Hawke is currently using it to great effect to convince us to accept wage cuts and falling living standards. During the war the CP used it to smash strikes.

Racism

It also inevitably leads to racism. By the middle of the war, the CP was able to produce a pamphlet entitled "Smash Japan" which described a Japanese officer as having a "physique... in tune with his dwarfed, twisted soul...".

"Ridiculously small, bow-legged, repulsive to look at, his teeth stick out at an angle of 45 degrees through thick lips which he never stopped licking..." Such a diatribe captures the tradition established by the cartoons in *Workers' Weekly* at



the time of the pig-iron dispute. However, the warlike bans were not simply the product of cold-calculated racism. Instead the dispute harboured all the strengths and weaknesses of living, breathing class struggle. By this time, the small Port Kembla branch of the wharfers' union had already distinguished itself by donating generously to the republican cause in Spain and had elected CP member, Ted Roach, as secretary. When the BHP in back down on its plans to sack 4,000 workers.

They even rejected the initial appeal of Roach and other communist officials to return to work in January 1939.

Here was a group of workers who had the determination and the obvious capacity to mobilise around major political questions. But their anger and energy was channelled into demands for more spending on defence.

Had their leaders not been so seduced by nationalism, it's possible that this struggle may have provided the basis for a working class revolt against the second major imperialist war and the World War.

Workers of the world unite!

ONE OF the biggest myths of capitalism is that the consumer is always right. We're told that the market weeds out manufacturers of goods that are unwanted, shoddy and dangerous.

The consumer exercises "free choice" and goes off to company X down the road.

But what do you do when company X is no better? The classic examples of how capitalist markets profit before people: *Amal* and *Amal*.

And Ralph Nader's famous book "Unsafe At Any Speed" written in the 1960s, remains one of the classic studies of how the system works.

The book items with horrifying statistics. During the 1960s, changes were that one in every two people would be killed or injured in a car crash. More Americans were being killed in one year on the roads than were killed in the whole of Vietnam war. If you cut down a Volkswagen, you had a one in ten chance of suffering a serious or fatal crash.

Now you might think that the car would have prompted carmakers to engineer smasher.

When the courts began to examine the car's engineering, General Motors settled out of court rather than risk bad publicity which might damage sales.

It was only when a profitable business sprang up to supply "add on" safety features that General Motors changed the design.

In one revealing interview, a General Motors' engineer revealed why the faulty design had been selected — "lower cost, ease of assembly, ease of service and simplicity of design".

Often, when a safety feature was put into the design, the car companies used it as an opportunity to push up the price.

It was the same story for the problem of air pollution. Despite decades of evidence that cars the whole production run. In another case, Ford cars were fitted with hydraulic brakes that collapsed with wear and tear.

The company knew about the problem, since they couldn't manufacture replacement parts fast enough to meet the demand. Yet they refused even to warn

buyers of the problem, let alone do anything to rectify it. The car companies worked hard in glove, with the US government to delay the introduction of improved safety standards.

Usually they could get a reprieve from even the most rigorous regulations by claiming that they would be forced to do so.

Nader refers to instances after instances where safety features were delayed or abandoned simply because the companies were able to influence the government.

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RALPH NADER

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is Nader's description of the links between the manufacturers and the government bureaucracy that was supposed to regulate the industry.

He chronicles how most of the senior officials in the "safety establishment" had previously worked for the car companies. The car bosses controlled the funding for safety testing and research.

Nader writes this book as part of a movement which believed the solution to these problems was to make the big corporations face up to their responsibilities.

Nader himself was a tireless and principled campaigner for consumer rights, and he scored many notable court victories against his opponents.

When General Motors paid a private detective to dig up dirt on Nader, he was still daunted.

They are still daunted to fall apart after a few years as they are forced to go and buy a new model as soon as possible.

But some improvements have been made, for which a large measure of responsibility must go to Nader and his fellow campaigners for consumer rights.

Nevertheless, as the economy has slipped back into crisis the production has begun to steadily slip back.

The few reform grants are under increasing attack as bosses the world over scream about the need for "disinflation", about the need to free their ailing industries from "government interference" and "red tape".

With mass unemployment haunting the western world, those cries seem to make more sense than they did in the 1960s.

The dream of Ralph Nader, that the corporate dragons can be tamed within the capitalist system, is now clearly a dream.

The only way to protect our lives and our environment from their ravages is to rig the system that puts profits above every other consideration.



THE BIG corporations are still building coffins with wheels.

About Last Night

THE ADVERTISING blitz about Last Night told the story of two people trying to discover the difference between love and lust.

By Frances Simpson and Sandra Bloodworth

Which brings us to the message the film rates: how to avoid Debbie and Dan. They are a beautiful, sexy couple who have been giving him off, and he tells her he's not ready for sex.

But the way she tries to solve the problem, is by sneaking through his things while he's gone. Then she is overpowered by a man who looks like her brother.

It's not the shallow feeling in the pit of your stomach. This is what a man's about. You're not a woman, you're a woman. You're not a woman, you're a woman. You're not a woman, you're a woman.

are considered to be the most beautiful women and handsome men in the world. Debbie is very nice. The scene which was around the scene together begins by Debbie humiliating Dan. He (rightly) thinks she has been giving him off, and he tells her he's not ready for sex.

But the way she tries to solve the problem, is by sneaking through his things while he's gone. Then she is overpowered by a man who looks like her brother.

It's not the shallow feeling in the pit of your stomach. This is what a man's about. You're not a woman, you're a woman. You're not a woman, you're a woman.

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So he develops as the only character. He doesn't agonise about everything like Debbie and Dan.

It's a clever ruse to try to make us like this stereotype of what a man should be, though Debbie continues to mean something about Debbie.

Joan, Debbie's closest friend, is a slightly more complex character, but equally depressing. When Bruce makes a comment about her "beauty and marriage", "I don't know where you're going."

Joan is a bitch for retaliating, through his things while he's gone. Then she is overpowered by a man who looks like her brother.

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In a CLONED's long war might fought the Rakosist regime. They conquered freedom and independence for our country. We can say with assurance that those who prepared this rising were from our ranks.

It was communists, writers, journalists, students, the youth of the Proliferate and, by the thousands, workers, peasants, and soldiers, who prepared this rising against the despotic Rakosist and against political handouts.

We are proud of you, who took your proper place in the great uprising.

These words in regard to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 are one of the most certain assurances to posterity in the history of working class revolt.

For this came from the mouth of Károlyi Kádár, the puppet of the Russians who showed that revolution in blood and in the name of the Russian tanks had returned back to normality.

He still rules today.

You must not be blaming from the mouth of someone who had every motive to praise the opposite, standing proud that the Hungarian Revolution was a genuine workers' uprising.

It was a workers' revolution after the grand pattern of Russia 1917 or Spain 1936. A workers' professional and general strike for all that Hungary, and all the other "socialist" countries of the Eastern Bloc, have nothing to do with social-

Throughout the 3-4 year time period 1956 was years of turmoil and uncertainty.

The death of Stalin in 1953 had helped fuel new hope of liberation of almost to peace, better living conditions, and a highly enforced austerity.

The ruling bureaucracy responded adversely to the pressure for reform, fighting among themselves over how far to go and how quickly to grant reforms and then taking them back.

In Hungary the Rakos government had proved more resistant to the demand for reforms than most in the Eastern Bloc. But by 1956 the pressure for reform was growing stronger.

Rakos was removed from office only to be replaced by his henchman Gerö.

A division arose of young communists, the "Kádár Circle," held meetings that sometimes attracted thousands of many middle-class people to protest the behaviour of the regime.

On 23 October student meetings were held calling for a demonstration in the capital, Budapest, the following day.

The demonstration was to be held "in solidarity with our Polish brothers" referring to the workers who were in Poland at the time for their part to rise at Poznan earlier in the year.

Such a demonstration was unheard of. According to one observer: "A certain restlessness spread throughout the capital, whose walls, trees and handbags were covered with the students' placards, which passively discussed passivity."

The march was banned by the government, but nevertheless 100,000 turned out.

It was enormous. It was also peaceful and as respectable as possible for an illegal march in the Communist bloc.

The participants turned out in the expectation of starting a revolution.

The main demand was simply for the replacement of the hard-line Gerö with Imre Nagy, a communist leader with a more liberal reputation.

As the day went on the march swelled with more working class elements and the demands became more extreme.

Some demonstrators began to demand "What with the Russians?" and "Death to Rakos!"

By Robert Bollard

The radio news that afternoon attacked the march, infaming a section of the crowd who marched on the radio station demanding a right of reply.

Another section demolished the bus statue of Stalin in the City Park. All that was left of him were a pair of giant stone legs.

Then something happened which set light to the flames of discontent. One of the hard-line AVH security police, guarding the radio station, fired a machine gun into the crowd.

A few workers fell dead. But the crowd fought back with stones, petrol bombs and the old gas.

The demonstration contained a representative slice of the population of Budapest. It included many ordinary police and soldiers.

A truck load of soldiers appeared outside the radio station. Their weapons were distributed to the workers and put to immediate use.

Before long the fighting had spread throughout the city.

By a thousand ways the workers began to chain guns. Rakosites were thrown on Communist police and soldiers handed over their weapons to the workers.

Army tanks appeared flying Hungarian flags on the side of the insurgents.

Within days the situation was transformed. Nagy was added to the government and Gerö was replaced by the "reformist" Kádár.

But the Russian tanks appeared in the city by the people (though in fact the revolution deepened with a general strike in Budapest and as the movement began to spread to the provinces).

A Yugoslav reporter described the situation: "Thousands of people have obtained arms by forming soldiers and militia units."

Some of these soldiers and militia units have been fraternising with the embittered and disarmed masses. According to eye-witness reports, the authorities are paralysed, unable to stop the bloody events.

By 26 October however a new element crept into the situation. Led by the collapse of the state authority stepped new bodies of order workers' councils based on the work places.

This revolution, against a supposedly "Leninist" dictatorship, began to take on the classic form described by Lenin in his pamphlet *The State and Revolution* with democratic workers' councils counterposed to the crumbling power of the ruling class.

As the official radio in Budapest reported on 27 October:

"Workers' councils have been formed in manufacturing plants. Workers' councils have been formed in the heavy factory in the cotton-spinning mill, in the Goldberger textile factory, in the Tancsics leather factory."

And the lot went on.

The workers were beginning to exert control of events. Only the Russian tanks held them back from total victory.

Peter Fryer, a correspondent for *the Daily Worker* the paper of the British Communist Party, issued this report the day after the march:

"Of course, as in the every revolution 'from below' there was 'too much' talking, arguing, kicking, running and going, fust, excitement, agitation, ferocity."

"That is one side of the picture. The other is the emergence of leading positions of ordinary men, women and youths, whom the AVH domination had subdued."

HUNGARY '56

"The revolution thrust them forward, aroused their courage and later gave us the organization, set them at work to build democracy out of the ruins of bureaucracy."

On 31 October Russian tanks were withdrawn from the city of Hungary. The next day Kádár announced over the radio that "in their glorious uprising our people have shaken off the Rakos regime."

But the regime and its Russian overlords were merely regrouping.

Propaganda against the "fascist counter-revolution" continued throughout the Eastern Bloc. Rationing and demoralized Russian units were replaced with fresh troops.

On Sunday 4 November the inhabitants of Budapest woke to the sound of artillery fire. Russian tanks poured into the city and within hours occupied all strategic points.

The Hungarian people fought back with rifles, pistols, the occasional machine gun, but overwhelmingly with petrol bombs.

The centre of resistance was the great industrial complex, the battle on the streets was backed up with a mighty general strike.

In the town of Csepel, posters answered the leers of the Moscow press: "The forty thousand strikers and facets of the Csepel work strike on."

The Russians did not dare risk containing their troops for fear of alienating the revolutionary workers, so they relied almost solely on tanks.

Buildings harboring resistance were shelled to rubble. Whole working class districts were destroyed in this way, with the same barbarity that has always been shown by ruling classes when they launch a counter-revolution.

Twenty thousand died in this onslaught, but the workers fought on. In the working class district resistance continued for a full week.

As one by one the radio stations fell, desperate pleas for help were sent to the outside world. But the workers' power showed clearly whose side they were on.

US President Eisenhower announced the Kerenski: "We have never argued more ardently for a full week."

But now and never has advanced armed rebellion by an unarmed people."

"The myth of Eastern Bloc 'socialism' smattered!"



to one country. They shattered the myth of Eastern Bloc 'socialism' and in doing so they gave a glimpse of what real socialism in workers' power.



Why haven't you got a job?

- K. It's all my fault.
- L. It's all your fault.
- S. It's all the fault of the system.
- R. It's the system's fault.
- O. I'm really sorry.

A. Write to the Socialist if you checked K or if you still subscribe to the Socialist.

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