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FRONT LINE

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Editorial

As the 1970's progress it's becoming more evident that there has been a fundamental change in political and economic conditions in western capitalist countries. It's not so obvious yet in Australia, but even here despite the boom conditions the economy shows a striking instability. In larger capitalist countries the economies lurch toward crisis and the working class reacts with massive strikes of which the recent victory of the British miners is the most obvious example. In some places, revolutionary groups are beginning to make a real impact in the working class and play significant roles in the clashes.

In Australia the situation is not so developed. But the election of a Labor government on the one hand, and the seemingly uncontrollable inflation on the other, present a very different picture from the world of the 1960's. The next few years present a challenge to the working class and a series of opportunities for revolutionaries. At this stage the Left's response is disappointing.

The Left is proliferating rather than growing. There are a lot more political groups around than there used to be, but there are no longer mass movements for them to operate with, and few have made the successful shift to any sort of industrial activity. Our organisation, the Socialist Workers' Action Group, has had some successes in its announced turn to the "hard slogging of industrial work"; nevertheless, at this stage we remain along with the rest of the revolutionary Left as a tendency on the fringes of the working class movement.

Part of this weakness of the Left can be explained by the apparent (as distinct from real) stability of Australian capitalism. But that is only part of the story. Another part is weakness of political theory. A large proportion of the theoretical work done even by those overseas writers whom we all busily import is more description than analysis, more a registering of the growing instability of capitalism and the rise in worker militancy than a convincing laying down of the path that can create a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Some seek shortcuts: in identification with stalinist regimes which they romanticise; in the fanciful depiction of a "new vanguard" of students or other groups outside the organised working class; in accommodation to the labour bureaucracy. But the stalinist regimes in Moscow and Peking are as oppressive and exploitative as capitalism and deserve to be smashed, not admired. There is no substitute for the industrial working class as the key to revolution; and to mobilise that working class means a determined assault on the labour bureaucracy, not an attempt to slip around it or accommodate to it.

For these tasks we need a theory that is workmanlike rather than glib or obscure. We need an analysis of modern capitalism, the keys to its postwar stabilisation and the pace and character

of its destabilisation today. We need an analysis of the labour movement, beginning with the ALP -- its existing political expression, and proceeding to the major unions, the role of women and migrants and so on. We need an analysis of bureaucratic collectivism, the stalinist social system ruling in a third of the globe.

We need a critical assimilation of the heritage of Marxist theory; the heritage of Marx and Lenin, but also of Trotsky whose gigantic contributions need a critical assimilation rather than the iconisation common among the "orthodox Trotskyists".

We also seek to critically assimilate the theoretical accomplishments of a series of groups overseas with whom we are establishing fraternal links, notably the International Socialists of Great Britain. We and they are far from appointing ourselves another "international", but we aim, and in Britain are succeeding in creating the kind of proletarian base that can make a new revolutionary workers' international possible.

Our magazine, like our organisation, is still modest in scope. But it will possess the first requirement for revolutionaries: to look reality in the face. World capitalism, in ways not yet much felt in Australia, is moving toward a profound crisis. The crisis will lead to a pre-revolutionary period insofar as the Left and the workers' movement are capable of intervening in the affairs of humanity.

That is the scope of the tasks facing socialists. To meet them we need not only magazine readers, but revolutionary activists. If you like our work and this publication, you should see us immediately about joining the Socialist Workers' Action Group.

Survey

The Elections

Part of the air of unreality which surrounds the current Federal election can be explained by the fact that neither of the major party leaderships really wanted to have it. The political commentators both in the bourgeois press and the radical publications have found it so difficult to explain the reasons for the double dissolution because they find it hard to believe that such an apparently declining force as the Country Party could precipitate an election for which there would appear to be no real reason. The point is that they could and did. The reasons for the election become more apparent when one examines them in terms of class forces.

Whitlam did not want a double dissolution. If he had he would have called it far earlier when the Opposition first started rejecting crucial legislation. But Whitlam found a hostile Senate quite useful. It enabled him to pop out on "radical" legislation such as Penal Clause reform without having to face the consequences amongst his supporters. Whitlam's real reply to those sections of his base who did not share his commitment to capitalism was "don't blame me, I can't get it through the Senate".

This is not to say that Whitlam would not have liked

Senate control...on his terms. That of course was what the Gair affair was all about. Had Whitlam forced a double dissolution on an issue -- say the health scheme -- he would have been forced to involve his supporters in a real campaign, which would have raised all sorts of expectations that Whitlam could not have met. The Gair appointment offered Senate control through manipulation. As it is however the Whitlam leadership has had a double dissolution forced on them and Whitlam's response is to run a "Menzies-style" campaign -- all personalities, no issues and no mobilisation.

The role of the parties of big business during these elections can be explained by the confusion of business itself towards the current economic situation. Australia is going through a huge boom with massive accompanying inflation at a time when the economies of most capitalist countries are contracting and facing recession. The boom, which is unstable and unpredictable is based on an artificial world commodity (meaning mineral) shortage. A large section of the capitalist class supported Whitlam in 1972 because they saw him as modernising the economy to their benefit. To some extent the divisions amongst capital are still between

"modernisers" and more primitive business interests. Largely though the fight is between mineral industries and other primary producers on the one hand, and secondary industry on the other. Whitlam and Connor have attempted to hold down costs of oil and minerals, not particularly for the benefit of workers or middle class consumers but to the benefit of manufacturers.

Their attempts have not been brilliantly successful but they have had some effect. In a seller's market mineral producers are only getting rich instead of very rich as they did in the late sixties. During the fake oil crisis last summer Australia was virtually the only country in the world in which prices did not rise and Esso/BHP were less than pleased about that.

Minerals producers have joined other primary producers in looking to the Country Party for support. They are the main people who stand to gain in the event of an Opposition victory. The Country Party as a group of politicians can't lose whatever happens. They'll either be the main force in a new government or more likely, the only unified force in the next Opposition. Secondary industry is still backing Whitlam in many cases. He offers them continued protection against both primary producers and,

they hope, against the working class as well. That is, they expect Whitlam to be able to persuade the Labor movement to hold back wage demands, which would mean that the cost of the minerals-boom-induced inflation would come out of workers' wages rather than manufacturing bosses' profits. Whitlam can provide this service for capitalism only so long as the rank and file of the Labor movement are not involved in politics. That's why this campaign isn't being fought on issues.

-- G. McC.

WATERGATE: LOCATING THE AGONY

As the U.S. House of Representatives moves, glacier-slow but inexorably, toward America's first impeachment crisis in a century, it is worth reviewing the history of the affair. The pundits would have us see it as a moral crisis, an agony in the nation's soul. In reality it has more to do with an ache in the hip-pocket for the average worker. For the American ruling class it is a distinct pain in the arse.

When the original Watergate break in took place, the American ruling circles and their media closed ranks to smother the issue. George McGovern found himself unable to make any po-

political capital out of it whatever. In fact Nixon piled up a phenomenal electoral majority and appeared to be at the peak of his career, and in his success American capitalism saw a symbol of its own success and stability...and of a new conservative consensus in U.S. politics.

In 1973, however, Dean's revelations brought the whole affair back into the public eye with a bang. As it became apparent that the President himself was involved, an astonishing political transformation occurred. Nixon's apparently so broad majority revealed its extreme shallowness. The conservative consensus evaporated to be replaced by a welter of discontent. Americans suddenly remembered how much they had always despised Richard Nixon.

Americans remembered that the cities were a mess, that inflation had got worse under Nixon's incomes policy, that they worked at boring jobs under poor conditions...or more accurately, they found in Nixon a focal point for all their anger and frustration. Consequently it became first dangerous, then impossible for any politician to defend Nixon.

The problem for the ruling class was not that he was a crook, but that he

had lost credibility as a political leader. In a world of capitalist instability, the ruling class needs an executive committee that can repress working class and other struggles at home, and drive home the "national interest" abroad.

After the Mid East war, when Henry Kissinger had to be brought in to manage the ship of state, it was obvious that Nixon had to go.

They did not want to impeach him. To rush hurriedly through impeachment proceedings would look too much like capitulation to popular outrage, while to grind slowly through the whole process would only intensify discontent. The ruling class is terribly anxious for him to resign and has subjected him to enormous pressures for months. But he is petulant and refuses. For this act of betrayal of his class, the American bourgeoisie hates Richard Nixon with a bitter hatred.

So it must be impeachment. The recent release of tapes may slow the process but will make it more certain in the end. The Democratic Party didn't want to do it alone for fear of being accused of partisan backstabbing. So finally the impeccably conservative Republican Senator Buckley was induced to denounce Nixon publically, opening the way for a bi-

partisan impeachment.

If the Watergate crisis showed the underlying discontent of the vast majority of Americans, it unfortunately also showed their inability to translate their discontent into action. Travelling in the United States last summer, I was impressed with the prevailing mood of bitterness, hatred, and... cynicism. Instead of mass demonstrations demanding Nixon's impeachment, there have been mostly only sick jokes.

The American working class has been unable to intervene in the Watergate crisis because it doesn't have a political party of its own -- even one as bureaucratised as the ALP. Consequently, the labor movement is incapable of presenting an alternative to the political status quo. That, and not some 'agony of the soul', is the real tragedy of Watergate.

-- Ron Flaherty

Wage case

The National Wage Case decision of 2% plus \$2.50 rise, while inflation is running at 15% shows the utter irrelevance of the Arbitration Court. A few years ago, two-thirds of all awards were settled in the commission...now the reverse is true. No wonder -- when the only unions who are keeping pace with inflation are those who back their claims with direct

action or the implied threat of direct action. Workers dependent on the National Wage Case alone are workers whose wages are not keeping pace with inflation.

It seems obvious that the National Wage Case will become the Metal Trades award...it is already setting the pace for awards settled by collective bargaining. They get half-way decent rises by being prepared to fight for them. The Commission, of course, attempts to stop these rises flowing onto workers in other industries...but the pressure is there.

The one good thing that came out of the case was the promised extension of the minimum wage to women. This victory is partly the result of real pressure from the women's movement. It is also a reflection of the "labor shortage". Capitalism needs women in the workforce and is being forced to pay for them. Having won a minimum wage, women will now be fighting for real equal pay (many employers are dodging it by re-classifying jobs) and against their restriction to the jobs with the worst pay and conditions.

Socialist Strategies in the ALP

by GREG MCCRAE

Trotsky in the Transitional Program under the heading 'Against Sectarianism' correctly lumps groups and individuals who refuse to accept the reality of Social Democratic parties in the same category as groups and individuals who propose 'turning their backs on the 'old' trade unions'. 'They remain indifferent to the inner struggle within reformist organisations - as if one could win the masses without intervening in their daily strife!' Of course mere quotations from sacred texts do not prove arguments, but in fact Trotsky's analysis of the pitfalls of sectarianism has been proven tragically correct over and over again in the history of this country as well as in other Western countries in which Social Democratic and Labor parties represent the daily political life and struggle to the majority of the working class. Therefore we work in the ALP because it represents the consciousness of the working class at a political level (as distinct from an industrial level). There are a number of different methods of working inside a party of the working class but before discussing these it might be advisable to establish the Labor Party as a working class party.

WHAT IS THE A.L.P.?

Lenin in 1913, in a short article on Australia's Labor government, argued that the Labor Party in Australia was in fact a petty-bourgeois party and in fact corresponded to the Liberal Parties of England and Western Europe. This particular pamphlet of Lenin's is often hauled out and quoted both by Stalinists (in their sectarian phase) such as the Maoists of some years ago, and also by certain Trotskyist workers who wish to justify their refusal to participate in the political struggles of the working class.

Dogmatism is characterised by a refusal to recognise changes in objective factors. When Lenin analysed the ALP much of his argument was correct. However the split of 1916 substantially altered the class nature of the Labor Party and the logic of Lenin's pamphlet suggests that had he not had better things to occupy his time than the political struggles of a very minor capitalist country he would undoubtedly have revised his analysis of the Labor Party in Australia. The role of the Communist Party in the early 1920's suggests that in practise the Third International had repudiated Lenin's 1913 document.

The Labor Party was set up and lead by craft unions and bush unions both of which were petty-bourgeois in their ideology and partially in their actual membership. McQueen has produced evidence which suggests that many of the shearers were in fact small farmers who supplemented their income from otherwise unprofitable farms by shearing for the graziers during the appropriate season. Urban industrial workers voted Labor but not only were they not represented in terms of candidates but more significantly their union played a subordinate role to the bush unions and craft unions in the party machine. Although Australia has been urbanised since the 1860's significant industrialisation and growth of the industrial unions did not really begin till the first decades of the 20th Century. Billy Hughes as a pastry cook or George Pearce who was a carpenter before he became a cabinet wreccker were representative of the sort of trades that made up Labor's early base.

This also helps to explain the Protestant and British Imperial chauvinist and partially the racism of Labor's political stance. It explains far more clearly the arbitration fetish of the early Labor Party. Thus Lenin's 1913 characterisation of the Labor Party is substantially correct.

Historians have presented different interpretations of the 1916 ALP split. For contemporaries the cause was Billy Hughes' obnoxious personality, for many right-wingers the significant factor is the religious or Irish question, for the Labor Historian myth-makers of whom Turner is the most offensive example the 1916 split was between the 'honest' men of the industrial wing (i.e. union bureaucrats) and the 'opportunists' of the parliamentary wing. This myth still holds among a large section of the Labor Party and is probably even stronger among the Socialist Left than among the centrists. For many left union bureaucrats it is a convenient self-justification. I would argue that the 1916 split has a far wider and more significant social and economic base.

1916 was the establishment of industrial union dominance in the ALP over craft and bush unions. The significant thing about the role of the unions in smashing conscription and breaking with Hughes was not that the leadership was the union bureaucrats but that with the exception of the Queensland-based AWU they were led by industrial unionists rather than bush unions. Even the AWU split with its founder Spence, and in doing so passed (at least in New South Wales) to the control of miners and labourers from shearers. The change in the ALP was reflected both by the development after the war of the Country Party as a small farmers' party (it only became a graziers' party later and in many areas, including most of southwestern Victoria, the graziers remain with the Libs). Before 1916 the small farmers had had some sympathy with Labor. More definitively the industrial base of Labor can be seen in the adoption of the (albeit modified reformist) socialist objective in 1921 and the sharp struggle over the expulsion of the Communist Party in the early twenties. Both of these events spring at least as much from the changed nature of the Labor Party as they do from the effects on workers' consciousness of the Russian Revolution and the disasters of World War I.

Thus I would argue that since 1916, in terms of membership, the Labor Party is the party of the industrial working class. This is despite the political role that its leadership (parliamentary and otherwise) has always played, especially in government as an instrument of the ruling class to betray and tame the working class in times of crisis. It is not simply that the working class votes Labor - in the US the working class votes Democratic but none of the arguments for working in the Labor Party apply to the Democratic Party. Rather, it is that the ALP is based on the union movement, financed by the union movement, and partially controlled by the union movement.

Labor has been in government somewhere in Australia continuously since 1908 (with the exception of a few months in 1969-70). More significantly, even in 1966, at the height of the boom and the period of greatest support for the Vietnam war, and Labor's greatest electoral defeat since the depression, Labor polled over 40 percent of the vote. In other words, about 70 percent of blue workers and 40 percent of white collar workers will vote Labor ahead of the other parties, whatever the objective circumstances. This represents the level of consciousness of the class of itself - that is, as a group with separate interests from the bosses and landowners, which cannot be represented

CAN THE HOLD OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY BE ATTACKED FROM OUTSIDE?

If it accepted that the hold of the Labor Party on the working class represents one of the major factors holding back workers' consciousness from revolution, then question arises: what is the way to attack that hold? What has been the history of groups which have attempted to attack the party from outside? Turner argues four major crises of capitalism in Australian history, during which the working class has mounted some kind of challenge for power. He overstates his case and overstates the potential of three out

of four of the challenges, but they are still useful examples for discussion. They are:

1. The great strikes of the nineties.
2. The conscription battle of 1916.
3. The depression.
4. The Communist Party strikes against the Chifley government (Labor) in the late 1940's.

I'd query all of these except maybe the depression as real threats in Australia. The first is not relevant because of the very different nature of the working class (see above) and because the strikes actually led to the formation of the Labor Party. In the conscription period, the IWW represented the force outside the Party and was able to crystallise the fight against conscription, and maintained a position far to the left of mere opposition to conscription...namely opposition to a bosses' war. It was at no stage able to lead the movement, which only achieved success when taken up by the labor movement both inside and outside the Labor Party. Inside the Labor Party, it was led by industrial militants lacking a revolutionary consciousness even at the syndicalist level of the Wobblies, and so never got beyond seeing Hughes - rather than the system he represented - as the enemy.

The Depression is the most significant example. The Communist Party, holding to the worst form of Third Period Stalism, adopted the strategy that the correct leadership of the working class required analysing the Labor government as Social Fascist and engaging in class struggle against it. (This often meant CP rank and file workers thumping ALP rank and file workers during arguments in pubs). When the Labor government was forced to attack the working class, the Communist Party assumed the working class would turn to it for leadership. Instead the Scullin government (Federal Labor) was attacked by the New South Wales government (Labor) led by Jack Lang.

The CP's response was to characterise Lang as a left Social Fascist. In fact Lang's racist populism was probably closer to fascism than the political position of Scullin's government. Lang's plan still appeared to the working class as the only form of defence being offered them. When Governor Sir Phillip Game dismissed Lang from office a protest held in Moore Park was attended by 100,000 and 200,000 people. This at a period when Sydney's population was only three quarters of a million represents a massive percentage of Sydney's working class families. All the Communist Party could do with this movement was leaflet from the sidelines, since they had played no leading role in the preceding struggle. When Lang went to water (or, to be more accurate, retired to the country) and refused to fight, the working class was left leaderless and defenceless. The CP, not having been active in the Lang movement, could only say 'we told you so' and go on and claim the Depression battle as a victory because they had recruited members.

The proper role for socialists would have been to be members of the Labor Party, constantly placing demands on Lang which would have forced him to fight or be exposed, and when he refused to fight, they could have appeared as the logical leadership of a struggle which they had been waging alongside Lang from the beginning.

The strikes of the 40's, I think, represented a response to the attacks of the Cold War, rather than a deliberate Communist Party challenge to the Labor leadership. (Turner's view of this period is coloured by his own membership of the CP at this time.) Even so, as far as they were a challenge, the response they drew in the working class is instructive. The CP had the leadership of many of the large industrial unions (they also had their largest party membership of any time in their history). Attacks

on the CP were seen by union members as attacks on the rights of trade unions and on working class organisations. In the biggest attack, on the New South Wales coal fields, where the Chifley Labor government sent troops to break the strike, it was impossible to differentiate between an attack on the CP and an attack on the working class.

Yet over and over again, when the CP ran candidates in parliamentary elections, the electorates being composed chiefly of the workers that they had led (mining and waterside electorates) CP candidates only polled a handful of votes.

Union leaders who had won overwhelmingly over ALP and/or grouper candidates in union elections would be rejected in favour of ALP (often grouper) candidates by the same unionists in Parliamentary elections. A similar tale can be told of Queensland in the mid-twenties. The CP-led railways union was subjected to similar attacks by the McCormack State Labor government. The lesson is that the Stalinist CP had won industrial leadership of the working class, or relevant sections of it, without achieving political leadership. Except in extraordinary circumstances (and not necessarily even then) it does not seem possible to win political leadership of the working class without first waging a prolonged struggle inside the Labor Party.

HOW DO REVOLUTIONARIES WORK INSIDE THE LABOR PARTY?

There are a number of different theories as to methods of work in Social Democratic Parties. Discussion on this question has at various times been a major subject of controversy inside the Trotskyist movement. Trotsky at one period described entrism as a tactic rather than as a strategy. With this I disagree. In Australia at least, and it would appear in Britain also, entrism is a strategy for the reasons described above. As a tactic it would be applied as it was the Socialist Workers' Party in its early (1930's) stage in the United States, and by the predecessors of the British International Socialists in periods of numerical weakness, when they entered the Socialist Party (USA) and the Labour Party (Britain), chiefly in the hope of building a base.

The debate in the 1950's was between deep and shallow entrism. Deep entrism, as practised for example by the *Militant* group in Britain, springs from a pessimistic analysis of the future of independent politics, and suggests that revolutionaries go into Social Democratic parties and virtually submerge themselves inside the organisation. The aim is to push the Social Democratic party to the left as a precondition for establishing a better climate for revolutionaries to work in.

This strategy has had a certain amount of success for the Origglass group in Balmain, but its obvious weakness can be seen when one watches the actions of Freney inside the Communist Party, where it certainly seems that the CP has changed Freney as much as the reverse. This is a lot more likely in a mass party. To a certain extent, one can also see this with some Labor College trade union graduates who have become bureaucrats with, for all their rhetoric, no more perspective beyond maintaining their position inside the ALP - although this can be explained also by their theoretical weaknesses.

Shallow entrism works on the basis of entering the Social Democratic Party merely to pull out recruits. The problem with this approach is that it is entirely oriented towards building your own organisation. It is not really aimed at intervening in the Social Democratic Party's political struggle, except as a by-product. When one leaves or is expelled from the Social Democratic party, you may have taken its best members, but you

have not challenged its hold on the working class. The way one smashes Social Democracy is not by recruiting its members alone, but also by stripping it of its working class allegiance. When a group splits or is expelled from the Labor Party, it should take the support of the most advanced sections of the class with it.

I would argue that the method of entrism that should be practised is to build up an opposition inside the Labor Party. Not only with aim of building ones organisation, but also with the aim of creating an opposition to the parliamentary and union bureaucratic leadership. It is as important to get ones demands, strategies and program accepted as it is to recruit formal members, although recruits obviously will and should be gained. One is not trying to move the formal leadership to the left, but one is trying to push a formal opposition to the left, not with the aim of eventually replacing right bureaucrats with left bureaucrats, but with the aim of creating a split in the Labor Party which will allow a movement to defend and lead the working class to develop, which will retain the leadership of the class.

This is only possible if at the same time revolutionaries maintain their independent organisation outside the ALP, organising at an industrial level. Thus the slogan we raised during the 1972 Federal elections - to build a movement inside and outside the Labor Party to fight the Labor leaders.

In Victoria, the Socialist Left still has the potential to be an alternative leadership in the real rather than the bureaucratic sense, although it will be a long struggle to transform the Socialist Left. Part of the problems faced in the transformation of the SL spring from the total absence of disciplined revolutionaries inside the ALP during intervention in 1970, which meant that there was no one there to effectively put a conception of a Socialist Left opposed to those of the leaders.

As the Australian economy begins, in the next, period, to follow the trend of the crisis-bound economies overseas, pressures on the working class will reflect themselves as pressures in the ALP. This would be true even in the unlikely event of Labor losing the coming elections. Assuming Labor stays in power, then a real fight inside the ALP involving the working class is inevitable. Revolutionary socialists must be involved.

Women in the USSR: Myth of Liberation

by Janey Stone

'Girls, for all your equality with us men, stay feminine, gentle and weak (in the best Marxist sense of this concept).'

-- from a letter to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, December 1970¹

The Bolshevik Revolution promised complete legal equality and economic emancipation for women; the present government of the USSR and its supporters claim it has been achieved. Khrushchev claimed in 1958 that:

Soviet women are held in great esteem...They have, not merely in words, but also in fact, equal rights with men in all areas of social and political life, as well as in practice.²

Yet in the modern Soviet Union as well as in the Eastern European countries, attitudes like those expressed at the head of this article are common: in the name of Marxism a very bourgeois concept of 'femininity' is expressed. Occasionally there are official admissions to some 'backward views on women's role and shortcomings in her official position

material position'.³ But usually this is explained away as a mere hangover, which will disappear in time.

This situation has presented many women's liberationists who consider themselves socialists with a difficult political problem. Should they not support the 'socialist' countries? And yet as women's liberationists can they defend societies where women are oppressed? Many conclude that socialism has nothing to offer women; others solve the dilemma by emphasizing the role women play in the workforce and remark hopefully that things are getting better.

This article will argue that a socialist revolution offers the potential for women's liberation; that the revolution in Russia began to realise it, but the revolution was defeated and in its wake arose a *new ruling class* which reintroduced the institutions fundamental to women's oppression -- marriage and the family; that this was precisely because these societies today are not socialist in any sense.

FROM TSARDOM TO REVOLUTION

According to Tsarist law:

The wife is held to obey her husband, as the head of the family, to remain with him in love, respect, unlimited obedience, to do him every favour and show him every affection as a housewife.⁴

Women in Tsarist Russia could own no property (including their wages) and could be jailed for running away from their husbands.⁵ Wife-beating was explicitly allowed by law.⁶

The number of women working in industry in Tsarist Russia grew during the early part of the 20th Century, and particularly rapidly during the First World War. Since

many men were at the front, the women were left with the responsibility of both home and work. Women began to organise, demanding shorter working hours, better conditions of work, maternity benefits, etc.⁷ Participating in these struggles was a group of socialist women including Alexandra Kollontai.

It is well known that the February revolution was sparked off by working women demonstrating on International Women's Day. And soon after the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, a strike of 4000 laundresses was one of the earliest moves by rank and file workers towards a genuine socialist program: they demanded the abolition of private laundries and the establishment of municipal facilities.⁸

The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 resulted in the most far-reaching, sweeping and dramatic changes in women's status.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks decreed the complete right to social, economic and sexual self-emancipation for women, and the right to choose their own domicile, name and citizenship. Marriage became a matter of simple registration, common law marriage was recognized, divorce was freely granted upon petition by either partner, and property rights within marriage abolished.

Illegitimacy, incest, adultery and homosexuality were dropped from the legal code. Contraception and abortion on demand became freely available. It was the stated intention of the Bolshevik Party ensure the economic independence of women by socializing housework and childcare, with a wide network of childcare centres, laundries, dining rooms and so on.

The Bolsheviks are generally accused of having considered women unimportant and reducing the woman question to a purely economic one. But while their theory may have been inadequate, many of the Bolsheviks understood a lot of important points. Lenin was vehement on the subject of housework and men's attitude to it.

Unfortunately it is still true to say of many of our comrades: 'scratch a Communist and find a philistine'. Of course you must scratch the sensitive spot, their mentality as regards women. Could there be a more damning proof of this than the calm acquiescence of men who see how women grow worn out in the monotonous household work, their strength and time dissipated and wasted, their minds growing narrow and stale...⁹

Lenin also understood the need for the women's movement to be a mass movement including non-working-class women, and the importance of special demands for women:

The Communist women's movement must itself be a mass movement, a part of the general mass movement. Not only of the proletariat, but of all the exploited and oppressed, all the victims of capitalism and any other mastery.¹¹

That is why it is right for us to put forward demands favourable to women...Our demands are practical conclusions which we have drawn from the burning needs, the shameful humiliation of women in bourgeois society. That we hate, yes, hate everything and will abolish everything which tortures and oppresses the woman worker, the housewife, the peasant woman, the wife of the petty trader, yes and in many cases the women of the posing classes.¹¹

Alexandra Kollontai, a member of the Bolshevik central committee, had long regarded woman's and sexual liberation as crucial questions. She wrote and campaigned extensively on behalf of women, in opposition to the existing ideas of marriage, the family and for her concept of free love.

Leon wrote many articles on the subject of women and the family and was an ardent advocate of women's emancipation. 'The problem of women's emancipation,' he wrote, 'is clearly tied to that of the transformation of family life.'¹²

In 1918, the first congress of working and peasant women was organised. Despite the civil war, over 1200 delegates attended and discussed questions ranging from the education of and socialisation of children to working women and the international revolution. A working and peasant women's section of the party was set up in 1919.¹³ Women Bolsheviks active in this organization included Kollontai, Krupskaya (Lenin's wife) and Inessa Armand.

The experience of the early years of the USSR shows that the very experience of revolutionary upheaval and transformation, and of establishing workers' democracy were a gigantic force in destroying the old ways of life. The family began to disintegrate. The civil war and the new legislation were also partly responsible. But more than this it stemmed from the changes in society. In Wilhelm Reich's words:

The patriarchal family is the structural and ideological place of reproduction of every social order based on authoritarian principles. The abolition of the latter automatically undermined the institution of the family.¹⁴

The new society no longer needed the family. Trotsky commented:

Nothing but inertia keeps the family itself from complete collapse...Pushes from the outside are infinitely more likely to come now than ever before. That is the reason why the family totters and fails to recover, and then tumbles again... History tells the old wood and the chips fly in the wind.¹⁵

There was a great deal of enthusiastic experimentation with new life styles and sexual relations. Communes, free love, sex-affirming education for children -- the youth in particular experienced a sexual revolution. This appears to have also occurred after the revolution of 1905.¹

Sexuality was admittedly frequently brutalized, exploitative and irresponsible. Guilt, ignorance, male chauvinism and authoritarian attitudes were still widespread. The disintegrating family, the terrible economic situation and the civil war -- all contributed to the confusion and chaos. Partly because of the insurmountable economic problems, the new childcare and laundries didn't appear. While they were encouraged to work, many women found it impossible during the period of unemployment during the NEP. Thus women largely remained economically tied to the family. In practice, 'the new sexual freedom applied largely as a freedom for men.'¹⁷

Millet attempts to explain the sexual chaos and subsequent retreat by the ideological failure of the Soviet leaders, who implemented a sexual revolution but failed to change attitudes. She refers to Trotsky's well known comment, 'You cannot 'abolish' the family, you have to replace it.'¹⁸ It is true that the Bolshevik theory was inadequate. The sexual revolution that occurred after the revolution was to many of the leadership unexpected and unwelcome. Many were horrified at the 'bourgeois influence on the proletariat.'¹⁹ Lenin's puritanism is well known.

However the eventual degeneration in the Soviet Union cannot be explained on these grounds. The most profound and sophisticated theory in the world would have been powerless to prevent the de-

generation which took place. The retreat back onto the sexually repressive and compulsive family was part of the rise to power of a bureaucratic ruling class and the re-establishment of exploitative class society. This in turn was a consequence of the isolation of the revolution and the general political and economic situation.

Kollontai understood the social nature of the problem well: her solution was to become a leader of a political opposition faction, the Workers' Opposition. This faction was a first confused reaction to the process of bureaucratization in the party and the state. Exhausted and decimated by the civil war, the working class found itself unable to maintain control of the state. In a series of battles the genuine socialist forces, led finally by Trotsky after Lenin's death, were defeated, exile and murdered by the Stalinist faction which consolidated its own bureaucratic rule. The new ruling class in turn began to manipulate women and the family for its own ends, and to reverse the achievements of the revolution.

"ALL THE OLD CRAP REVIVES"

While most of the retrogressive legislation to place in the 1930's, the social changes which they represented began far earlier. One of the earliest signs of the anti-sexual backlash was the closing of the experimental sex-affirmative kindergarten of Vera Schmidt. Soon after its founding in 1921, rumours were spread about the horrible perversions supposed to be occurring there. Nine months later the state withdrew ideological and financial support. The extent of advanced consciousness of many workers at this point is shown by the fact that the kindergarten was maintained for some time afterwards by the Russian and German miners' unions.²⁰

The women's section of the CPSU was censured in 1923 and 1924 for being overzealous. In 1929 it was officially abolished with the explanation that an independent women's movement was unnecessary since women were already liberated, and that the state could articulate and satisfy their needs.²¹

In the late 20's and 30's the resurrection of the family accelerated. Periodically after 1926 divorce became increasingly expensive and bureaucratic. Weddings were again ritualized, and illegitimacy again penalized and stigmatized. Parents were again held responsible for their children:

*"In handing over to you (the parents) a certain measure of social authority, the Soviet State demands from you the correct upbringing of future citizens."*²²

The public child care facilities were so inadequate that orphans had to be placed in private families.²³

Education again became anti-sexual, ending with the abolition of co-education in 1943. The experimental communities were discontinued and the youth movement turned authoritarian and militaristic. Prostitutes were again arrested (previously only brothel owners

and customers were arrested). Persecution of homosexuals increased including party purges. In January 1934 there were mass arrests and in March, homosexuality between men was again made illegal.

The attack on abortion, while defended on economic and population grounds, was also part of the enshrinement of "motherhood". It aimed at repression of sexuality and binding women to the family. It was accompanied by introduction of awards for mothers of large families. Although abortion had been legal for over a decade, backyard abortions were still a problem in 1935, indicating that the government had waged no massive campaign to educate the masses of women. At the Congress of L'viv in 1932, abortion was attacked as "a sign of immorality" and "a mass means of destroying progeny" which "prevents motherhood and often decreases women's success in public life". Women had become so blatant as to unashamed of abortion and "considered it their legal right!"²⁴

In 1936 abortion was made illegal for the first child and in 1944 totally banned. One judge declaimed that in a socialist society where there are no unemployed, a woman had no right to decline the "joys of motherhood". "We have need of people" he continued, to which Trotsky answered as millions of women might have: "Then have the kindness to bear them yourselves."²⁵

Marxism, in Millet's words, was "stood on its head":

*"There are people who dare to assert that the Revolution destroys the family; this is entirely wrong: the family is an especially important phase of social relations in the socialist society...One of the basic rules of Communist morals is that of strengthening the family."*²⁶

The foreign Communist Parties took up the cry:

*"Save the family!...It is a well-known fact that the birth rate in France is decreasing at an alarming rate... The Communists are confronted by a very grave situation. The country which they are to revolutionize, the French world, runs the danger of being crippled and depopulated. ...The Communists want to fight in defense of the French family...They want to take over a strong country and a fertile race. The USSR points the way. But it is necessary immediately to take an active measure to save the race."*²⁸

THE PRESSURES OF INDUSTRIALISATION

THE PRESSURES OF INDUSTRIALISATION

*"With the first Five Year Plan, the Soviet Union entered the long range economic political and strategic competition with the advanced countries of the West."*²⁹

During the 1930's the rapid industrialisation and preparation for war meant a need for increased productivity. The number of males

in the population was low. This meant two things for women: first increased production of children and thus abolition of abortion; secondly it was necessary to bring large numbers of women into the workplace.

In order to reconcile the two demands on women (who were of course to retain responsibility for housework etc.) many new provisions had to be made. Thus it was only because of economic expediency that childcare centres on a large scale were built. Maternity leave and special provisions for nursing mothers were provided. The hours in child care centres were out to coincide with the hours of the working day³⁰ which emphasizes that they were provided simply to get women out to work, not to liberate them.

Engels, who regarded the introduction of women into the workforce as a precondition for liberation, provided a convenient ideological cover. However work itself is not liberation (those who think so should remember the sign -- "Arbeit macht frei" -- hung on the entrance to the Aus

Engels, who regarded the introduction of women into the workforce as a precondition for liberation, provided a convenient ideological cover. However work itself is not liberation (those who think it does ought to remember that the sign "Arbeit macht frei" hung outside the Auschwitz concentration camp). As Marcuse puts it:

*"Until the growing productivity is controlled by the individuals themselves, the economic and cultural emancipation of women gives them only an equal share in the system of emancipated labour."*³¹

WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY

"As previously, the new Fundamental Law says that only a marriage which has been officially registered has legal force. This definition is vital to the central goal of Soviet family legislation, that is, to strengthen the family unit." (*Soviet Life*, Feb. 69)³¹

Today, despite some slight liberalisation after Stalin's death, such as the legalization of abortion, women remain tied to the family. Despite the importance of women in the workforce, where they are 51 percent, and the women ship's captains and cosmonauts, the double oppression we know in the West remains. It is important to demolish with hard facts the myths about women's equality in the USSR, to demonstrate that women's role in the workforce is not one of equality, nor are educational institutions helping to overcome inequality.

As in the West, women are employed in low-pay, low-status jobs: they are 73 percent of the unskilled, non-specialized labour force.³²

In occupations requiring higher education or specialized secondary education, women's participation is in the traditionally accepted women's fields: health and education. In 1964 women were 49 percent of students in specialized secondary education. In industrial subjects and agriculture they were underrepresented (34 and 37 percent) while in health and education they were overrepresented (87 and 80 percent). This pattern is repeated in higher educational institutions. This bias has remained essentially unchanged since the 1920's.

Medicine has traditionally been a female occupation in the USSR. Thus it is not surprising that it is a low-status, low-paid profession. A doctor earns only two-thirds the wage of a skilled worker.³⁴ The Five-Year-Plan released in 1971 has a stated goal of raising the number of men in medicine and calls for a salary increase in both medicine and education, presumably to attract men into the fields.

Even within their own fields, women are underrepresented in decision-making positions. Women are 73 percent of all teachers, but 23 percent of school directors. They hold 88 percent of jobs in medicine and health, but only 57 percent of positions as head or chief.

The high-status professions in the physical sciences and technology are male fields. This appears to be partly the result of a quota system. In 1964 at Moscow State University for example, women were 47 percent of applicants to science faculties but only 35 percent of acceptances.

In the political arena, women are noticeably absent. They are 28 percent of members of the Supreme Soviet³⁵, 21 percent of members of the CPSU,³⁶ 4 percent of the Party's Central Committee at the 24th Congress³⁷ and none of the Politburo.

Thus women's entry into public life is as super-exploited worker, discriminated against in all the high-status, better jobs and having little representation in the upper echelons of government.

THE FAMILY AND CHILDREN

In the home, women still "reign supreme", i.e. retain responsibility for housework and child-care. Women spend 15 to 20 more hours a week on household chores than men.³⁷ Men have more leisure time and get nearly an hour more sleep a night.³⁸

Public facilities such as restaurants, laundries and childcare remain totally inadequate -- in part they are the casualties along with other commodities of the emphasis on industrialization and arms production. Childcare facilities can accommodate only 31 percent of the children in relevant age groups.³⁹ The public doesn't regard them very favourably: 66 percent of mothers of enrolled children said they sent their children simply because they had no grandmother or suitable neighbour at home. Only 23.7 percent enrolled their children because the public kindergarten provided better "social upbringing".⁴⁰

The staff at the child care centres seem to be all female; child-raising is still a woman's job.

Magazines from the Soviet Union produced for international consumption treat women either as labour heroines or else present an age reminiscent of the USA of the 1950's, full of sentimentality, indulgence and glorification of motherhood. In an article on child care the author acknowledges his debt to Dr. Spock before writing:

*"However excellent the creche nurses may be they cannot be expected to give the baby anything like the tenderness lavished upon it by its own mother...When a baby begins to walk a mother's constant care is essential. She can safely place her toddler in a creche when he is two years old...Actually I think, creches should not admit children under two years old."*⁴¹

An article called "Man and Wife" (sic) produces fond memories and conventional attitudes to relations between the sexes:

"With a smile he recalls how Natasha's girlfriends plotted to bring the two of them together, blowing a fuse for the purpose and asking him to come and fix it. Afterwards of course there were dates, flowers pictures and concerts."

"I want our sons to be brave, honest and fair," says Ludmilla, and Sergei adds: 'Lively, naughty and fearless. But if we have a girl I want her to be feminine and not a tomboy.'"

*"Yuri is perfectly satisfied with his role as head of the family. He earns enough, he has a loving wife (his favourite dish is meatballs, made by Tatyana, of course)."*⁴²

Science is called in to justify women's subordination. A professor at an East Berlin neurological clinic, Karl Leonhard discusses with erudition "the masculine instinct of domination and the feminine instinct of submission" with erudition:

*"When the woman following her innermost urge...lets the man take a leading role in the sexual sphere, trying at the same time to stay in the background and quite willing to subject herself in sex matters to the man she loves, she does by no means, doing this, give up her right of social equality...The relations between the sexes being determined by instinct... it follows that they are little influenced by fluctuating changes in the social scene...The instinctive make-up of a woman comes clearly to the fore in the dress she wears and in fashions which are very revealing. Those who mistake the equality of rights for equality in all things must be greatly surprised and even grieved by the unceasing interest in fashions which is displayed by women of the most progressive countries."*⁴³

The conflicts between the official claims of equality and the reality of oppression are explained away here by timeworn clichés about women's instinctive passivity and contradictoriness.

The effects of reactionary family policy can be seen most clearly in the most backward parts of the USSR. In Soviet Central Asia before the revolution women, as in many Muslim countries, were virtual slaves. The women's organisations in the area were responsible for helping women to remove their veils and participate in social life. They did this against great resistance from men, including social ostracism and murder.⁴⁴ Today this is still a backward region, where the life expectancy is less than that of men (the opposite of the norm for industrial countries). That this should still be the case today, Jan Myrdal argues, "has political and social roots in today's society". He continues:

*"The situation of these women -- a worn reproduction apparatus -- is wholly unworthy of a society which has declared itself socialist...Traditions do not live outside society. Women's liberation in Turkmenistan has been slowed down. In Turkmenistan the reactionary family policy which has reigned in the Soviet Union for the last two decades as an expression of the interests of a privileged group...has kept artificial life in certain of the bad old traditions from the feudal epoch...Even so, this Soviet family policy did not have very serious consequences until economic developments in Turkmenistan gave women an objective chance of achieving equality. Then -- and only then -- did the bars become barriers."*⁴⁵

CONCLUSION

The USSR and the Eastern European countries of today, authoritarian, bureaucratically ruled and bound to the family as they are, offer women no more hope of liberation than does the profit-seeking anarchy of capitalism. Because of its different history and culture, it was not possible to deal with China in this article; however I regard the social system there as not fundamentally different from that in the Soviet Union, nor are women there more liberated than in the Soviet Union or the West.

No country in the world today provides us with a model for socialism or liberation. But the events surrounding the Bolshevik revolution show clearly that a proletarian revolution transforms society radically and removes the pressures maintaining the

family, the core of women's oppression. That new oppression for women came with the revolution's defeat only underlines the need for a new and successful socialist revolution, in the USSR as in the West.

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33. This and all following statistics in this section unless otherwise quoted are from Goldberg, op. cit.
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Satan is alive and living in William Peter Blatty. Insofar as Satan does exist, he has played a major part in the creation of the film "The Exorcist" and must by now feel very proud of his work.

Satan is now and always has been a symbolic expression of basic human mysteries experienced from the most fearful and vulnerable point of view. By existing in personified form (and perpetuated thus by the theological powers that be) he has been able to absorb the dimension of massive human inadequacy, which if not made easier to deal with, has at least become a usable concept: Satan.

The human mysteries He embodies are Pain and Fear. Everyone experiences pain, physical and psychological and everyone represses its proximity. The daily reports of automobile accidents do not run off the mind like water off a pane of glass, they run unseen into the depths of the psyche, to reappear later as our most unreasoning fears. Fear itself can take many forms - fear of pain, fear of failure, fear of change, fear of separation, fear of sacrifice, fear of the unknown, fear of humiliation, fear of death and the new (but by now means unfamiliar) fear of doom.

The particular form and place that Satan has taken up have always been determined by the particular fears that for historical and cultural reasons have predominated - and by the state of those apparatuses we use to face those human mysteries. It is a theo-

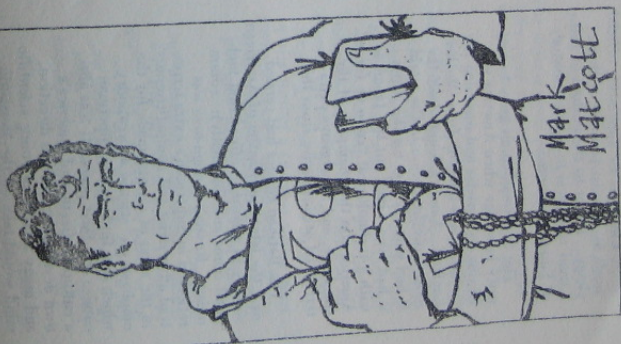
logical standard that poor old Satan depends on man and not on Himself for his bread and butter. We fend him off, explain him or nurture him with Art, Science and of course, Religion.

It should hardly be surprising then to find that Blatty's view of the Archfiend is dominated by his Jesuitic upbringing. There are three true-life priests in the film - one of them acting in the capacity of a "technical advisor". The two heroes of the film are Catholic priests. It is mentioned in passing in the film that there is also a Jewish rite of exorcism, but the film dramatizes only the Catholic one.

"The Exorcist" is a reactionary film; of this there is no doubt and I would be suprased if even Blatty would deny it. Nonetheless its symbols are accurate - they are a clear and terrifying metaphor of the state of American society - but like Marx (if you will forgive the paraphrase), we must shake the national seed from the mystical shell.

The most important question one ought to ask about the "Exorcist" is why does it appear at this particular stage? One might think that Blatty, in the current resurgence of interest in things occult - which is certainly true - but why now? It is worth noting that in the real world large and growing numbers of people are applying to the Church for exorcism. More and

AMERICAN
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more Churches are appointing official posts as exorcist to some of their clergy. To get to the bottom of this, I want to digress to a potted history of Superman comics.

The Superman comic grew to maturity in an age when America was flexing its muscles and assuming the "white man's burden" from Mother England. America found itself the most powerful nation in the world - it had won the war for the Allies - it had even wiped out the Japanese - with a technological "coup de force". America was the champion of the space age, and Superman's extraterrestrial origins derive from this.

The Batman comics had carried over the latent puritanism of American society in a mop-up effort that included crime and (implicitly): communism. Russia's foreignness was reflected in Superman's extra-terrestrial adversaries and competitiveness in the areas of science made for the emphasis on science as weaponry which one finds in the Superman comics and their peers. It was also a cultural reflection of America's own development in this direction, and many a budding young scientific mind would take on the Messianic "protons for peace" (for peace: read pacification) mentality. The new master of the world, America's supremacy is reflected in Superman's complete lack of geographical limit. athon - he even had adventures in other times.

The classic fears of sex and death of the self-sacrifice and opening up to the vulnerability which sex implies, as literature itself, is expressed by having Satan possess a fifteen year old girl.

One of Satan's first manifestations inside his prey is to have her shout (in a gravelly male voice) "fuck me" and lift her skirt. A little later on she is found smashing her little snatch to bloody shreds with the end of a crucifix. When she is discovered, she screams: "fuck me!"

Cunt hatred, sex hatred, guilt and revulsion: all cleverly summed up in one gruesome image. I personally take these scenes as Blatty's Jesuitic attack on what he perceives in the Women's Liberation movement. But the masculine bestiality which he portrays is more the intended target than goal of that movement. The other manifestations are a tribute to the popular bullshit being propagated by publications on Ghosts, ESP and the Supernatural which are beginning to rival Porn itself in sordidness and profitability.

The occult, the preternatural and the supernatural tend to become fashionable at a time of increased social tension and decay: a time which Blatty would describe as decadence I suppose, and I would not argue the point with him at all fiercely.

The degeneration, the pollution of the Superman mythos was marked by the rise of the Spy. Superman's glad acceptance of superhuman responsibility was replaced by ultracoool. He was now the no-guilt selective murderer - still with the backing of hyper-technological gadgets and gizmos. Superman had gone underground to become 007. 007 at first belonged to England, but America grabbed him quick and sold him.

But the end of Superman is at hand. His only weakness had been Kryptonite (it even sounds Russian) which is to say that America's only weakness had been the finitude of her own intellectual and technological resources and the insidious effects of that foreign and inimical social system of the East.

Superman is no longer vulnerable to Kryptonite. The symbol is no longer apt and his publishers decided to lift his erstwhile fear from his brow. What is more, he is no longer Clark Kent, mild-mannered reporter; he is Lex Luthor, his previous enemy and Clark Kent is now the new malign figure of the comics. Superman has become his opposite, even to the extent of being bald. He has two new weaknesses now: his own social conscience and magic. This marks the impact of the radical movement and the forces of the irrational on the self-image of American society.

Superman now constantly finds himself unable or unwilling to take a hand in human affairs lest he wrest

Drugs provided only an escape, but the Devil provides an explanation. People's frustrations and failures are due to the undermining work of superhuman powers of evil. Responsibility for one's own life and for society is neatly and magically conjured away. The irrational part of one's nature acquires a new respectability and its power is at least given some recognition. Marcuse's "rational" one-dimensional society has left no opening for human love, faith, desire and beauty - it has all been bought and sold - but with Ouija boards and Satan, they can be bought back.

For people who are vulnerable to the charlatantry and delusion which infests the occult (even Occultists complain of it), the "Exorcist" will provide a mighty symbol of horror which will etch its way deep into their minds in the deepest, darkest parts. Anyone who claims to have seen this film and remained unmoved is someone I deeply distrust; for they either have no heart or imagination.

The film relegates frustration to an insurmountable, because superhuman, dimension. And yet there is salvation in the film: two priests die in a successful attempt to free little Regan. Moral: (1) get back to Church, (2) only the Superhuman can work against the Superhuman. "The Exorcist" is a mighty propaganda job for the Catholic Church - Superman now wears a cassock in place of a cape.

from us mortals on our own initiative to solve our own problems or lest he merely aggravate and perpetuate glaring social injustices. Liberal guilt in the face of the Negro problems glare at us from the pages of children's comics. Superman no longer moves in a realm of scientific wonder and complacent arrogance, but of uncontrolled technological nightmares; of mediums, gurus and mystics. Superman can be stopped with a spell.

This combination of social conscience with irrationality is not accident and is repeated in "The Exorcist". To my own, rather inclusive mind, Satan in "The Exorcist" is clearly linked with student unrest and "irrational" upheavals and currents in American society.

People are afraid of the within both individually and socially. The desires they have cherished which have been denied and repressed have gone sour and are now felt as internal goblins and possessing devils. The structures they built out of Chevrolets and TV sets no longer protect or satisfy them and their longing for something more is bound to feel ineffable and mystical - while their taints must feel unaccountably evil. This is why the Devil comes to the clearest possible symbol of success in terms of the American Dream - the glamorous, wealthy home of a movie star.

If the alienation and misery that is causing this revivalism could be tapped by symbols of human dignity and solidarity, the revolutionary force which it implies would quickly materialise. The ruling class knows the worth of Billy Graham and the Guru Maharaj Ji in keeping the masses quiescent and celestial: "The Exorcist" is a "coup de grace".

It will not succeed, this is only a phase and it must pass. But foolish is he who does not take note of it and remember that the seeds it now sows will reappear at a later time. Nonetheless, when a church requires such desperate measures for its survival and humbly asks its public not to believe that God is dead - its fate is already sealed. The "Exorcist" will do great harm however, before it utters its own death rattle.

Church salesmen at the moment take time out to warn people against experimenting with the occult, but I will not be suprised in the least if the next time I visit my local Trick-or-Treat store, I find a brand new - specially approved Vatican edition Ouija Board on the racks!!

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